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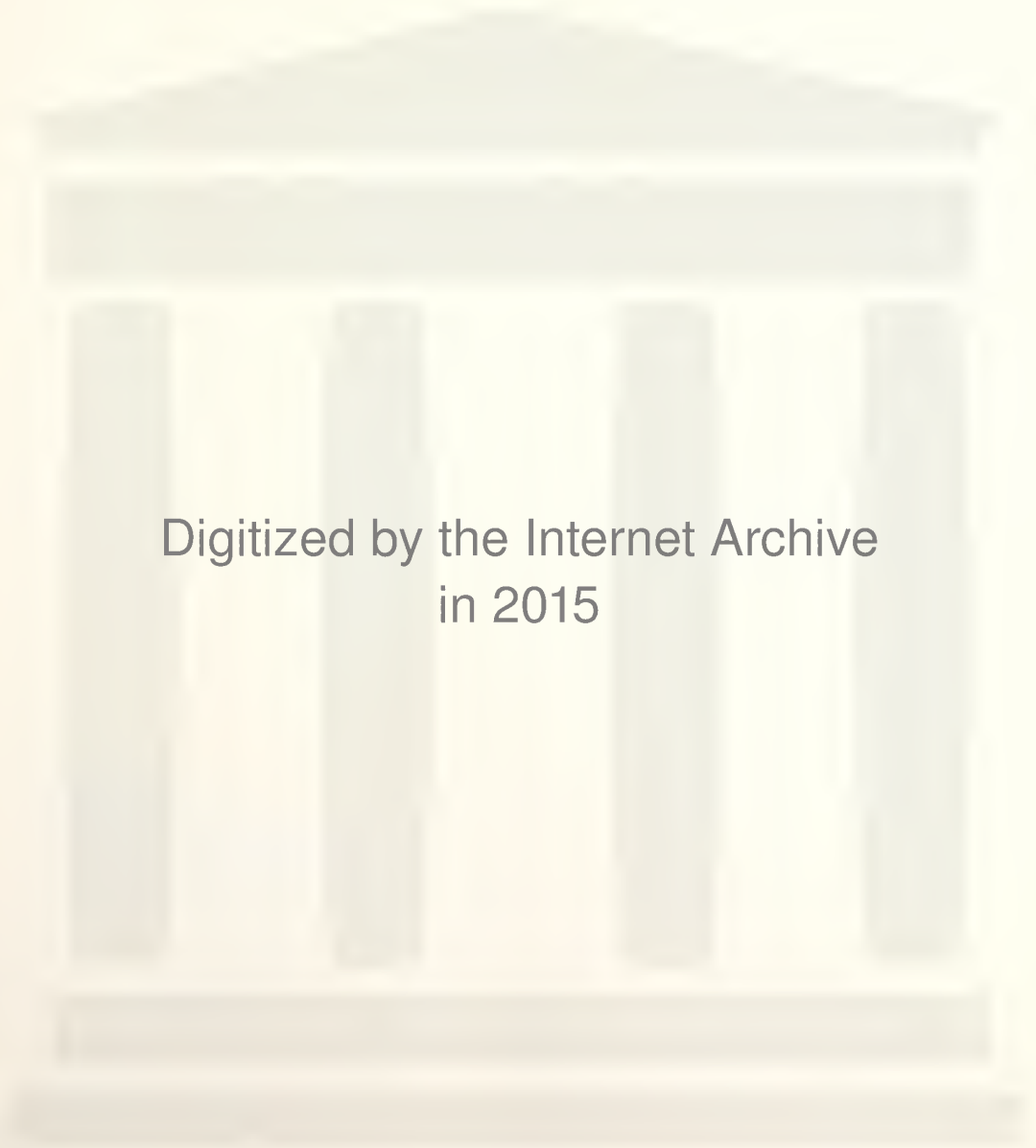
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THE

MEMORIAL

HISTORY OF BOSTON,

INCLUDING

SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS.

1630—1880.

EDITED

By JUSTIN WINSOR,

LIBRARIAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

Vol. III. V. 3, pt. 2

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS. PART I.

Issued under the business superintendence of the projector,

CLARENCE F. JEWETT.

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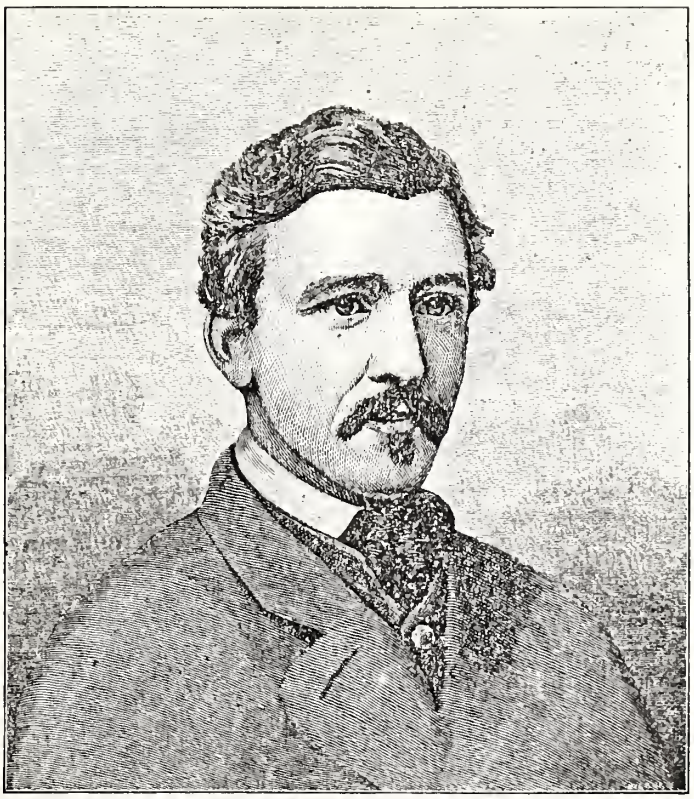
number of six hundred and twenty-two in two thousand eight hundred and forty-one, or nearly twenty-two per cent. The losses in the batteries were heavy, but only in two instances seemed to have reached ten per cent, while the desertion from them was generally creditably small.



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LIEUT.-COLONEL WILDER DWIGHT.[1]

The general reputation of the Massachusetts troops was extremely good, and there were none among them better than some of the organizations which have been named as coming from Boston. If the Governor and people of Massachusetts had been as eager to keep the early regiments full, as they were to furnish their quota in such a way as to make sure that no man should go to the war who did not wish to, it is probable that by midsummer of 1863 the Massachusetts contingent would have been as fine a

real volunteers was exhausted, that high bounties had begun, and that anything in the shape of a man which the medical officer would pass, was eagerly taken, regardless of quality, to fill the quota. Men under sentence are said to have been released from jail on condition of enlisting. As soon as the bounty was paid, the first opportunity to desert was seized. Some of these men were so mutinous one day in Boston that Colonel Lowell shot one of them dead.

[1] [This cut follows a likeness prefixed to the *Life and Letters of Wilder Dwight*, by his mother, Boston, 1868. A briefer narrative by the same is given in the *Harv. Mem. Biog.*, i. 252, under the class of 1853. He was wounded at Antietam, Sept. 17, 1862, and died two days later. He is buried in Forest Hills Cemetery. His brothers, William, Jr., and Howard, were respectively brigadier-general and captain. The latter was killed by guerillas in Louisiana, May 4, 1863. — ED.]

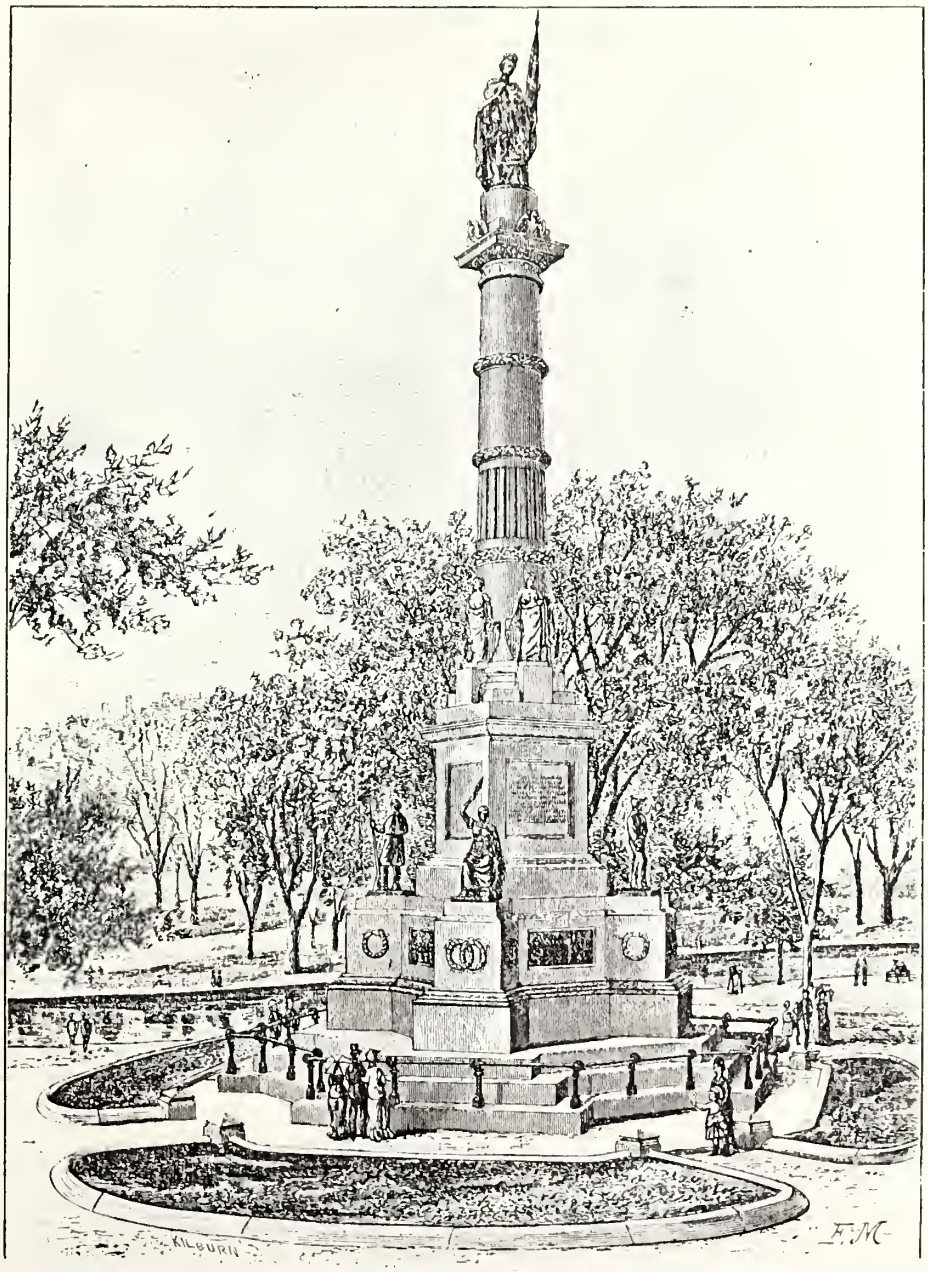
body of troops as the world has often seen. The men were intelligent, apt, reasonable, healthy, patient, and brave, ready to submit to discipline as soon as they perceived its meaning and value; ready and able to march all day and all night when the occasion called for it; ready to die in their

MAJOR HENRY L. ABBOTT.[1]

places so long as their orders bade them to stand and the evil hour lasted. It was a shame to pour in among such soldiers the scum and refuse of humanity which the pernicious bounty system turned in their direction.[2]

[1] [Major Abbott, the son of Hon. Josiah G. Abbott, was born in Lowell, Jan. 21, 1842; graduated at Harvard in 1860. On the outbreak of the war he did a brief garrison duty at Fort Independence, and was commissioned second lieutenant in the 20th Massachusetts Regiment on July 10, 1861; first lieutenant, Nov. 8, 1861; a captain, Aug. 29, 1862; and major, May 1, 1863. He was killed at the Battle of the Wilderness, May, 6, 1864, and his commissions as brevet colonel and brevet brigadier-general date from that day. He was in most of the considerable battles in which the army of the Potomac was engaged, and for a long time commanded his regiment. His record is admirably recounted by the writer of this chapter in the *Harvard Memorial Biographies*, ii. 91. — Ed.]

[2] [It will be remembered that while Burgoyne's army was in Cambridge, a practice obtained of recruiting the Massachusetts quota of the Continental army by enlisting deserters from this convention camp, and that it met the earnest protest of Washington. Sparks's *Washington*, v. 287, 297. — Ed.]



SOLDIERS' MONUMENT ON THE COMMON.[1]

Brilliant as were the records of many of these bodies of men, there was probably not one among them that did not suffer in reputation and fall be-

[1] [This monument, executed by Martin Milmore, sculptor, was dedicated Sept. 17, 1877. It bears the following inscription, which was furnished by President Eliot of Harvard University.

low its own ideal, because of the contaminating flood which was let loose upon them. To such pollution was due the death of a gallant captain of a distinguished Massachusetts regiment, murdered by the camp-fire on the ground of his own company, and almost certainly by one of his own bad men, who was never brought to justice.

The system of bounties would have been bad enough if it had stood alone, but it was coupled with another evil, — the constant formation of new organizations. It was natural that men should flock into them, for it meant for all a period of easy life so long as the formation was completing, while enlistment in a regiment or battery in the field meant a speedy plunge into the grim realities of war. It meant for the best men a vastly greater chance of promotion. Corporals and sergeants had all to be made, and a man who showed himself an efficient and serviceable sergeant in the home camp had a good chance of soon finding himself a lieutenant. But so it was; and by reason of this course of action at home our best regiments saw their numbers dwindling, and only feebly swelled from time to time by men generally of low quality, while up to the very end of the war they saw fine detachments of recruits arriving to enter the Western regiments, which came from States where a wiser policy prevailed.

It would not be easy, and it would be invidious, to attempt to range the Boston regiments on a scale of merit; and the little that may be said must be said with diffidence. The 1st and 2d Massachusetts cavalry regiments and some of the Boston batteries were probably as good as any cavalry of volunteer artillery in the service; and some of the Boston infantry regiments had certainly no superiors in our armies, whether regular or volunteer. The Second regiment had a peculiar origin and a grand history. It was raised by authority from the Secretary of War, and the appointment of officers was left to its projectors and organizers, — two graduates of West Point, who became its Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel, and Wilder Dwight, a young Boston lawyer of great promise, who was the life of the enterprise, and who became Major of the regiment. A very large sum of money was raised to facilitate the project. The very best young men of Boston and its vicinity sought and obtained commissions as line officers, while the

"To the men of Boston, who died for their country on land and sea in the war which kept the Union whole, destroyed Slavery, and maintained the Constitution, the grateful city has built this monument, that their example may speak to coming generations." The city printed an *Army and Navy Monument Memorial* the same year, including photographs of the monument, its sculptured figures and reliefs, and the chief address of the occasion, delivered by General Charles Devens. The monument is over seventy feet high, and the figure on the top eleven feet. It cost $75,000. There are other monuments erected in the same spirit in other parts of the city, — one at Charlestown, likewise the work of Milmore, costing $20,000, and dedicated in 1872, with an address (printed) by Richard Frothingham; one at Dorchester, after a design by B. F. Dwight, thirty-one feet high, dedicated Sept. 17, 1867; one in Forest Hills Cemetery in Roxbury, designed by Milmore, representing an infantry soldier, erected in 1867; one in Jamaica Plain, thirty-four feet high, designed by W. W. Lummis, and dedicated Sept. 14, 1871, with an address by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke; one in Evergreen Cemetery, Brighton, thirty feet high, dedicated July 26, 1866, with an address by the Rev. Frederic A. Whitney. It cost about $5,000. King's *Handbook of Boston*, pp. 83-90. — Ed.]

men were the cream of the volunteers of Massachusetts, the choice offering of the first fresh enthusiasm of the time. The discipline of the regiment was admirable. The fortune of war kept it long out of action, but in covering Banks's retreat in 1862 it so bore itself as to win the highest commendation from Southern officers. There is probably nowhere in print such a tribute to the gallantry of Northern soldiers from the Southern side as is to be found in Allan's *Valley Campaign*, where he tells how Andrews and the Second Massachusetts contested Jackson's advance near Winchester. So long as this regiment was in the army of the Potomac it bore itself gallantly, and distinguished itself particularly at Cedar Mountain and at Gettysburg. Afterward it was sent to the West, and was one of the few Eastern regiments which made the march to the sea with Sherman; and at Averysboro', at the very end of Sherman's campaign, and at the end of the war, it moved gallantly out with scant numbers to face the enemy; and one of its captains, leading forward his company, which the policy of Massachusetts had left of about the size of a corporal's guard, was shot dead just before the bugles sang truce.

The vigor and splendid gallantry of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts infantry at the assault on Fort Wagner proved to the world that the African race would make excellent soldiers when properly trained and led. Their Colonel and Lieut.-Colonel were Shaw and Hallowell, who came to these positions, the one from the Second and the other from the Twentieth Massachusetts infantry. The Second and the Twentieth, though they seldom served together, were always mutually attached, and emulous of each other. They had many points of similarity. They were officered from very much the same social class.

Of the early history of the Twentieth it is not well for the writer of this paper to speak;[1] but from the end of 1862 to the end of the war the discipline maintained in it was exact, like that of the Second, and both regiments showed many shining examples of brilliant bravery and tenacity.

At Fredericksburg the Twentieth crossed the river in boats under fire,

[1] [The Editor may venture to add that General Palfrey was commissioned Lieut.-Colonel of this regiment at its organization in 1861; that he served with it continuously on the Potomac (commanding it during the captivity of Colonel Lee, from Oct. 21, 1861, to May 1, 1862), before Yorktown, and in the whole Peninsular campaign; that the regiment bore a distinguished part in the battles of Fair Oaks, Savage's Station, and Glendale, in which last engagement it was directly commanded by its Lieut.-Colonel, Colonel Lee commanding the brigade; that Colonel Palfrey commanded the regiment during the stay at Harrison's Landing and the withdrawal from the Peninsula, and until the battle of the Antietam, where the regiment was in the hottest of the fight, and lost heavily in common with the rest of Sedgwick's Division, and where Colonel Palfrey was severely wounded. It is not too much to say, that the reputation of the Twentieth was established during this period, — a reputation for discipline, gallantry, and steadiness, which was accorded to it by common consent, and which it maintained throughout the war; and that in the formation of this reputation Colonel Palfrey ably seconded the efforts and example of the gallant officer in command of the regiment, Colonel William Raymond Lee, in whose stead he acted for over eight months of its first year of service. General Palfrey's wound, unfortunately for himself and for his command, proved so severe as to unfit him for further active service. — Ed.]

and cleared the main street leading from the river, losing thirty-five out of the sixty men of its leading company, and having ninety-seven officers and men killed and wounded in the space of about fifty yards. It made the forced march of over thirty miles to Gettysburg without having a single man straggle from the colors. It was part of the mass of men who hurried to the spot where Pickett's division had made a partial lodgment in our line on Cemetery Ridge; and when the fierce attack had failed, it was reduced to the complement of a company, — one hundred and two men, of whom three were officers. At Bristoe Station it took guns from A. P. Hill's corps. On a day of disaster before Petersburg, when the enemy had turned our left, and was rolling up our line and capturing regiment after regiment, it changed front under fire, stopped the enemy's advance, and saved the troops in the line to its right. It gave Putnam, Lowell, two Reveres, Abbott, Patten, Babo, Wesselhoeft, Ropes, Paine, and eight more officers, to the list of those who were killed in action or died of wounds received there. As the Second shared in the great review as a part of Sherman's army, so the Twentieth shared in it as a part of the army of the Potomac, with a record of some thirty battles.

Among the officers of the Boston regiments were Welles of the 1st, afterward killed while in command of the 35th Massachusetts, and Major Chandler, also of the 1st; Savage, Mudge, Dwight, Abbott, Cary, Robeson, Goodwin, Grafton, and Perkins of the 2d, who all were killed or died of wounds received in action; Gordon of the 2d, who became a Brigadier, and was brevetted Major-General; Colonel Cass of the 9th, Colonel Webster of the 12th, and Lieut.-Colonel Merriam of the 16th, all killed in action; Colonel Hinks of the 19th, who became a Brigadier and Brevet Major-General; Bartlett and Macy of the 20th, one of whom lost a leg and one a hand, and both of whom were brevetted Major-General; Colonel Stevenson of the 24th, who was killed near Spottsylvania as a Brigadier-General commanding a division; Colonel Prescott of the 32d, who died of wounds received in action; Underwood of the 2d and 33d, afterward a Brigadier and Brevet Major-General; Colonel Wilde of the 35th, promoted Brigadier-General, and Sidney Willard of the same regiment, killed at Fredericksburg; Colonel Griswold of the 56th, killed in the Wilderness; and the very gallant and accomplished Colonel Lowell of the 2d cavalry, killed in the Valley campaign of 1864.

No Boston man was made a Major-General in the War of Secession; but the same is true of the men of Massachusetts, if we except General Banks and General Butler, who did not rise by regular promotion to that grade, but reached it at a bound on the stroke of a pen at Washington. Several Boston men became Brigadiers, — as Cowdin, Gordon, Andrews, Hayes, Bartlett, Stevenson, Paine, Wilde, — and most of these received the brevet of Major-General. The brevet of Brigadier-General was given to many Colonels and Lieut.-Colonels who went from Boston. Disabling wounds or death fell to the lot of so many of the Boston officers,

by reason of the fact that the best young men of the period went into the infantry instead of seeking positions on the staff, or even in the artillery or the cavalry, that few of them lived or preserved their health long enough to rise high. It should never be forgotten that Boston gave freely of her very best to the infantry, which does the fighting and bears the losses. This means more than the general public is aware of. The 2d and 20th infantry, with their 5,997 men, had 308 killed in action; the 1st and 2d cavalry, with 5,608 men, had 111 killed. The 2d and 20th infantry lost thirty-four officers, of whom twenty were killed in action; the 1st and 2d cavalry, with their more numerous officers, lost seventeen, of whom nine were killed in action. The eight batteries which we have credited to Boston, with 2,631 men, had twenty-three killed in action, of whom three were officers. Combine and analyze the figures as one will, and it will appear to have been many times more dangerous to be in the Massachusetts infantry regiments than in the Massachusetts artillery, and nearly or quite twice as dangerous as to be in the Massachusetts cavalry. The staff, of course, was comparatively safe. Wherever our Boston regiments went, it was common for the officers to find their friends from New York serving not in the line, but upon the staff; and this was almost equally true as to Philadelphia.

The Boston men who filled the ranks of the regiments and batteries which have been named as coming more from Boston than from elsewhere, saw service almost everywhere. In all the campaigns and battles of the army of the Potomac, from the first Bull Run to Lee's surrender, many of them were present. At Fair Oaks and Glendale and Malvern Hill, at the second Bull Run, at the Antietam, at Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, at Gettysburg and Bristoe Station, in the Wilderness and at Spottsylvania, at Cold Harbor and before Petersburg, at Deep Bottom and Ream's Station and the Boydton Road, at Roanoke Island and Newbern and Olustee, from Lookout Mountain to Atlanta, from Atlanta to Savannah, and from Savannah through the Carolinas, — from the first clash of arms in the summer of 1861, to the firing of the last shot in the spring of 1865, the white flag with the arms of Massachusetts was to be seen; and wherever it waved, brave men from Boston fought and fell.

The militia of Massachusetts has been, ever since the end of the War of Secession, a favorite object for our legislators to try their plastic hands upon. In 1864 Colonel Henry Lee, who had served long and efficiently on the personal staff of the Governor of Massachusetts, printed a very elaborate pamphlet of one hundred and thirty pages,[1] in which he laid down what he considered to be the true basis for a satisfactory militia system; urging especially reduction in numbers, uniformity of organization, the furnishing by the General Government of arms and equipments, the framing of a code of tactics expressly for the militia, the creation of a general mili-

[1] Entitled, *The Militia of the United States: What it has been; What it should be.*

tia staff, and rudimentary instruction in tactics in every public school. Large use of his labors was made by the commission which had much to do with framing the existing militia law of Massachusetts.

The pressure of the war being removed, our legislators went busily to work on the militia. In thirteen years they established three systems, and filled more than one hundred and fifty pages of our statute book with provisions in regard to the militia. The law now in force was passed in 1878. It is the shortest and much the best of the three. It provides that, "to resist invasion, quell insurrection, and in the suppression of riots to aid civil officers in the execution of the laws of the Commonwealth, or in time of public danger, the volunteer militia shall first be ordered into service." The law provides for sixty companies of infantry, three companies of cavalry, three four-gun batteries, and two corps of cadets. The infantry companies are to consist of from forty-one to fifty-nine men, with a captain and two lieutenants; the cavalry companies of from fifty-six to seventy-seven men, and a captain and two lieutenants; the batteries of from fifty-seven to eighty-three men, with a captain and three lieutenants. These troops are assigned to two brigades, each of which is to contain six infantry regiments, each of two or three battalions, and each battalion to contain four companies. The number of enlisted men in the companies of cadets is not limited, and each may have a lieut.-colonel, major, staff, and not to exceed four captains, four first, and four second lieutenants. Original enlistment is for three years; afterward it may be for one, two, or three years, at the option of the individual. Nine years of continuous service exempts from jury duty for life.

The existing system is thought to have worked well. The present condition of the militia is good, and probably as good as it is likely to be. The men have enthusiasm, a good amount of pride, and of soldierly spirit. Relatively they are better than their officers; but the officers are improving under the established practice of requiring them to pass an examination before receiving promotion. The weakest part of the system is the want of control of the colonels, who, once commissioned, are not easy to remove, and of whom several are at the present time not up to the mark. A strong and independent adjutant-general is the only remedy for this; but it is hardly possible for an adjutant-general, whose tenure of office is what it is in Massachusetts, to reach this standard, though the present adjutant-general is well spoken of. It is desirable that the individual holding so important a position should have had experience of real service, or West-Point training, and important that he should not be given to red-tapism, and two rigid construction of the letter of the law and regulations. Our code of regulations is excellent. It is modelled largely upon the English code, and is likely to be followed, with such changes as their laws may make necessary, by New York and by Maine. Properly construed and applied, it will be most useful; but too rigid construction is undesirable, as it tends to discourage men who would make excellent officers from taking or holding com-

missions. The unnecessary multiplication of the clerical business of the officer is especially to be avoided. The ideal adjutant-general will take broad and not narrow views. What is best in our militia is due to the prevailing soldierly enthusiasm. There is next to no power anywhere to *force* militia-men in time of peace to be good soldiers; and this defect is one which appears to be irremovable.

Our infantry is well equipped and fairly well drilled, and is much the best of our militia, though one of our batteries is good. The cavalry is as good as militia cavalry anywhere; but from the nature of the case militia cavalry is practically valueless as cavalry. Both horses and men must be trained, and trained together, to make good cavalry. The medical department of our militia is the ablest branch of the service, and is positively excellent. The first corps of cadets has been for many years under the command of a rarely accomplished and indefatigable officer, and under his influence it has made remarkable progress in the direction of military efficiency, and is now the example which the rest of the militia strives to equal.

Whether our militia will ever improve, or even continue to be as good as it is now, will depend very much upon the degree to which the politicians will let it alone. The men are capable and willing, and to very many of the officers a commission means work, and not play or show; but there must not be frequent changes in high places, or appointments or changes for other than sound moral and military reasons, if the Massachusetts militia is to be an institution of value.

F. W. Palfrey

CHAPTER V.

THE NAVY, AND THE CHARLESTOWN NAVY YARD.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEO. HENRY PREBLE, U.S.N.

THE naval history of Boston for the last one hundred years is not replete with exciting incidents. It exhibits in the main the growth and development of a great naval establishment for the building and repair of the ships of the United States. Many ships of war which have since become historic have been launched, but no great naval battle has been fought within its harbor.[1]

In 1789 the ship "Massachusetts" was built at Germantown, — a large, double-headed promontory, jutting into Boston Bay, in the town of Quincy. The "Massachusetts" was the largest merchant vessel which at that time had been built on this continent, her keel being one hundred and sixteen feet in length. She was a frigate-built ship, of nearly one thousand tons burden, pierced for thirty-six guns, of a remarkably fine model, and constructed in the most thorough manner. People came from all parts of the country to witness her launch, and the day was one of jubilee and rejoicing.[2]

[1] The correspondence of the commandants of the Navy Yard with the Department and Bureau at Washington, since 1816, and the log-books or journals of the Yard at Charlestown index sufficiently the principal naval events of the one hundred years; and these, supplemented by the newspapers of the day, furnish ample material for a much more extended naval history of Boston than this chapter can afford. Under an order from the Navy Department, dated May 22, 1874, the writer of this chapter was detailed to special duty to write the histories of the Boston and Portsmouth Navy Yards. Having accomplished the duty, he reported his results to the Department; but the histories of those Yards remain on file, in MS., in the Bureau of Yards and Docks, at the Navy Department. [Admiral Preble has touched some parts of this subject already in his *Notes on Ship-Building in Massachusetts*, published in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*; nor is his elaborate *History of the Flag of the United States*, 2d ed., 1880, without interest in this connection. — ED.]

[2] Quincy, in his *Memoir of Major Samuel Shaw*, says: "On this interesting occasion the hills around Germantown and the boats which covered the harbor and river were filled with spectators from Boston and the neighboring country. Both the English and French naval commanders, at that time visiting Boston in national ships, expressed their admiration of the model of this vessel; and afterward it was pronounced by naval commanders at Batavia and Canton as perfect as the then state of art would permit." The French squadron referred to consisted of the "Patriot," 74, Admiral De Ponderez, and "Leopard," 74, commanded by Monsieur De la Galissonière. The "Patriot" a few months before had been distinguished by taking that unfortunate monarch, Louis XVI., when visiting Cherbourg, a few leagues into the Atlantic, and giving him a sight of that ocean. The "Leopard" was a splendid ship; and not far below the castle was anchored the "Penelope," 32, an English frigate, commanded by Captain John Linzee, one of the squadron of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Hughes

The "Massachusetts" was built under the direction of Major Shaw, for an East India trader; and with Captain Job Prince as commander, and a crew of seventy-five officers and men, with twenty guns mounted, she proceeded on a voyage to Batavia and Canton, where she arrived without accident, notwithstanding the prediction of Moll Pitcher, the famous fortune-teller of Lynn, that the ship would be lost on the voyage and all hands perish. She made the passage to Batavia in one hundred and fifty-eight days, and was sold at Canton, to the Danish East India Company, for $65,000.

Edmund Hart's ship-yard will be ever famous as the place where the U. S. frigate "Constitution" was built. Before the establishment of government dockyards, private yards were used for building our national vessels; and Hart's for a long time went by the name of "Hart's Naval Yard."[1]

The depredations of Algerine corsairs upon our mercantile marine induced Congress to authorize the purchase or building of four ships, to carry forty-four guns each, and two to carry thirty-six guns. Their act was approved by the President, March 27, 1794, and the keel of the "Constitution" was laid by Mr. Hart the November following, and preparations made for setting up her frames. The first official mention of her by name is in a report from a committee on the state of naval equipments, etc., to the United States House of Representatives, dated Jan. 25, 1797, which says: "The frigate building at Boston, called the 'Constitution,' is in such a state of forwardness that it is supposed she can be launched in July."

The "Constitution" was designed by Joshua Humphreys, of Philadelphia, and constructed under the superintendence of Colonel George Claghorne, of New Bedford. Captains Barry, Dale, and Truxton, of the navy, agreed upon her dimensions, with Mr. Humphreys, who prepared the drafts, moulds, and building instructions. It was decided that the frame should be of live-oak and red cedar, the keel, keelson beams, and planking, etc., of the best white oak, decks of the best Carolina pitch-pine, but under the guns to be of oak. John T. Morgan, a master-shipwright of Boston, was sent to Savannah and Charleston to procure the live-oak, red cedar, and pitch-pine for all the frigates. The original draft of the "Constitution" was changed at the suggestion of Colonel Claghorne, to whom her construction was confided. A portion of the timber used was taken from the woods of Allentown, on the borders of the Merrimac, fifty miles from the ship-yard.[2]

[1] On the map of 1722 the yard is designated as "Thornton's," and the site is now covered by Constitution Wharf, — so named because the frigate "Constitution" was built there. The frigates "Constitution" and "Boston," and the brig "Argus" were all built in Hart's Yard. For Hart and his yard, see Drake's *Landmarks*, 181.

[2] Paul Revere furnished the copper bolts and spikes, drawn from malleable copper, by a process then new; and Ephraim Thayer, who had a shop at the South End, made her gun-carriages. Isaac Harris, who worked as an apprentice in the mast yard in 1797, put new masts into the frigate during the war of 1812. To him is conceded, in this country, the honor of first making ships' masts in sections, and he constructed the first masting sheers used at the Charlestown Navy Yard. The anchors were made in Hanover, Plymouth County, Massachusetts, and her sails in the Old Granary building, at the corner of Park and Tremont streets. No other building in Boston

Her first battery — that which she carried throughout the war of 1812, and long after — bore the monogram "G.R.," showing its English origin.

Mr. Hartley, of Boston, was appointed to assist Colonel Claghorne, and Captain Samuel Nicholson, of the navy, exercised a general supervision, aided by General Henry Jackson and Major Gibbs, of Boston, Edmund Hart being the master-carpenter. At last, Sept. 20, 1797, was announced as the day for her launch. Commodore Nicholson left the yard to get his breakfast, with express orders not to hoist any flag over her till his return, designing that honor for his own hands; but during his absence Samuel Bentley, a shipwright and calker, assisted by a comrade named Harris, hoisted the Stars and Stripes, which thus for the first time floated over this historic ship. The Commodore, on his return, expressed himself in words more strong than polite at this disobedience of his orders. People poured into the town from all quarters to witness the launch, and several hundred went over to Noddle's Island to get a better view. The day was pleasant though cold, and the neighboring wharves were crowded with spectators, who were warned that the passage of so large a vessel into the water would create a swell which might endanger their safety. At high water, just twenty minutes after eleven, the signal was given, but the ship would not start until screws and other machinery had been applied, and then she moved only about twenty-seven feet. Mr. Claghorne wrote the Secretary of War: "Concluding some hidden cause had impeded her progress, and the tide ebbing fast, I decided it to be most prudent to block and shore her up, and examine carefully into the cause of the stopping; and found that the ways had settled about an inch, which, added to some other cause of no great importance, had occasioned the obstruction." Her colors were then hauled down, and the multitude dispersed, disappointed and anxious.

The next day the ship was raised two inches by means of wedges; her bilge-ways were then taken out, and apparent defects remedied. Everything being in order, another attempt was made on the 22d, when she moved about thirty-one feet, and then stopped, as though still reluctant to enter her destined element. On examination it was found that the ways erected on the new wharf (which had only been built for her to pass over, and not to rest upon) had settled one and five-eighths of an inch, which the incline of the ways was insufficient to overcome. The vessel might have been forced off, but the constructor decided not to attempt so hazardous a measure. Colonel Claghorne says in his report:

"I had formed the inclined plane upon the smallest angle that I conceived would convey the ship into the water, in order that she might make her plunge with the least violence, and thereby prevent any strain or injury. I must now give the ways more descent, which will remedy the defect occasioned by the settling of the new wharf;

was large enough. The duck for the sails was made by an incorporated company in Boston, in their factory on the corner of Tremont and Boylston streets.

and I am fully confident that the next trial, at high tide, in October, will be attended with success. In the mean time I shall proceed in completing the ship on the stocks."

Saturday, Oct. 21, 1797, — which was noted as the anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America, — a third attempt to launch the ship was made, and proved successful. The day was overcast and cold, with an easterly wind, so but few people assembled.[1] A few specially-invited dignitaries gathered within the narrow limits of the yard; a smaller number, with some ladies, were on her deck. At half-past twelve, all being ready, the commodore stood at the heel of the bowsprit with a bottle of choice Madeira, from the cellar of the Hon. Thomas Russell; at a given signal, the ship slid along the ways and glided into and rested gracefully upon the water, amid a chorus of cheers. As she did so, the commodore broke the bottle over her bow, according to time-honored usage, and baptized her as the good ship "Constitution." She cost, when ready for sea, $302,718.84. She first moved under canvas July 20, 1798, and proceeded to sea on her first cruise, under the command of Commodore Samuel Nicholson, August 13 of the same year.[2]

The frigate "Boston" (the second of that name), of seven hundred tons, was the next ship of war built in Hart's yard. Her rate was to have been a thirty-six, but she only mounted twenty-eight guns. She was designed by Mr. Hart, and built under his superintendence.

The annoyance to which the commerce of our country had been subjected by British and French ships of war, — the former claiming the right of search for British subjects, and the latter capturing our vessels under the pretence that they were carrying contraband goods, — aroused the indignation of the people. To aid in measures of defence, the ladies of Charleston, S. C., built the "John Adams," and tendered her to the Government; the inhabitants of Newburyport and its neighborhood built and presented the "Merrimac;" and the merchants of Salem built and presented the frigate "Essex," the first ship of war of the United States to double both the Capes of Good Hope and Horn. The merchants of Boston, not to be outdone in patriotism, built the frigate "Boston." There were one hundred and four subscribers, whose subscriptions varied from $500 to $10,000. The amount subscribed was $136,500, and the cost of the frigate reached $137,900.[3]

[1] Among the shivering boys who witnessed the launch was the late George Ticknor; who told me that, though cautioned beforehand, he was nearly swept from off the wharf on which he stood by the wave raised by the vessel as she made her plunge into the water.

[2] The history of the "Constitution" has been several times written; once by Cooper, in *Putnam's Magazine*, June, 1853, i. 477, 593; again by J. E. Dow, who was Commodore Elliot's secretary when she was his flag-ship in the Mediterranean. This last was printed in the *Democratic Review*.

[3] The *Columbian Centinel* of June 27, 1798, contains the following notice of the first step in the project: —

"*Notice.* — A subscription will be opened this day for the raising of a fund to purchase or build one or more ships of war, to be loaned to this Government for the service of the United States. Those who would wish to join in this testimonial of public spirit are requested to meet in the chamber over Taylor's Insurance Office, at 1 o'clock precisely, to affix their signatures and make the necessary arrangements."

The next issue of the paper, June 30, 1798, has the following announcement: —

In April, 1799, President Adams appointed Captain George Little to be her commander; and the work having been carried on with great rapidity, the "Boston" was launched, in the presence of President Adams, May 20.[1]

Captain Little gave notice July 9, in the newspapers, that "having received sailing orders for the United States frigate 'Boston,' all officers and men belonging to her are ordered to repair on board immediately." July 25, the frigate sailed on a cruise, and the *Centinel* declared her "one of the handsomest-modelled ships in the world." Her subsequent captures of "Le Berceau" and several French privateers are a part of our naval annals. In 1812 the "Boston" was reported unworthy of repair; and in 1814, when the British were advancing on Washington, she was burned, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy.

The first legislation looking to the establishment of a government dock-yard is found in a resolve reported from the Naval Committee of the House of Representatives, Jan. 25, 1797, recommending an appropriation for that purpose. The following spring a Navy Department was established; and April 25, 1800, we find the Hon. Benjamin Stoddard, Secretary of the Navy, writing to the President: "At Boston, the old yard, besides being private

"THE NERVE. — In compliance with the advertisement in the last *Centinel*, a number of citizens of this metropolis met at Taylor's Insurance Office, for the purpose of opening a patriotic and voluntary subscription in aid of Government. Last evening the amount subscribed amounted to $115,250; and as the subscription still remains open, we have not the least doubt that Boston will outdo every city in the Union in Federal patriotism. We will not omit mentioning that the Hon. William Phillips added $10,000 to this free-will offering. God bless him for it!"

[Among the subscribers are the following: William Phillips, $10,000; David Sears, Stephen Higginson, Eben Parsons, John Codman, Joseph Coolidge & Son, Theodore Lyman, Boot and Pratt, Thomas Dickinson, $3,000 each; Samuel Parkman and Samuel Eliot, $4,000 each; Benjamin Joy, James and T. H. Perkins, Thomas Walley, John Parker, Stephen Higginson, Jr., Abiel Smith, Thomas C. Amory, $1,500 each; St. Andrew's Lodge, $1,000; Benjamin and Nathaniel Goddard, and Josiah Quincy, $500. — ED.]

Less than two months later, Aug. 22, 1798, the papers say: "The keel of a thirty-six gun frigate is now laying at Mr. Hart's navy yard."

[1] The *Columbian Centinel* of Wednesday, May 22, contains the following notice of the launch: —

"*More Wooden Walls.* — On Monday last, at noon, the frigate 'Boston,' of 32 guns, was launched from the Navy (Hart's) Yard, in this town, in the presence of THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, HIS HONOR THE LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR of Massachusetts, and an immense concourse of spectators.

"Her entrance into the bottom of the elements, the *rights* of which she is destined to ascertain and defend, was announced by a Federal discharge from Captain Gardner's artillery, by salutes from the shipping in the harbor, and by the loud and reiterated huzzas of the citizens. The launch was effected without the least accident or interruption, and complete harmony operated every movement. A more excellent piece of naval architecture cannot be produced in the United States. The dispatch used in her construction, the neatness of her workmanship, with the superior quality and durability of her materials, do honor to Captain Hart, the master-builder, to Captain Little, her commander, the superintending committee of subscribers, and to the mechanics of the town. She is about 800 tons, and has the figure of an aboriginal warrior for her head. The President of the United States was escorted to and from the Navy Yard by a committee of subscribers and a procession of civil and military officers, and was welcomed and addressed by the acclamations of all ranks of citizens, a full brass band of music in uniform, and discharges from Captain Gardner's artillery."

"The rigging and equipment of the Boston frigate," says the *Centinel* of May 29, "are progressing with patriotic celerity." June 9, the same paper says: "The Boston frigate is almost completed; she bids fair to do honor to her namesake." June 12: "The Boston frigate yesterday hauled off into the stream. The enlistment of her crew progresses rapidly."

property, and too confined to contain the timber of a 74-gun ship, is so much surrounded by wooden houses as to be thought too dangerous a situation for building a valuable ship, especially a ship that might remain long upon the stocks. At this place, or rather at Charlestown, there is a very proper situation for a building-yard; but the ground cannot be obtained for less than eighteen thousand dollars." The secretary recommended the purchase of land for a government dockyard at Boston, "notwithstanding the high price which must be paid for the grounds." Mr. Humphreys, the naval constructor, who was sent to the eastward to view the situations about Boston and Portsmouth, extended his examination of harbors as far as Portland and Wiscasset, and reported that "he could find nowhere within a convenient distance of Boston a situation so eligible in all respects as Charlestown." Boston, he thought, "from the natural strength of its situation, the great number of ship-carpenters in its vicinity, and of its seamen, must always remain a building-place, and a place of rendezvous for our navy of the first importance; while the rise of tide, eleven feet, would greatly lessen the expense of emptying a dock," etc. He adds: "The outer harbor of President and Nantasket roads affords a large and safe harbor for large fleets from the weather; and the inner harbor, safe from winds, freshets, and enemy, could be securely fortified at an easy expense." After an examination of Noddle's Island (East Boston), — concerning which Admiral Montague is said to have remarked, "God Almighty made Noddle's Island on purpose for a dockyard," — Mr. Humphreys concludes his report by recommending the purchase of twenty-three acres, at Charlestown, for $19,350.[1]

Negotiations for the purchase of land at Charlestown were continued through the agency of Dr. Aaron Putnam, but were not completed until October.

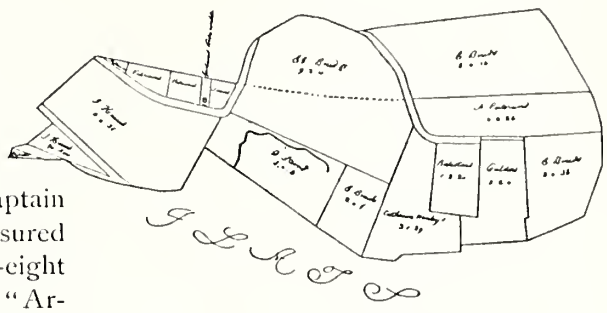
On March 13, 1801, the secretary enclosed to the Messrs. Higginson,[2] the navy agents in Boston, a letter from Captain Samuel Nicholson [3] of complaint against them, which they were desired to explain, which is the first

[1] It is curious to compare his estimate of the cost of the land, which is about $841 per acre, with its present value in the same neighborhood, which is $2 and $3 per square foot. Ultimately forty-three acres of land were bought at Charlestown, for dockyard purposes, for $39,214. There was no direct authority from Congress to purchase this or any other dockyard. They were all bought under the appropriation of $1,000,000 for the building of six 74-gun ships, etc. The executive was seriously censured by the opposition party for having made these purchases without express authority; but the wisdom of the measure was undoubted. On March 1, 1801, the sum of $500,000 was appropriated for expenses upon the six 74-gun ships, and "for *completing* navy yards." This was the first appropriation recognizing their existence, though prior to that date $199,030.92 had been expended in their purchase and improvement.

[2] On April 1, 1801, Samuel Brown, Esq., succeeded Messrs. Higginson & Co., as navy agent, and held the office for six years until he resigned, Aug. 15, 1807. It was a much more important office in those early days of the Navy than subsequently; and there were frequent conflicts of authority between the navy agent and commandant which had to be settled by higher authority.

[3] He was born in Maryland in 1743, and entered the naval service as a lieutenant during the Revolutionary war, and was promoted a captain, Sept. 17, 1779, in the Continental Navy; on the reorganization, June 10, 1794, he was commissioned a captain in the United States Navy, to rank next below Captain John Barry.

mention of his name in connection with the Yard at Charlestown, of which he was the first superintendent (as the title went) and remained the commandant until his death, Dec. 29, 1811. Meanwhile, and before the Yard was ready for occupancy, the Government had decided to build a brig at Boston, and her keel was laid in Mr. Hart's yard. The making of the contracts was assigned to Captain Edward Preble. She measured two hundred and ninety-eight tons, and was named the "Argus," carried sixteen guns, and cost $37,428. After being one of the most successful of our small cruisers, and noted for her achievements in the war against Tripoli, and in that of 1812, she was captured in the English Channel by H. B. M. brig "Pelican," on the 14th of August, 1813.



THE ORIGINAL PURCHASE.

We learn from the log-book[1] of the "Constitution," that "at 10 A. M., May 21, 1803, Commodore Preble came on board the ship, and as *commodore* took charge of her, lying at her moorings off the Navy Yard where she had been, being in ordinary, ten months and fourteen days." In making ready for the cruise which was to take him to Tripoli, the ship was re-coppered. The log-book on the 26th of June records: "The carpenters gave nine cheers, which were answered by the seamen and calkers, because they had in fourteen days completed coppering the ship with copper *made in the States*."[2]

In August the "Constitution" sailed for the Mediterranean, where she earned for herself the well known sobriquet of "Old Ironsides."

In 1807 Samuel Brown resigned the position of Navy Agent, which was esteemed at that time more important than the office of Superintendent or Commandant of the Navy Yard, and Francis Johonnot, Esq., was appointed to succeed him; and on July 23, 1808, the secretary directs the latter "not to allow or pay for any repairs to the house occupied by the commandant, other than those previously authorized by the department." This is the first mention made of the commandant's house in the official records, which substantially as it now stands had been one of the earliest improvements of the yard.[3]

[1] A copy of which is preserved in the Library and Institute at the Navy Yard.

[2] The copper was in fact made by Paul Revere, as a correspondence on file in the Navy Department shows. In the recent celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Boston, the very blocks used to heave out the "Constitution" on this occasion were carried in the procession.

[3] [A view of this house from the yard, taken about 1826 and showing the hills behind and the Mystic, is given in Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 27, in which book chapter ii. is given to "An Hour in the Government Dock Yard." — Ed.] This engraving is from a painting by Mrs. Armstrong, wife of the late Commodore Armstrong, which is now in the Naval Library and Institute.

The year 1811 closed with the death of Commodore Samuel Nicholson,[1] the first commandant of the station, who died on the 29th of December, and was buried from the commandant's house, Jan. 2, 1812, with the accustomed honors, in the presence of the officers of the Army and Navy stationed or living in the vicinity, the Massachusetts Society of the Cincinnati, of which he was a member, the officers and members of King Solomon's Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, and of the several lodges in Boston in full regalia. At the time of his death he was sixty-nine years of age; he was buried under Christ Church in Boston. During his administration the appropriations had been scanty, and only such improvements undertaken as were essential. The shot and timber stored in Boston had been removed to the Yard. The commandant's house, a brick store-house,[2] marine barracks, a hospital and powder magazine, the latter occupied jointly by the war and navy department, and a wharf with a few temporary sheds were all the improvements that had been accomplished. In fact the annual expenditures for improvements for *all* the yards which had been purchased from 1802 to 1811 only averaged about $40,000.

No one seems to have been ordered to fill the vacancy in the office of commandant until March, 1812, when Commodore William Bainbridge was ordered here. He had been in Russia, engaged in mercantile speculations; but, hearing rumors of a probable war with Great Britain, hastened home, and arriving in Boston in February proceeded at once to Washington, where he reported himself for service, and was in a few weeks ordered to the command of the Boston Navy Yard. At that time the Yard possessed hardly a convenience for building or repairing vessels, or laying them up in ordinary. This was a state of things which the active mind of Bainbridge used every means in his power to remedy. He proceeded at once to examine and survey the harbor and its channels, and made frequent communications to the Government, in which he detailed the security which our commerce would receive from an extensive establishment at Charlestown. Among his reasons for such an establishment, he states that the distance of the Yard from the sea precluded the possibility of surprise, and the channel commanded by Forts Independence and Warren rendered it impossible for any armament then known to advance within gunshot of the Yard without being demolished; also that the harbor was never closed, and being seldom obstructed by ice could be safely navigated at all times, and could not be effectually blockaded. This last opinion of the commodore was abundantly proved during the war of 1812–14, as throughout it national and merchant vessels proceeded to sea whenever convenient to them, without incurring any very great risk. The President was opposed at first to the commodore's views, but such was Bainbridge's zeal and perseverance that the President at last reluctantly authorized a limited appropriation for the Yard. Previous to

[1] Two brothers, James and John, were distinguished commanders in the Continental Navy.

[2] This building is still standing at the entrance of the Yard; and the second story is mainly occupied by the Museum and Library of the Naval Library and Institute, organized in 1843 [and largely encouraged by the writer of this chapter. — Ed.]

the commodore's appointment on Jan. 23, 1812, the Navy Agent, Johonnot, had been removed because of "personal afflictions which rendered him inca-

COMMODORE HULL.[1]

pable of performing his active duties," and Amos Binney was commissioned to the office, which he continued to fill for fourteen years, or until 1826.[2]

When war was declared with Great Britain, Commodore Murray was

[1] [This cut follows a portrait painted in 1813 or 1814, by Stuart, belonging to the family, and now in the Boston Art Museum. Hull dated his despatch announcing his victory over the "Guerrière," "Off Boston Light;" and as his ship came up the harbor she was greeted with acclamations from a flotilla of gaily decorated vessels. An artillery company gave him a national salute as he landed, and a procession conducted him to his lodgings; and at a public banquet, when nearly six hundred sat down, a stirring ode was sung, which had been written by Lucius Manlius Sargent. — ED.]

[2] On April 28, 1812, Paul Hamilton, Secretary of the Navy, addressed Commodore Bainbridge for the first time as "Commandant," — a title ever since retained for the commanding officer of our Navy Yards, whatever his naval rank and title. [See General Palfrey's chapter in the present volume. — ED.]

at the head of the Navy, but too old and infirm for active service. Commodore John Rodgers stood next on the list. James Barron came third, but he was abroad; and Bainbridge was the fourth. This entitled the last to a command afloat, which he hastened to claim. The three best frigates had gone to sea in quest of the enemy, but he was at once ordered to the "Constellation," 38, fitting at Norfolk, Virginia; and on the 15th of July Captain C. R. Perry was temporarily appointed superintendent of the Yard, until Commodore Bainbridge should return to the station, or some other officer be appointed. Two days later, Lieutenant Stephen Cassin opened a rendezvous in Boston to recruit able seamen for the "Constellation;" and on the 28th Captain Perry was relieved by Captain Gordon. On the 9th of August, only twenty-one days after his detachment, Bainbridge was ordered "to proceed to Boston and resume command of the Navy Yard and the gunboats at that place, and at Kennebunk, Saco, and Portland, until the 'Constellation' is prepared for service."

On the 28th of July the frigate "Constitution," Captain Isaac Hull, arrived at Boston after her escape[1] from the British squadron under Commo-

[1] [This famous escape, by which Hull gained so much credit, and which he shared with Lieutenant Morris, is minutely described in Captain George Coggeshall's *American Privateers*, p. 10; and on p. 25 will be found an account of the "Constitution's" action with the "Guerrière." It is of course enlarged upon by the usual authorities, — Cooper's *Naval History*, on the American side, and James's *Naval History of Great Britain*, on the enemy's side. The latter's reputation for candor, however, is not good. In *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, November and December, 1880, there are articles by Captain Bedford Pim, R. N., and Sir E. J. Reed, K. C. B., on "The Naval War of 1812 with the United States." Of the privateer and letter of marque service of the war, Coggeshall, who himself commanded two such craft, gives the fullest account, published (1856) indeed over forty years after the war had closed, and he claims to give the names of all or nearly all such vessels. The book is not very readable, being mostly such an enumeration. He chronicles two hundred and fifty vessels sent out to capture British merchantmen, and to have a brush as they could with the British cruisers. Of this number, Baltimore sent out fifty-eight; New York, fifty-five; Salem, forty; and Boston standing fourth on the list, thirty-one, whose names, as Coggeshall gives them, are: "Abaellino," "Argus," "Avon," "Blakely," "Brutus," "Catharine," "Champlain," "Charles Morris," "Charles Stewart," "Curlew," "Dromo," "Fame," "George Little," "Gossamer," "Hunter," "Hyder Ali," "Ida," "Ino," "Jacob Jones," "Joel Barlow," "Leo," "Macdonough," "Macedonian," "Rambler," "Ranger," "Rapid," "Reindeer," "Sine qua-non," "Sphinx," "Volant," "Wily Reynard." A condensed account of this service is given in Lossing's *Field Book of the War of 1812*, but Boston hardly appears in it. — Ed.] Oct. 13, 1812, — the Privateer Schooner "Fame," which had seen service as a privateer during the Revolutionary War, returned from a cruise of fifteen days, having captured two schooners. The "Hyder Ali," of Boston, Captain Thorndike, was captured in the East Indies by the British Frigate "Owen Glendower," after having taken nine prizes, all of which, however, were recaptured. One of the most famous privateers of the war, the "True Blooded Yankee," was owned by Mr. Henry, a brother of Commodore Edward Preble, and was commissioned from Boston under the American flag, though fitted out and sailing from French ports, her owner being temporarily a resident of France. She was commanded first by Captain Hailey, and subsequently by Thomas Oxnard, a nephew of her owner. She cruised a greater part of the war in the British and Irish channels, making many rich prizes which were generally sent into French ports, though a few were sent to the United States. One ship sent into Brest, was said to be worth $500,000; one laden with dry goods and Irish linens was ordered to the United States, and the ship "Industry" was sent to Bergen, in Norway, and there sold.

When the "True Blooded Yankee" arrived in France from one of her cruises, she was laden with the following spoils: 18 bales of Turkey carpets, 43 bales of raw silk weighing 12,000 pounds, 20 boxes of gums, 46 packs of the best skins, 24 packs of beaver skins, 160 dozen of swans' skins, 190 hides, copper, etc. In 1813, during a cruise of thirty-seven days, she captured

dore Broke, and sailing again on the 2d of August she returned on the 30th, having in her cruise of less than a month captured four brigs, mounting thirty guns, and H. B. M. frigate "Guerrière," of forty-nine guns.

On the 1st of September a rendezvous was opened to ship a crew for the frigate "Chesapeake," Captain Evans, — which ship sailed from Boston on the 13th of December. The frigates "United States" and "President" also sailed on the 8th of October, the latter returning to Boston on the 31st of December.

From a detailed report made by Commodore Bainbridge, it appears that the expenditures for accommodations, repairs of buildings, etc., for the years 1811–1812 only amounted to $5,752.43; but during the first year of the war nearly $250,000 were expended principally for the repairs of vessels.[1]

About this time Captain Isaac Hull, having obtained his meed of glory and desiring to attend to his private affairs, was relieved of the command of the "Constitution;" and Captain William Bainbridge at his own request was transferred to the command of that frigate.[2] A small squadron, consisting of the "Constitution," "Essex," and "Hornet," was placed under the command of Bainbridge, and Sept. 15, 1812, he hoisted his broad pennant as Commodore on board the "Constitution" at Boston, and sailed thence on the 26th of October, in company with the "Hornet."[3] The "Constitution" on this cruise captured H. B. M. frigate "Java," and returned to Boston on the 27th of February, after an absence of only four months. Bainbridge landed the next morning on the end of Long Wharf, and amidst the roaring of cannon was received by the officers and citizens of distinction, and escorted up

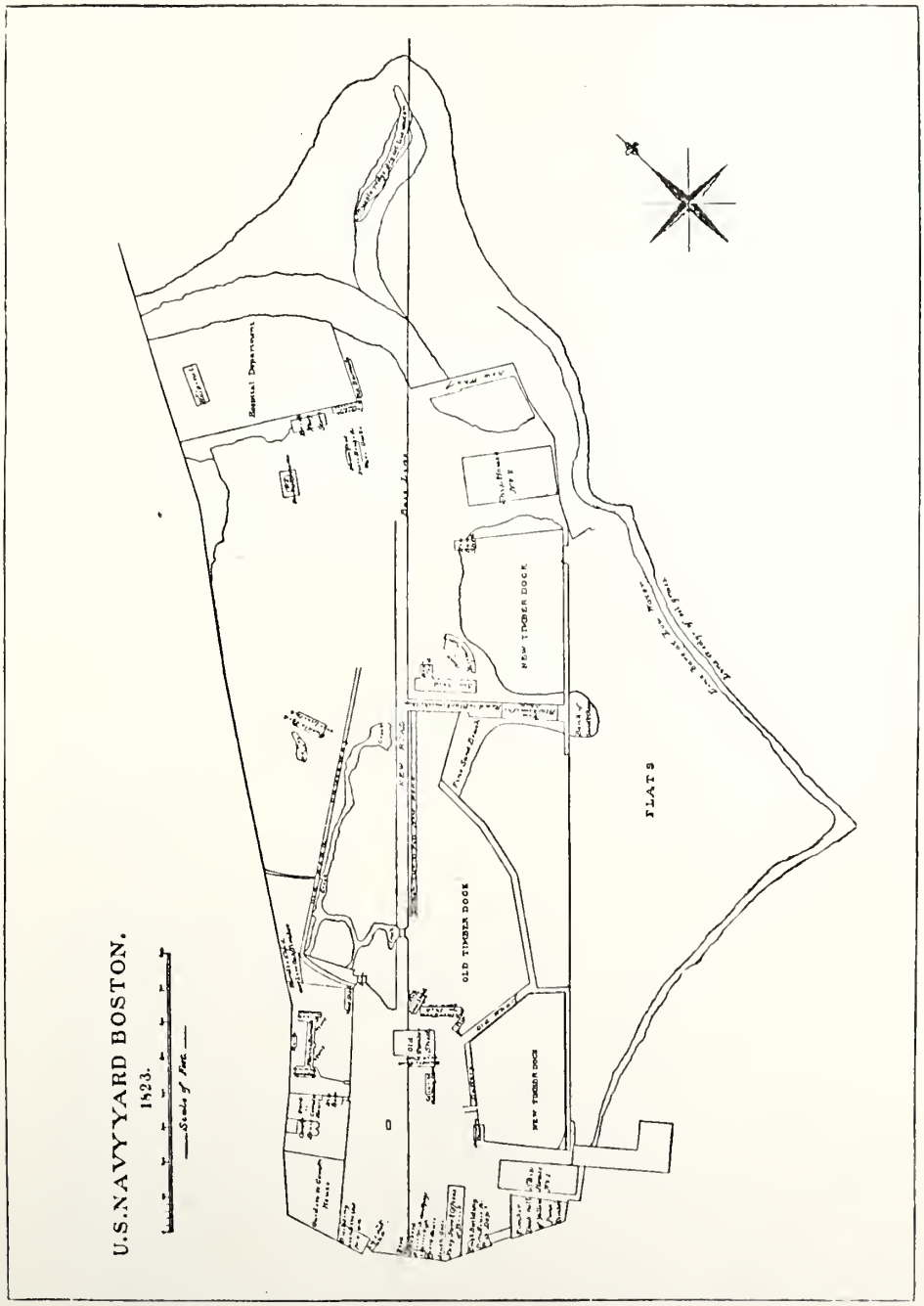
twenty-seven vessels and made two hundred and seventy prisoners; and also took possession of an island on the coast of Ireland, and held it six days. She also took a town in Scotland, and burned seven vessels in the harbor. In 1814 she cruised in the British Channel in company with the privateer "Bunker Hill," of fourteen guns and one hundred and forty men, with orders to divest her prizes of their valuable articles and then to sink them and destroy them, but not to send them into port. Such was the terror she inspired, that it is said a reward was offered for her capture and that of her captain dead or alive. Captain Thomas Oxnard settled in France after the war, having married a French lady, and died at Marseilles, June 14, 1840; on his death-bed he requested that his body should be shrouded in the American Flag.

[1] The following vessels of war were repaired at the Yard at the following costs: "John Adams," $33,579.33; "Chesapeake," $105,991.07; "Constitution," $46,638.46; "President," $14,928.04; "United States," $21,589.85; "Congress," $5,681.51; "Hornet," $5,430.73; "Nautilus," $400.84; "Argus," $9,052.94; Four gunboats, etc., $1,932.31, — total, $245,225.13. These repairs were done at daily wages, at the following rates: master carpenter from $3.50 to $4.00 a day; sawyers at $1.50 a day; joiners at $1.25 a day; laborers at $1.00 a day. The working hours were from sunrise to sunset.

[2] The secretary, September 8, wrote to Bainbridge: "Captain Hull having asked to be relieved of the command of the 'Constitution,' you will immediately take command of that frigate and prepare her for service. Until your return to the yard, Captain Hull will relieve you in the command. Should this command be inconvenient to Captain Hull, you will appoint Mr. Morris [Lieutenant, afterwards Commodore Charles Morris, the greatest man our navy has yet produced] to that station." Mr. Morris had been the first lieutenant of Hull on the recent cruise of the "Constitution." [An autobiography of Morris, with a photograph of a portrait of him by Ary Scheffer, is given in No. 12 of the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings*. — Ed.] It has also been reprinted in a separate pamphlet. Mr. Corcoran is now having an extensive biography of the Commodore, his father-in-law, prepared.

[3] The "Essex" sailed from the Delaware to join him at sea, but never did; her subsequent adventurous career and honorable capture in the Pacific it is unnecessary to repeat here.

State Street by the New England Guards to the Exchange Coffee-house, greeted all along the route with loud huzzas. The streets through which he



passed and the merchant ships in the harbor were decorated with flags, and a public dinner was given to him on the 2d of March by the citizens.

Before Commodore Bainbridge's return Congress had authorized the building of three line-of-battle ships. One of these was to be laid down at the Boston Yard, and he was ordered to superintend its construction. Having, like his compeer Hull, obtained his victory, Bainbridge resigned the command of the "Constitution," March, 1813, and resumed charge of the Navy Yard and the Eastern naval station, which included at that time all the floating force in Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine. On the 25th of February preceding, the secretary had informed Captain Hull that his command extended to every gunboat eastward of Boston, and to all the floating force attached to Portsmouth and Portland, but that the Navy Yard at Portsmouth was in charge of the Navy Agent there.

Early in 1813 preparation was made at the Yard, under a contract with the Harts, father and son, to build a seventy-four. Her frame had been moulded in 1798–1800, in conformity with a draft then made. Commodore Bainbridge had suggested improvements in her form and dimensions which were found under the circumstances impracticable. The result was as he predicted; she was found when launched to carry her lower deck ports too low, and was finally razeed into one of the finest sailing frigates ever produced in our own or any other service. Her keel was laid Aug. 18, 1813, and work was pushed on her so that she was ready for launching the following June.

The *Columbian Centinel* of the 18th of June, 1814, says: —

"The 'Independence' of seventy-four guns will be launched this day from the Navy Yard in Charlestown. Those who wish to see the launch will do well to be in the vicinity by half-past eleven o'clock to avoid disappointment. We have no doubt of the strength of Charlestown bridge; but prudence requires that the numbers admitted thereon should be limited if possible. It is recommended that the eastern side be appropriated to the ladies. We think the view from Copp's Hill will be the best."

The launch, however, was not successful on that day, for the *Centinel* announces that owing to the accidental removal of the tallow from a part of the ways the ship was only advanced about seventy-six feet. An attempt to launch her the following day by mechanical power also failed; and her ways had to be relaid. At last, on the 22d, at three o'clock P.M., she moved grandly off, and was welcomed by a Federal salute from the frigate "Constitution" and the acclamations of many thousands of spectators. The salute was returned by the Navy-Yard battery, and subsequently the workmen employed in her construction "were sumptuously entertained in the rigging-loft, and spent the day in hilarity." An officer of the "Constitution," whose name is not given, had the honor of christening this the first line-of-battle ship added to our navy.[1]

[1] The good old ship still exists, though no more fit for the sea; and after a variety of active service has long been the receiving-ship at the Mare Island Navy Yard, California. The "Independence" was not the first vessel of war launched from the Boston Yard, the sloop-of-war "Frolic" having been launched on Sept. 11 preceding. The "Frolic" sailed from Boston Feb 18, 1814, commanded by Master Commandant Joseph Bainbridge (a brother of the com-

In a letter to the secretary, dated Aug. 21, 1813, Commodore Bainbridge proposed to construct houses over the ships then building at Charlestown and Portsmouth. The men thus protected he thought would work with more celerity, neatness, and efficiency, and the vessels might remain on the stocks until required without suffering material deterioration, — an opinion which has been supported by the results.[1] The advantages were made so apparent to the secretary, that on the 26th he authorized the erection of ship-houses (as they are called) not only at Portsmouth and Boston, but at all the navy yards in the United States. Sir Robert Seppings, the distinguished British naval architect, learned from this experiment the great advantage of such structures, and at his suggestion the Board of Admiralty directed similar buildings to be erected in the principal dock-yards of the United Kingdom.

The "Chesapeake" having returned to Boston April 9, 1813, Captain Evans was soon after relieved by Captain James Lawrence, who, having recruited her crew and refitted her, sailed from President Roads on June 1, and was captured the same day in sight of the port by H. B. M. ship "Shannon," which she had gone out to encounter.[2]

When the "Constitution" had returned from the cruise in which she captured the "Java," Captain Charles Stewart relieved Bainbridge, who then resumed command of the Yard. The ship having been thoroughly repaired, the Department on September 19 wrote to hurry her departure; she did not, however, get to sea until December 30, when she ran the

modore); and after making one or two prizes was herself captured by H. B. M. frigate "Orpheus" and schooner "Shelbourne," April 20, 1814, after a chase of sixty hours.

[1] The house from which the "Independence" was launched — the first of the kind ever erected — is marked No. 1 on the plan of 1823. The "Vermont" (74) was built in it, and launched from under it in 1848, after which it was pulled down, and a portion of its material used in the construction of additions to the officers' houses in the northeastern extremity of the yard. There is now a smaller house erected over the same ways from which in 1874 the iron torpedo-boat "Intrepid," the first vessel of the kind added to our navy, was launched.

[2] The inhabitants of Boston watched the battle with intense and anxious interest from the house-tops and adjoining eminences; they could see the smoke and hear the distant cannonade. Some of the citizens who went outside the harbor hurried back sadly when they saw the result. It was the last, as it was the only, sound of hostile cannon heard in Boston for the last hundred years. This is not the place, nor is there room, to describe the action in full, which the writer has narrated elsewhere. [See *The United Service*, October, 1879, for "The Chesapeake and Shannon," by G. H. Preble. Fac-similes from Lawrence's last letter written just before leaving port, and from the British Captain Broke's challenge (which did not reach Boston by way of Salem till after the "Chesapeake" had gone out to sea) are given in Lossing's account of the action in his *Field-book of the War of* 1812, p. 702. A memoir of Lawrence was written at the time by Washington Irving in the *Analectic Magazine*, then edited by him, and it is now included in his *Spanish Papers, etc.*, ii. 37; Irving had the advantage of a conference with an officer of the "Chesapeake" who survived the fight. See also *Harper's Monthly*, xxiv. A portrait of Captain Lawrence in uniform, by Stuart, is owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. William Redmond, Newport, R. I. Mason's *Stuart*, p. 212. — ED.] By the loss of the "Chesapeake" our naval signals fell into the hands of the enemy, which rendered a new code necessary; and Commodores Bainbridge, Decatur, and Hull were appointed to perform that duty. His associates being otherwise occupied on important duties, Commodore Bainbridge prepared and transmitted the new code, which was approved and adopted by the Department. He also, with Commodore Hull, about the same time prepared rules and regulations for the government of officers in repairing and equipping the vessels of the navy.

blockade of seven of the enemy's ships. After a short cruise, in which she captured the schooner "Pictou" of fourteen guns and three merchant vessels, she was finally chased into Marblehead.[1]

Rumors and reports of large ships of war having been seen off the coast kept the town in a continual state of ferment. Captain Sullivan, of the New England Guards, presented a statement of the defenceless condition of the harbor to the selectmen, which caused them to announce that a committee of the board would attend every day at 11 o'clock A.M. at Faneuil Hall to receive communications and suggestions. The Adjutant-General of the Commonwealth also gave notice that in case of an attack during the day two guns would be fired rapidly, and a red flag hoisted in the Navy Yard; and if at night, three guns would be fired, two lanterns hoisted at the Navy Yard, and the church bells tolled for half an hour.[2] The Navy Yard was so defenceless that little resistance could have been offered, and fears were expressed for the "Independence," then ready to be launched; and in June, when the enemy appeared in force off the harbor, Commodore Bainbridge entered into correspondence with General John Brooks, the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts, suggesting measures for its defence. In consequence of which the following General Order was issued: —

"Headquarters, *Boston*, June 13, 1814.

"Commodore Bainbridge having solicited the services of the Company of New-England Guards, commanded by Captain George Sullivan, for the defence of the Navy Yard in Charlestown, and that corps having voluntarily expressed their ready disposition to meet the wishes of the Commodore, the Commander-in-Chief consents to the arrangement, and orders Captain Sullivan to march without delay to that post, where he will continue his command until further orders; or otherwise until the object for which the services were requested is accomplished.

"By his Excellency's command,

"J. Brooks, *Adjutant-General.*"

In response to this order, on the afternoon of the 13th the Guards assembled to the number of sixty-one, and with their six-pounders and baggage encamped in the evening on the eminence above the magazine. Two eighteen-pounders and the company's six-pounders were planted to com-

[1] On April 3, when the news came from the commandant of the Navy Yard that the "Constitution" was threatened by three frigates of the enemy, the New-England Guards of Boston volunteered to march to her defence. Leaving their armory at 7 o'clock, P.M., they halted in front of the commandant's house, where they were informed by Commodore Bainbridge that he would proceed at 1 o'clock A.M. with heavy artillery, and requested them to go on in advance; they were, however, overtaken by his verbal order and directed to return, when, it having been ascertained that the "Constitution" was safe in Salem harbor, the company was dismissed, — not, however, before it was discovered that in their haste they had marched on *without a supply of ammunition*. One of the company was Abbott Lawrence, afterward our minister to England; and when the company was hastily summoned, Lawrence, unwilling to be left behind, started on the march in pump-soled shoes, which soon became so uncomfortable that when the company was halted on Chelsea Bridge he bartered them with a countryman for a thick pair of brogans, giving him five dollars additional in exchange.

[2] [A statement of the protective measures taken at this time is given in General Palfrey's chapter on "Boston Soldiery in War and Peace" in the present volume. — Ed.]

mand Chelsea Bridge, over which it was apprehended an attack might be made, and the camp of sixteen tents was fronted in the same direction. The next day was occupied in raising breastworks; sham-fights and drills followed for three days. A portion of each day was employed by them in raising an embankment, which was completed on Sunday, and named "The Guard's Fort." The Guards having assisted at the subsequent attempts to launch the seventy-four, they were dismissed by the Commodore the next day with his thanks for their services.[1]

No sooner was the "Independence" in the water, than Commodore Bainbridge hoisted his broad pennant on her, and guns were placed on board. She was then anchored in connection with the "Constitution" so as to rake the harbor and enfilade any squadron of boats which might attempt to carry the Navy Yard. Twenty-four cannon were mounted on three small batteries on the eastern embankment of the Navy Yard, and a line of palisades was stretched across the wharf. Some heavy cannon which commanded the entrance of the Yard were placed in the rear of them; guns were also placed so as to rake the entrance to the Mystic River.[2]

[1] [The New England Guards had been organized September, 1812, with Samuel Swett for Captain. *Proceedings at the Fiftieth Anniversary of the New England Guards*, Oct. 15, 1862. — Ed.]

[2] A committee from the governor and council waited upon the commodore and requested him to remove the "Independence" and "Constitution" below the fort; but he declined doing so, as the fort could not co-operate with them, and because in that position they would be subject to the same fire as the fleet of the enemy. The committee argued that the public ships being the exclusive object of attack, if they remained where he had placed them, would draw the fire of the enemy on the towns of Boston and Charlestown, and involve them in the ruin of the national property. Bainbridge replied with some warmth that Government had confided to him an important command, and no temporizing expedients would induce him to alter the system of defence which he had planned. He was asked, "Should the people of Boston decline all measures of defence in consequence of his refusing to move the ships to the places proposed, whether *that* would not induce him to yield?" He firmly replied, "No, nor any other consideration whatever. If," he added, "the people of Boston should refuse to defend their houses and property, they would have themselves alone to blame." The public property did not belong to any particular *administration*, but to the *nation*, and he regretted to observe that a very small proportion of the citizens should, in manifesting a hostility to the one, give evidence of a want of proper zeal in their duty to the other; he as an American would do all that was incumbent upon him as an officer of the United States. Bainbridge further informed the committee that he would defend his command to the last extremity, let the consequences be what they might. If the citizens chose to separate their interests from those of the nation, the consequences must fall where they were deserved; duty and honor dictated the course which he should pursue. Individual influence in vain was brought to bear upon him to induce him to change his plan of defence, and he continued to devote all his energies to the organization and proper disposition of his force.

It was proposed about this time to obstruct the entrances of the harbor by sinking ships, but this was strenuously objected to by Commodore Bainbridge; and his course in this was approved by the Secretary of the Navy, who, in a long letter dated July 16, 1814, says: "It is difficult to imagine a case so absurd as the right of a State, much less a corporate body, to block up a harbor of the United States in which their naval arsenals are established and their fleets prepared to seek the enemy." He adds in conclusion: "What you have proposed to the town of Boston as a substitute for the ruinous measure contemplated by its marine committee appears to me to be well adapted to the occasion, and fully adequate to the end. You will therefore persevere in temperate expostulation, and the President trusts the committee will ultimately see the superior advantages of your plan of defence, and the manifest objections to the course they propose to pursue." If they still persisted, the commodore was ordered to report the nature and extent of the projected obstructions, and the probable time of their being placed.

The danger evidently increasing towards autumn, Major-General Dearborn received instructions from the President for the defence of the north-eastern military district; and there ensued a conflict of authority between him and the State authorities as to his right to call out and command the militia as garrisons of the forts on the seaboard. The variance of opinion between the State and national executives tended greatly to increase the general alarm. Meetings were called all along the seaboard to recommend strong measures for the common defence. The citizens of Boston were called upon to assemble; and impressed by the eloquence of their chairman, the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis, they adopted without hesitation all the measures which had been suggested to him in a letter from Commodore Bainbridge, under date Sept. 3, 1811. The militia was called out, redoubts and breastworks were erected, and hulks were moored in the channel, prepared to be sunk. The British commanding officer, on learning of these preparations, and that the spirit of the people was aroused, wisely withdrew from his contemplated attack, and turned his course to the South.

Relieved from these apprehensions of attack, the commodore urged on the completion of the "Independence;" and on October 22 he wrote to the secretary unofficially: "I feel extremely anxious to get to sea this winter to establish the fact that we are able successfully to fight Great Britain in other classes of vessels than frigates and sloops of war. . . . It will take, comparatively speaking, but a small sum to get the 'Independence' to sea; and if she is sent, I pledge my life you will be gratified with the cruise." Unfortunately the guns of the "Independence" were at the Washington Navy Yard, and could not be transported by land in the winter, and the danger of their capture forbade a conveyance by sea; and in consequence she did not get to sea until after the end of the war.[1]

Peace having been declared, there was a cessation of activity in all our navy yards, which was felt in Boston as elsewhere, and improvements in progress or projected came to a standstill.

The declaration of war with Algiers on March 2, 1815, created a temporary excitement; and Commodore Bainbridge, having been appointed to command our Mediterranean squadron, was relieved by Commodore Isaac Hull as commandant of the station. Hoisting his broad pennant on the "Independence," Bainbridge sailed from Boston July 3, 1815, accompanied by the "Erie," "Chippewa," and "Lynx." A squadron which had sailed from New York under Commodore Decatur was united to his command; so that after his arrival in the Mediterranean his force consisted of eighteen or twenty sail, being the largest squadron which had ever been fitted out by the United States.

[1] We learn from an official source that during the war, notwithstanding the port was blockaded for a greater part of the time, the following United States vessels of war passed in and out of Boston, — namely, *Frigates:* "Constitution," seven times; "President," four times; "United States," twice; "Chesapeake," three times; "Congress," four times. *Sloops of war:* "Hornet," twice; "Frolic," once; "John Adams," once. *Brigs of war:* "Argus," twice; "Nautilus," four times; "Rattlesnake" twice; "Siren," twice.

Our difficulty with Algiers having been satisfactorily and honorably adjusted, the squadron under Bainbridge — consisting of two frigates, seven brigs, and three schooners — sailed from Gibraltar October 6, and arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, Nov. 15, 1815. After distributing his force between Boston and New York where the vessels were to be laid up, Bainbridge sailed in the "Independence" for Boston, where he arrived Dec. 7, 1815, having been absent five months. The "Independence" was retained in commission as a guard-ship, flying Bainbridge's pennant as Port Captain, which is the first instance of that office being created in our navy. He continued in command of her and of the Boston station for several years, Commodore Hull commanding at the Navy Yard. During this period the "Independence" was fully officered and two-thirds manned, and was kept in a perfect state of discipline and efficiency.

Three days after his arrival Bainbridge addressed a letter[1] to Chaplain Cheever Felch, establishing the first naval school for *officers* ever organized in our navy, and which may therefore be said to be the parent of our present naval academy at Annapolis.

In 1816 an official journal of the proceedings at the Yard — a sort of shore log-book — was commenced, which has been continued down to the present time, affording a good index of all the principal events.[2]

[1] UNITED STATES SHIP "INDEPENDENCE," *Boston Harbor*, Dec. 10, 1815.

SIR, — I have to direct that you open a naval school within the Navy Yard at Charlestown, in such apartments as Captain Hull may assign to you, for the purpose of instructing the officers of the squadron in those branches of mathematics which appertain to their profession. The school must be opened every day in the week, Sunday excepted. The hours of study must be from nine A.M. to one P.M. You will daily report to me the officers who attend. Once a fortnight you will make to me a general report of the respective branches of study in which each officer is engaged, accompanied with candid remarks on their conduct, attention, and progress.

I am, etc.,

WILLIAM BAINBRIDGE.

The Rev. Mr. FELCH.

[2] The first volumes are in the elegant handwriting of sailing-master Charles F. Waldo, and open with the following "List of officers attached to the Navy Yard, Charlestown, Mass., Jan. 1, 1816: Isaac Hull, commandant; Richard M. Winters, lieutenant; Samuel R. Trevett, Jr. and John A. Kearney, surgeons; Lewis Deblois, purser; Joseph Cross, Thomas B. Tilden, and Edmund M. Russell, midshipmen; Abram Walton, boatswain; Matthew Rogers, gunner; Charles F. Waldo and Robert Knox, sailing-masters; Benjamin H. Fosdick, commandant's clerk; Thomas J. H. Cushing, assistant-surgeon; Stephen G. Clarke, master's mate; John Johnson, gunner; William ———, quartermaster; Francis Wyman, purser's steward; B. Evans, carpenter, — total, nineteen officers. Petty officers: one armorer's mate; one sailing-master's mate; one carpenter's mate; four men with gunner (for 'Constitution'); three boys (officers'); two attendants at commandant's; two cooks (hulk and gunboat); one mate for ditto; one gunner's yeoman (Dick Dunn); and nine men to work in the yard, — forty-four *in toto*."

Major Caleb Gibbs was at this time, as he had been for many years, the naval storekeeper. The Secretary of the Navy, addressing Commodore Hull concerning him, Jan. 4, 1816, says: "Major Gibbs, the naval store-keeper, is an old Revolutionary officer of merit, and has held the station since the commencement of our naval operations. I request your attention and indulgence toward him as far as may be consistent with public duty; and you will be pleased to accommodate him at the Navy Yard with a room for his office, and in every other way in which you can render his situation agreeable to him. A regard for his former services and respect for his personal merit induce me to recommend Major Gibbs to your benevolent disposition."

Major Gibbs was continued in office until Dec. 1, 1818, when George Bates was appointed the storekeeper. He in turn was relieved after twenty-two years of service by Seth J. Thomas, Jan. 1, 1840. Major Gibbs was the first commander of Washington's Body (or "Life")

In 1818 the Navy Commissioners surveyed the harbor, and reported it capacious and deep enough to be entered by any man-of-war, and that twenty-five and a half feet could be taken over the bar at low tide. They were further of the opinion that Boston harbor possessed many advantages resulting from its natural means of defence, — its ample space for anchorage in the lower harbor and Nantasket Roads, its proximity to materials for naval construction, "and in the dense population of the town and its vicinity;" nevertheless, "from the uncertainty of entrance into it, and that a fair wind was requisite to enter President from Nantasket Roads, and that occasionally it was obstructed by ice, and from the difficulty of getting to sea in easterly weather, and its susceptibility of blockade, and the dangerous navigation of the bay in the winter," — the commissioners did not think it advisable to establish a great national depot and rendezvous at Boston. They, however, recommended retaining the establishment and connecting it with a dry dock for occasional building and repair, and also that the fortifications on George's, Long, Castle, Governor's, and Noddle's islands should be strengthened.

For some years to come there were no signal transactions to notice; but a few items taken from the records may serve to show the course of current events.[1]

In October, 1819, Commodore Bainbridge was ordered to serve as president of a board of captains to convene at New York, to examine midshipmen for promotion. This was an outgrowth of his naval school, and the first examination of midshipmen; the result of which proved so beneficial that now examinations into the physical, moral, and professional qualifications of an officer are made prior to every promotion or increase of rank; and thus the worthy and intelligent are encouraged, and the indolent, ignorant, and profligate driven out of the service. Towards the close of the year the Commodore was detached from the "Independence" and ordered to the "Columbus," 74, then equipping at Washington, when eighteen of the officers of the "Independence" addressed to him a letter of regret.

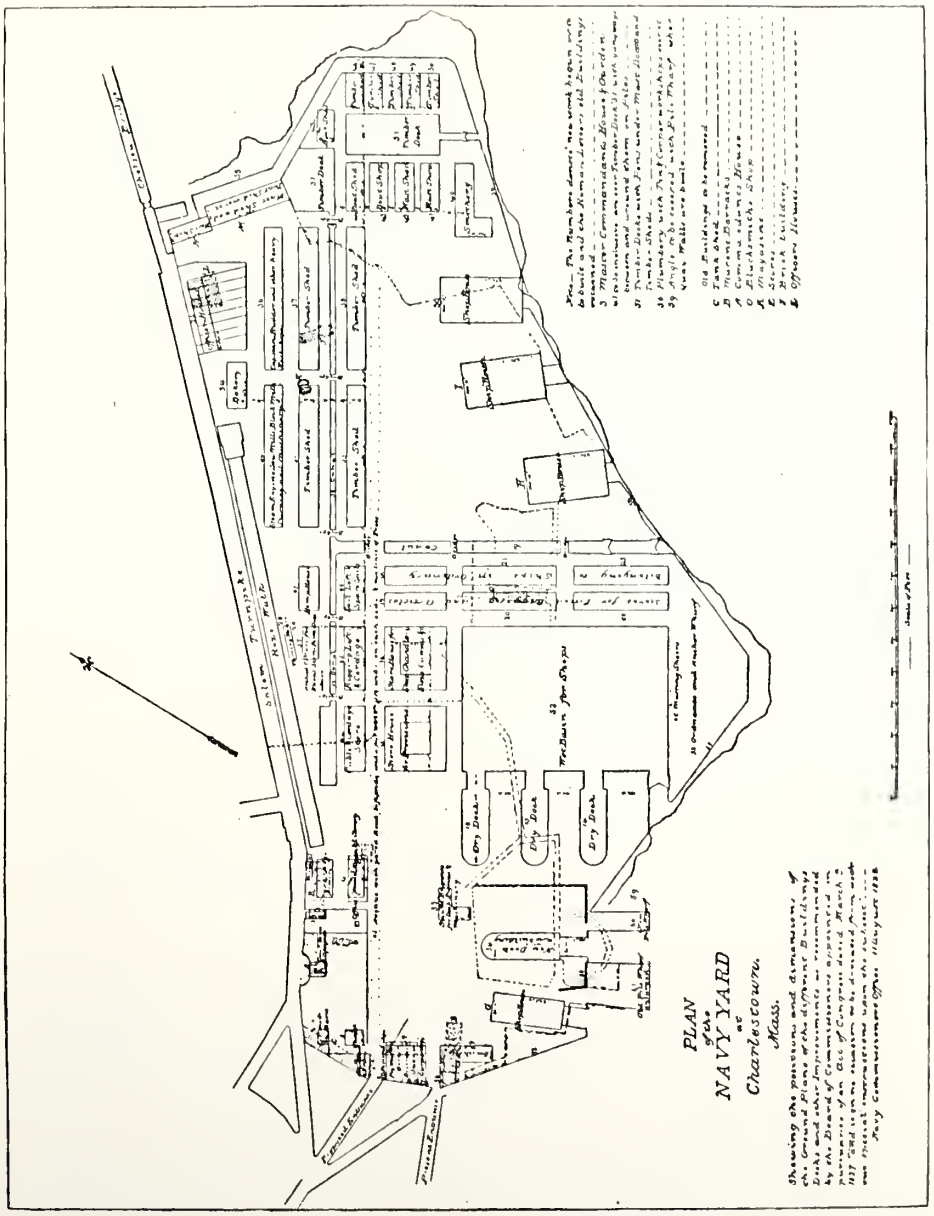
In 1820, May 16, Master Commandant William Branford Shubrick[2] re-

Guard. His office was first in Batterymarch Street, — the yard at the bottom of Milk Street being leased for naval purposes. When Washington visited Boston in 1789, he appointed eight o'clock, A.M., as the hour when he would leave for Salem. The cavalry company which was to escort him, not understanding his punctuality, paraded in Tremont Street after his departure, and it was not until he had passed Charlestown Bridge that it overtook him. Washington said to Gibbs, who commanded the troop when it overtook him: "I thought, Major Gibbs, you had been too long in my family not to know when it was eight o'clock."

[1] A passing notice may be given to the duel which took place Sept. 25, 1819, between Lieutenant William B. Finch, United States Navy (afterward well known as Commodore William Compton Bolton), and Lieutenant Francis B. White, of the Marine Corps, both officers of the "Independence." It was fought on Noddle's Island, not far from the present Border Street in East Boston, between two elm trees. Lieutenant White was instantly killed. Lieutenant Finch was born in England. His mother was said to have been an actress of the name of Finch; his father, the Earl of Bolton. He entered the navy as a midshipman in 1806; changed his name to William Compton Bolton in 1833 to inherit some property, and died in Genoa while in command of the United States squadron in the Mediterranean, in 1849.

[2] [See Harper's *Monthly*, August, 1876. — Ed.]

ported for duty as the executive officer of the Yard; he was the first officer so designated in orders. June 11, the men were all mustered at ten o'clock, A.M., and with all the officers of the station attended divine service in the



sail-loft, the Rev. Cheever Felch officiating. This was the first service of the kind held within the Navy Yard. On June 15 work was discontinued to allow the men to witness the execution of three pirates in Boston.[1]

[1] [See Mr. J. P. Quincy's chapter. — Ed.]

On August 23, 1823, at 1 P.M., Commodore Isaac Hull delivered over the command of the Navy Yard, which he had held for eight years and five months, to Commodore William Bainbridge, who had been his predecessor. A committee of the citizens of Charlestown received Bainbridge at the draw of the bridge and escorted him to the town hall, where a collation was provided. The committee then attended him to the Navy Yard gate, where he was received by Major Wainwright and a guard of marines, who conducted him to Commodore Hull.

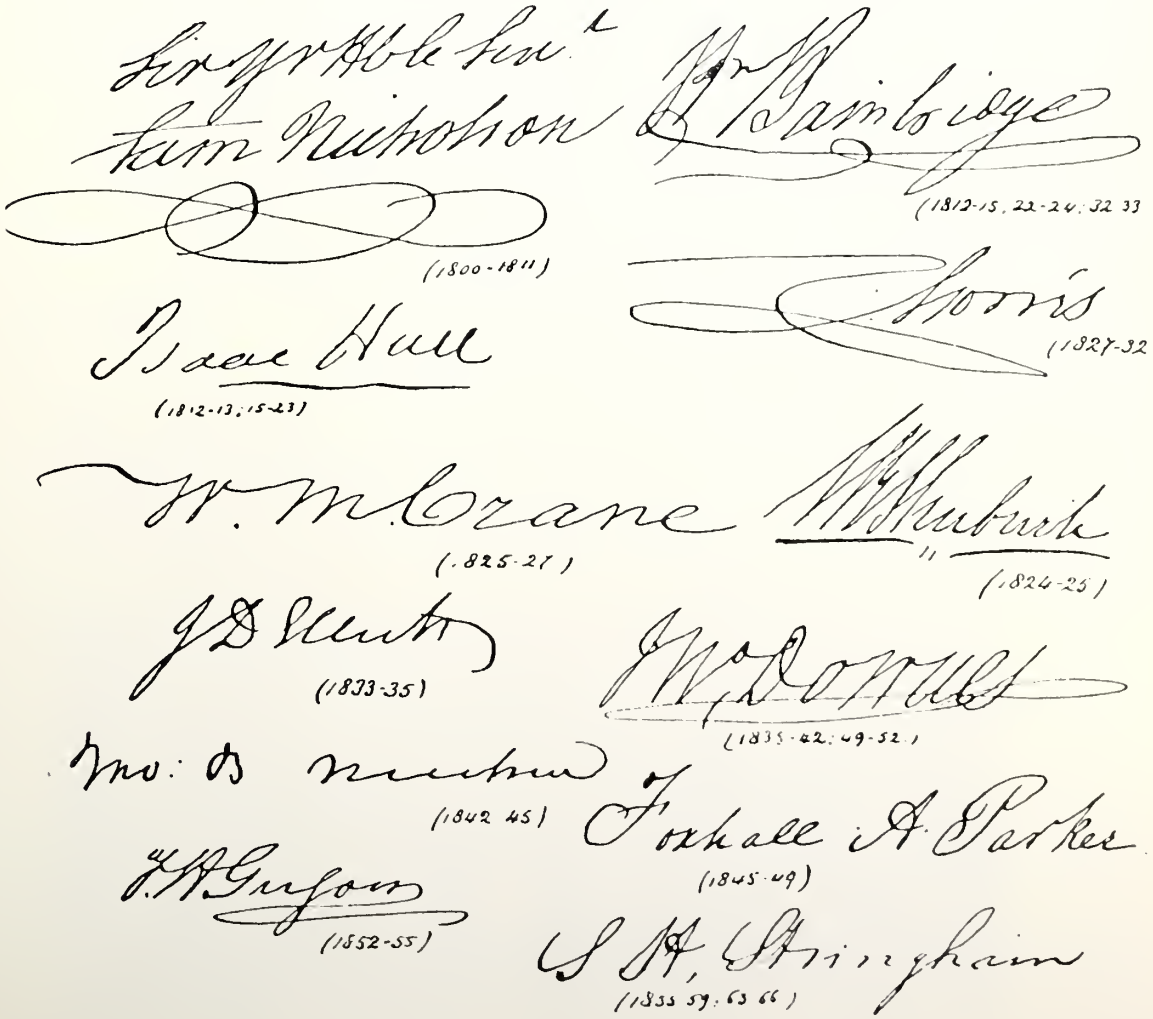
In September the commissioners completed the purchase from Dr. Aaron Dexter of a site for a naval hospital in Chelsea, for which $18,000 was paid from the fund in the Treasury which had been deducted from the pay of the officers, seamen, and marines of the navy.[1]

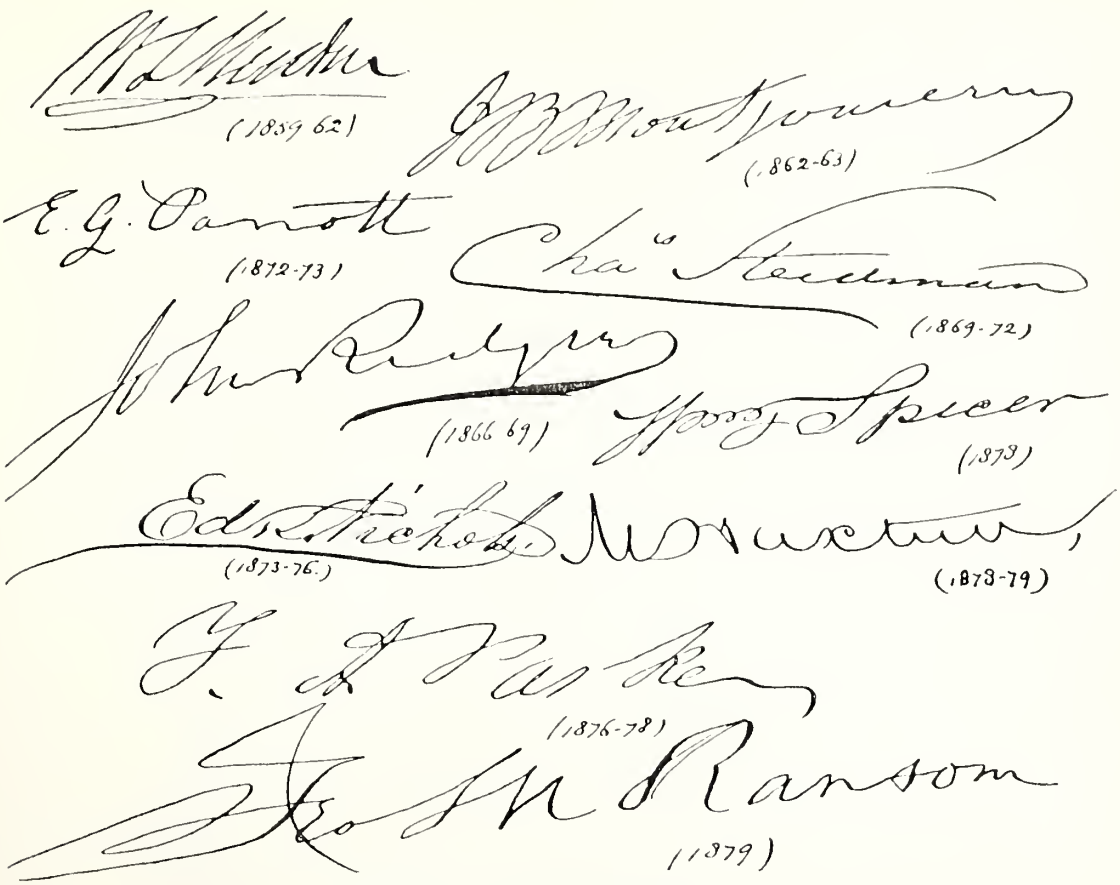
On March 12, 1824, there was a mutiny in the Massachusetts State Prison, which the marines, under Major Wainwright, were called upon to suppress. Three convicts had been sentenced to be publicly whipped in the prison yard, and were in the solitary cells waiting punishment. An officer of the prison entered one of the cells, when the prisoner sprang upon him and locked him in, and then opened the doors of the other two cells. The three prisoners thus released then ordered the officer to give the signal at the guard-room door that all was right, while they stood ready to rush through when the door was opened and secure the guard and arms. The officer refusing to comply with their orders, they threatened to kill him, and he was forced back into a cell and locked in. The alarm having been given, the prisoners rushed from the workshops armed with clubs, knives, hammers, chisels, and every variety of weapon attainable, and formed a band whose strength, vileness, and reckless daring could hardly be equalled. Men of all ages and characters, dressed in the motley garb of the institution, gathered together for the purpose of preventing the punishment of their comrades. Finally a subordinate officer despatched a request to Major Wainwright for assistance. On his arrival Major Wainwright was requested to order his men to fire down upon the convicts through the little

[1] In 1802, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, five acres of land in the north-east corner of the Navy Yard was assigned to the Treasury Department for a Marine Hospital, on which a hospital with all the necessary outbuildings was erected and enclosed with a picket-fence from the Navy Yard. In 1825 this property was re-transferred to the Navy Department, upon the payment to the Treasury Department of $12,875, the estimated value of the buildings, and a Marine Hospital was erected in Chelsea. The hospital building in the yard was pulled down the same year, and on the site was erected a block of four dwelling-houses, which are still occupied as officers' quarters. They were first occupied August, 1826.

The United States Naval Hospital at Chelsea is beautifully situated on the left bank of the Mystic River. It furnishes accommodation for all the sick or wounded officers, seamen, and marines of the navy at Boston, Portsmouth, N. H., and New London, Conn.; and for all the invalids from our naval vessels on foreign stations which may come into the port of Boston. There was originally one hundred and fifteen acres in the tract; there now remain about seventy-five, the remainder having been transferred to the ordnance department of the navy, and to the marines' hospital service. The hospital building is of granite, one hundred and forty-nine feet by seventy-one, and was completed in 1836. A wing was added in 1865. It is capable of accommodating one hundred sick comfortably. The particular merit of this hospital is that it is the only Naval Hospital on the Atlantic coast which is absolutely free from malarial poison.

windows, first with powder, and then with ball, until they surrendered. He took a wiser as well as a bolder course. Relying upon the effect of a firm determination upon men so situated, he ordered the door thrown wide open, and marched into the hall at the head of thirty men, and formed them opposite the crowd of criminals grouped at the other end. He then addressed them, and said he would not quit that hall alive until every convict had returned to his duty. The convicts replied that some of them were ready to die, and only waited his attack, and swore they would fight to the end unless the flogging was remitted. Major Wainwright now ordered his men to load their muskets, and directed each man to hold up to view the bullet which he was to drop into his gun. This only caused a growl of determined resistance on the part of the convicts. The guns being loaded, the next order to the marines was to take aim. Still not a prisoner stirred, except more firmly to grasp his weapon. Major Wainwright then took out his watch, and turning to the convicts, while his men kept their pieces





AUTOGRAPHS OF THE COMMANDANTS.[1]

aimed at them, said: "You must leave this hall. I give you three minutes to decide. If at the end of that time a man remains he shall be shot dead. I speak no more." No more tragic situation than this can be conceived: at one end of the hall a fearless band of desperate and powerful men

[1] In addition to these commandants there were at several times, though not continuously, "port captains," who commanded all the naval forces afloat. Thus Captain William Bainbridge was port captain from 1815 to 1819, — making his service in Boston harbor from 1812 to 1824 almost continuous. Captain John Downes, the commandant from 1835 to 1842, and again from 1849 to 1852, was port captain from 1842 to 1845, — the entire period of the command of his successor as commandant. Rear Admiral Hiram Paulding, a son of one of the captors of Major André, was the port captain in 1869–70. Since that date the office has been abolished.

The twenty-two commandants have had considerable professional reputation. The first commandant, whose command extended over eleven years, died in office in 1811. He saw service during the War of the Revolution, and was the first commander of the frigate "Constitution." Hull and Bainbridge, who alternated in the command for fourteen years, as well as Morris, who commanded for five years, made glorious records in the war of 1812–14. Downes also, whose several commands extended over ten years, commanded the Essex "Junior" in the famous Bay of Valparaiso fight. Elliott was second in command at the battle of Lake Erie. Gregory and J. B. Nicholson made honorable records in the War of 1812. Stringham, whose command extended over seven years, obtained the thanks of Congress for his services at Hatteras Inlet during the Civil War. Commodore Parker, Sr., was selected at one time to organ-

awaiting the assault; at the other, a small squad of well-disciplined marines waiting with levelled muskets the order to fire; the commander counting the tickings of his watch to give the signal. For two minutes not a person or muscle was moved, not a sound heard, except the labored breathing of the infuriated wretches. At the expiration of two minutes, during which they had faced the ministers of death unfalteringly, two or three in the rear went slowly out; a few more followed, dropping out quietly and deliberately, and before the last half minute had expired every man was struck by the panic, and the hall was cleared.

On March 16, 1824, work was begun on the building ways for a sloop-of-war. On the 13th of May her keel was laid, and at 1 P.M., October 15, the sloop-of-war "Boston," of seven hundred tons burden, was launched.[1]

December 22, the Secretary of the Navy ordered the seventy-four which was first begun Oct. 19, 1822, to be named the "Virginia,"[2] and the seventy-four number two the "Vermont," and the forty-four gun ship to be called the "Cumberland." By another order, dated April 27, 1827, the names of the seventy-fours were reversed, number one becoming the "Vermont," and number two the "Virginia." The "Vermont" as thus named was launched in 1853, and is now a receiving hulk at the New York Yard. The "Virginia," after remaining on the stocks for fifty years, was ordered to be cut up in 1874, — an operation which is not yet completed.

June 1, 1826, the keel of the sloop-of-war "Warren" was laid, and November 29 she was successfully launched and hauled upon the flats, and careened to finish coppering her. Feb. 11, 1827, the harbor was shut up with ice, but on the 22d the "Warren," Master Commandant Lawrence Kearney, sailed for the Mediterranean, where she did good service against the pirates of the Grecian Archipelago. March 1, the keel of the sloop-of-war "Falmouth" was laid, and she was launched November 3. Her cost, when ready for sea, was $120,931.50.

In 1827 the stone dry dock was begun, under the superintendence of

ize the navy of the German Confederation; and his son, Commodore Foxhall A. Parker, distinguished as a writer and for his services in the Civil War, died a few months after relinquishing his command, at the Naval Academy at Annapolis, whither he had been called to its superintendency. Hudson and Montgomery, who conducted the affairs of the Yard through the period of the Civil War, were brave and distinguished officers; Hudson was the second in command of Wilkes's exploring expedition. Rodgers is the present superintendent of the Naval Observatory, and has a well-known naval record. Nichols, Parrott, Steedman, Spicer, and Ransom, the present incumbent, all made good records in the Rebellion, — Nichols (now the Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks) and Ransom, with Farragut at New Orleans; Parrott and Steedman, with Dupont at Port Royal and elsewhere. Commodore Spicer died in command in the commandant's house, Nov. 29, 1878; his funeral was conducted without military or other parade or ceremony, by his particular request.

Not one of the commandants was Boston born, and only Commodore John Downes, who was born in Canton, in 1784, was a native of Massachusetts. Of the twenty-two commandants only four are now living; namely, Rodgers, Nichols, Steedman, and Ransom, — the latter now in command.

[1] She was the fourth vessel of war to receive that name, and is reported to have cost $109,156. After twenty years of almost constant service, she was wrecked on the Island of Eleuthera, West Indies, in 1846.

[2] From a newspaper of that date we learn that it was at first proposed to call her "The Massachusetts."

Loammi Baldwin, Esq., who had been commissioned in the previous August to make estimates. It appears from the Yard journal that the first "steam tow-boat load of stone" for it was received August 23, and that the stone wall of the dock was begun the next day. The dock was not completed until 1834.

Up to 1828 the improvements in the several navy yards had been without any organized plan; but on March 3, 1827, Congress enacted a law directing the President to cause the navy yards of the United States to be thoroughly examined, and plans to be prepared for their improvement, etc., from which no deviation but by his special order was to be made. The President appointed Commodores Bainbridge, Chauncey, and Morris to carry this law into effect, and Loammi Baldwin engineer to aid them in their surveys, and in forming plans, etc. This board commenced its labors in 1827, but did not complete them until 1829. The plan for the Charlestown Navy Yard was completed and issued Aug. 11, 1828, and (see plan) has since governed all the improvements, with such modifications as have become necessary by the advance of naval science and the modern requirements in the equipment, armament, and construction of vessels of war. Railroads have supplanted canals, and steam power, heavy ordnance, and iron and iron-clad ships have combined to modify essentially the plan of 1827.[1]

July 20, 1832, Commodore Charles Morris, having been commissioned as one of the Navy Board, was relieved as Commandant by Commodore William Bainbridge. Jan. 23, the commissioners authorized the gun carriages of the saluting battery to be made of iron, which is probably the first instance of metallic gun carriages being used in our own or any other naval service.

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On account of ill health Commodore Bainbridge obtained permission to pass the winter months in Philadelphia, and left the Yard in command of Master Commandant Joseph Smith.[2] He returned and resumed active command of the station, Jan. 10, 1833, but soon failed again, and was informed by his physicians that his case was hopeless. On March 21 he wrote this touching letter to the secretary: "My health is so bad, and this climate so severe, that it renders it necessary for me to ask the favor to be relieved from my present command on the 1st of May next. In making this request I feel confident our excellent President will grant it, with your approbation, to one who has served his country as commander nearly thirty-five years most zealously, and, as he trusts, most faithfully." He failed rapidly, and on April 13 wrote his last letter to the Department, turning over the command to Captain Smith temporarily, until the arrival of Commodore Jesse Duncan Elliott, appointed to take command on the 1st of May. The death of Commodore Bainbridge, who had been so long and so much identified with the station, took place at the naval asylum in Philadelphia, July 27, 1833. When wandering in mind he raised himself up with a last effort, called for his arms, and ordered all to board the enemy. He was

[1] See plan of 1880.

[2] For many years Chief of the Bureau of Yards and Docks.

fifty-nine years, two months, and twenty-one days old. On July 30 the flags at Charlestown Navy Yard, and at all the other naval stations, were half-masted, and a commodore's salute of minute guns fired.

In 1834 the dry dock was finished,[1] having cost $677,089.78, when transferred by the constructing engineer to the commandant.[2]

The new commandant, Commodore Elliott, was a man of rough manners, — whence he obtained the sobriquet of "Old Bruin," — and of an active and despotic disposition. He at once instituted changes and reforms in the methods of administration, which, added to the reputation he had acquired at the battle of Lake Erie and as the second of Barron in his unfortunate duel with Decatur, made him unpopular with his officers, and were the occasion of several reports and courts-martial. He also, from his extreme partisan worship of his idol — General Jackson — soon became unpopular with the citizens of Boston, who at the time were strongly of the opposite side of politics.

[1] In 1858–60 the dock was lengthened sixty-five feet at the head, modern vessels having outgrown its capacity.

[2] Before the dock was entirely completed it was decided to dock the "Constitution." Accordingly she was admitted June 24, being the second ship of war ever docked in the United States, — the "Delaware," 74, having been entered into the Norfolk Dry Dock on June 17, a week previous. The docking of the "Constitution" was made a great occasion. All the officers were assembled in full dress, and Martin Van Buren, the Vice-President of the United States, Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, and Levi Woodbury were present; and Commodore Hull appeared once more upon her deck in command. The President of the United States, General Andrew Jackson, was only prevented by illness from being present. Commodore Elliott, however, in a speech at Hagerstown, Maryland, Nov. 14, 1833, says that the President *was* on board: "General Jackson became the guest of the State by invitation of the Legislature, and the time of his visit was seized upon as an auspicious season for bringing the trophy of the nation, *Old Ironsides*, into the cradle which was originally built for her reception. On this occasion there were on board of her the President of the United States and his Cabinet, His Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts, my estimable friend Joel N. Poinsett, of South Carolina, and last, not least, Commodore Hull, the man who first broke the charm of British naval invincibility on the ocean, together with such officers and men who had participated in the various battles in which that noble frigate was engaged. Thus you will see that I had four important emblems of the old vessel's glory, — Jackson, the hero who had but a short time before declared that 'the *Constitution!* it must and shall be *preserved!*' the Hon. J. N. Poinsett, of South Carolina, the State in which her timbers grew; the Hon. Levi Lincoln, of the Commonwealth in which she received her architectural construction; and Commodore Hull and the brave officers and men who had gloriously sustained her amid the battle's rage."

The old frigate, when in the dock, presented a most venerable appearance, her bottom being encrusted with mussels, and her ornamental work being all stripped off. She was rebuilt under the superintendence of naval constructor Josiah Barker, and emerged from the dock June 21, 1834, virtually a new ship, having been three days short of a year in it. While care was taken to preserve her model and dimensions, scarcely a timber of her frame above the keel and floor timbers was retained.

[Josiah Barker, who was born in Marshfield, in 1763, had served in the Revolution, both in the army and navy, sailing with Manly in the "Hague," among the West Indies. He had begun a shipyard as early as 1795, where now the Navy Yard is, and later he built vessels near the old State-prison He built the "Independence," "Virginia," "Vermont," "Frolic," "Marion," "Cyane," and "Bainbridge," and subsequently the "Portsmouth" at the Kittery yard. (Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, 41. H. H. Edes's *Memorial of Josiah Barker*, privately printed, 1871.) It should be remembered that while a Charlestown mechanic rebuilt her, it was a Boston poet who so led and sustained public opinion in a protest against breaking her up, that the order for her destruction was reversed; and this adds another claim for the old craft to be considered peculiarly a Boston ship. The reader will recall Holmes's "Ay, tear her tattered ensign down," and his indignant dread lest "The harpies of the shore shall pluck the eagle of the sea." — Ed].

The day after he had assumed the command he informed the Department that the young gentlemen (midshipmen) were without an instructor, and in consequence Mr. Duncan Bradford was immediately appointed a teacher of mathematics and languages; but the school was not organized until the middle of August. The school proved such a success, that by a general order issued a few months later similar schools were established at the navy yards near Norfolk and New York. This order was followed by a series of regulations, drawn up by the Navy Commissioners, for the government of the midshipmen and the school, which seemed to be the result of measures taken on board the "Independence," in Boston Harbor, in 1815, and out of which has finally come the present naval academy at Annapolis.[1]

The event of Elliott's administration which occasioned the most excitement was his placing a figure of Jackson on the bow of the "Constitution" when she was rebuilt. His intention becoming known, the people very soon manifested symptoms of indignation that the historic frigate should be made to serve what was thought to be a partisan purpose. Commodore Elliott informed the Secretary of the Navy, in a letter dated Feb. 24, 1834, enclosing an obnoxious handbill, that the image was ordered in the summer of 1833, under the following circumstances: —

"Shortly after the President had left Boston, I conversed with the architect (Mr. Barker) who was to superintend the repairs of the 'Constitution,' about the propriety of putting a figure on her for a head, and concluded to do so, as she had been thus ornamented originally.[2] The person who had been in the habit of carving the ornaments for our vessels of war (Laban S. Beecher) was therefore directed to make for her a figure of the President of the United States, dressed as represented at the Hermitage, holding in his hand a scroll with this motto, '*The Constitution, it must be preserved!*' taken from the remarks which you made on her deck at the time she was received into dock, under direction of the officer (Commodore Hull) who commanded her when she took the 'Guerrière.' I furthermore directed him to carve

[1] Having set the midshipmen at their studies, the Commodore next turned his attention to the religious instruction of the officers and men under his command, in which he was not quite so successful. His attempt to coerce the officers of differing beliefs into one and the same manner of worship created a commotion; but of these and other aggressive measures there is no space to speak here.

[2] The original figure-head of the "Constitution" was a bust of Hercules, with uplifted club, carved by the Messrs. Skilling, of Boston. This was shot from her bow and mutilated in the action before Tripoli, but was long worn in its mutilated condition. It was replaced by a billet head, which was worn throughout the war of 1812. Taken from her bow in 1834 this billet head occupied a conspicuous position attached to a lamp post, until 1876, on one of the principal avenues in the Boston Yard. The statue of Jackson remained on the ship until she was hauled up for repair in Philadelphia, in 1874, when it was taken off and set up in the Philadelphia Yard; when that yard was abandoned in 1876, it was sent to the naval academy at Annapolis, Md., and set up in the grounds, where it now is. This full-length figure was much too large for the ship, to be symmetrical. A little boy, criticising the statue when it was in the Philadelphia Yard, said that General Jackson must have been run into his pantaloons, for there was no seam or buttons to them. The billet head of 1812 was sent to Philadelphia to be replaced on the bow of the old ship, but was found to be so decayed that another of like shape was substituted for it, which is now on her. See *Life of Commodore Elliott*, by a citizen of New York, published for the author in Philadelphia, 1835, for a "History of the Figure Head of the United States frigate 'Constitution.'"

the busts of Hull, Bainbridge, and Stewart for her stern ornaments, thus presenting our chief magistrate, and the three successful commanders of that favorite ship, in an attitude which I deemed highly honorable to the navy and the nation. Prompted by my own feelings of respect, . . . and aware of the honors conferred upon General Jackson during his late tour of the State of Massachusetts, and her literary institutions, and more particularly by the inhabitants of Boston and the neighboring towns, I considered that in putting his figure upon the stem of the 'Constitution,' I would be uniting with them in their demonstration of respect, and doing an act which would be acceptable to our whole corps. . . . I have never heard the fitness of the ornament questioned until this week. . . . There is no question this handbill is gotten up for present political purposes; and had the figure-head been put on the frigate at the time of the President's visit, many who now express such intemperate opinions would have been equally zealous in raising it with acclamations to its appropriate place. *I had no political motives whatever in placing the figure there, as politics are not suffered to be the subject of communication or action within the Yard.* I did not bring the subject to you before, as I knew that custom furnished me a precedent, my predecessors having ornamented ships with figures, eagles, and billet heads at their option."[1]

Two days later we find the commodore writing to the secretary:—

"I have further satisfied myself that the excitement got up at that time was only for political effect. The enclosed letter[2] will show the disposition of the raisers of this excitement. . . . If the figure-head of the 'Constitution' should be changed to please them, there is no telling what they will ask next, as they now demand the removal of the inscription from the head of the dry dock. The excitement has nearly passed away since it has become known that the figure-head was ordered by myself six months ago, unbeknown to the Government, yet *fully known* to one of the most active movers in the excitement."

The Navy Commissioners wrote to the commodore in answer that he might carry out his intentions regarding the figure-head, or place it on the

[1] The handbill referred to by the Commodore was as follows:—

"FREEMEN, AWAKE! *or the Constitution will sink.* It is a fact that 'the Old Glory* President' has issued his special order for a colossal figure of his *royal self*, in Roman costume, to be placed as a figure-head on Old Ironsides!!! Where is the spirit of '76? where the brave *tars* who fought and conquered in the glorious ship? where the mechanics, and where the Bostonians, who have rejoiced over her achievements? Will they see the figure of a land lubber at her bows? No! let the cry be, 'All hands on deck!' and save the ship by a timely remonstrance, expressing our indignation in a voice of thunder! Let us assemble in the cradle of liberty! all hands up for the Constitution. Let the figure-head (if mortal man be worthy) be that of the brave HULL, the immortal DECATUR, or the valiant PORTER, and not that of a tyrant. Let us not give up the ship, but nail the flag of the Union to the masthead, and let her ride the mountain wave triumphant, with none aboard but the sons of liberty, all flesh and blood, having the hearts and souls of Freemen.

"North Enders! shall this Boston-built ship be thus disgraced without remonstrance? Let this wooden god, this old Roman, building at the expense of $300 of the people's money, be presented to the *office-holders*, who glory in such worship; but for God's sake SAVE THE SHIP from this foul disgrace!

"A NORTH ENDER."

* Is not this the earliest allusion to "Old Glory," a name so often associated during the war of the Rebellion with our flag, by its defenders?

[2] NORTH END, 24th.

We have made you abandon the Constitution; take Jackson's name off the Dock, or in forty-eight hours you breathe no more.

MANY NORTH ENDERS.

Commodore Elliott, Navy Yard

bow of one of the seventy-fours building, as he saw fit, believing the latter most appropriate; but the busts of the naval heroes for the stern, if not too far advanced, might be dispensed with.[1]

On March 20, the carver informed the commodore that three respectable citizens had offered him $1,500 to be allowed to carry away the image in the night, and added he could, if disposed, realize $20,000 for it; and further, so great was the excitement, "the head" was not safe in his shop.[2] In consequence the commodore sent a boat the next morning in charge of Sailing-Master Hixon, who received the figure in a box and conveyed it to the Navy Yard, where it was completed, and placed, April 28, upon the ship while still in the dock.

Of what happened after the ship left the dock, and was hauled into the stream, the commodore makes report: —

"Some one last night, in spite of the sentinel and watch on board the 'Columbus,' seventy-four, found means to mutilate the statue of Jackson upon the bow of the 'Constitution,' during a severe storm of wind and rain. Suspicion at first rested upon the marine on post and the ship keeper; but it seems to me at present more probable that some person from outside the yard concealed himself on board ship during the day, and at night when the storm raged at its highest accomplished his work and made his escape. Immediately upon learning the outrage this morning, I sent for the carver of the head and demanded the names of the individuals who offered him the bribe previous to its removal from his charge. These he declined giving me until compelled to do so in due course of law, as he was under a charge of secrecy. From this and other circumstances I am satisfied that the head was removed by some person who was acting under the influence of a bribe; but a small part of the head, however, was mutilated, and that part will be replaced immediately. I am sorry to say that I perceive a hostile feeling existing against the continuance of this ornament in the highest circles of those opposed to the Administration." [3]

It is now known that the daring deed was committed by one unaided, enthusiastic young man, — Samuel P. Dewey, — who I believe still lives, in hale old age, to repeat the story, and to tell what he did with the trophy of his exploit. His story, as he gave it to Mr. Drake,[4] in 1874, is as follows:

[1] The busts, however, were made, and did until recently, and I believe do still, ornament her stern.

[2] In an address at Hagerstown, Md., in 1843, Commodore Elliott said he received orders to repair the ship "as she originally was;" and the impression being still upon his mind of her mutilated figure of Hercules when in the Mediterranean, he proceeded to have a figure made of that classic hero, and the artist was at work upon it when he (the commodore) was frequently and earnestly importuned by prominent citizens of Boston to place the head of Jackson upon their favorite ship. Yielding to their solicitations, he asked the artist if he could change the head to a likeness of Jackson, and the artist was so delighted with the idea that he proposed doing it for nothing. The plaster bust which the carver took as his model for the head, is preserved in the Museum of the Naval Library and Institute at the Navy Yard.

[3] The Hon. Mahlon Dickenson, who had succeeded the Hon. Levi Woodbury as Secretary of the Navy, visiting the Yard soon after this occurrence, in company with the Commissioners, ordered the canvas covering over the mutilated head continued upon it, saying no repairs or alterations should be made while the ship remained in Boston. Several of the "solid" merchants of Boston gave Commodore Elliott to understand that if he would remove the obnoxious figure from the ship, any substitute he might order would be paid for by them

[4] *Landmarks of Old Middlesex*, p. 41.

"'Old Ironsides' was moored with her head to the west, between the 74's 'Columbus' and 'Independence.' The former had a large number of men on board, and a sentinel was placed where he could keep the figurehead in view; another was posted on the wharf near at hand, and a third patrolled the forecastle of the 'Constitution.' From an open port of the 'Columbus,' the light fell upon the graven features all these precautions were designed to protect. On the night of the 2d of July occurred a thunder-storm of unusual violence. The lightning played around the masts of the shipping, and only by its lurid flash could any object be distinguished in the blackness. Young Dewey — he was only twenty-eight — unmoored his boat from Billy Gray's wharf, in Boston, and, with his oar muffled in an old woollen comforter, sculled out into the darkness. He had reconnoitered the position of the ships by day, and was prepared at all points. At length he found himself alongside the 'Independence,' the outside ship, and worked his way along her big, black side, which served to screen him from observation. Dewey climbed up the 'Constitution's' side by the man-ropes, and ensconced himself in the bow, protected by the head-boards, only placed on the ship the same day. He extended himself on his back, and in this position sawed off the head. While here he saw the sentry on the wharf from time to time looking earnestly towards the spot where he was at work; but the lightning and the storm each time drove the guard back to the shelter of his box.

"Having completed his midnight assassination, Dewey regained his boat, to find her full of water. She had swung under a scupper of the ship, and had received the torrent that poured from her deck. In this plight, but never forgetting the head he had risked his life to obtain, Dewey reached the shore. . . . After the excitement caused by the affair — and it was of no ordinary kind — had subsided, Dewey packed up the grim and corrugated features he had decapitated, and posted off to Washington. At Philadelphia his secret leaked out, and he was obliged to exhibit his prize to John Tyler and Willie P. Mangum, afterward President and acting Vice-President of the United States, who were then investigating the affairs of the United States Bank. These grave and reverend seigniors shook their sides as they regarded the colossal head now brought so low, and parted with Captain Dewey with warm and pressing offers of service.

"The Captain's intention to present the head to General Jackson himself was frustrated by the dangerous illness of the President, to whom all access was denied. He, however, obtained an audience of Mr. Van Buren, the Vice-President. Upon Dewey's announcing himself as the person who had taken off the 'Constitution's' figure-head, Mr. Van Buren gave a great start, and was thrown off his usual balance. Recovering himself, he demanded the particulars of the exploit, which seemed to afford him no small satisfaction. Captain Dewey wished him to receive the head. 'Go to Mr. Dickenson,' said the Vice-President; 'it belongs to his department; say you came from me.' To Mahlon Dickenson, Secretary of the Navy, Dewey accordingly went. The venerable secretary was busily engaged with a heap of papers, and requested his visitor to be brief. This hint was not lost on the captain, who said: 'Mr. Dickenson, I am the person who removed the figure-head from the "Constitution," and I have brought it with me for the purpose of returning it to the Government.' The secretary threw himself back in his chair, pushed his gold-bowed spectacles with a sudden movement up on his forehead, and regarded with genuine astonishment the man who, after evading the most diligent search for his discovery,

now came forward and made this voluntary avowal. Between amazement and choler, the old gentleman could scarce stutter out: 'You, sir! You! What, sir! Did you have the audacity to disfigure a ship of the United States Navy?' — 'Sir, I took the responsibility. — 'Well, sir, I'll have you arrested immediately;' and the secretary took up the bell to summon a messenger. 'Stop, sir!' said the captain, 'You cannot inflict any punishment. I can only be sued for a trespass, and in the county where the offence was committed. Say the word, and I will go back to Charlestown, and await my trial; but if a Middlesex jury don't give *me* damages, my name is not Dewey.' The captain had explored the ground, and there was no statute at that time against defacing ships of war, and he knew it. Mr. Dickenson, an able lawyer, reflected a moment, and then put down his bell. 'You are right, sir,' said he; 'and now tell me all about the affair.' The captain remained some time closeted with the secretary, of whose treatment he had no reason to complain." [1]

Commodore Elliott sailed in the "Constitution" on the 3d of March for New York, and so concluded his stormy command of the Boston Yard. His successor, Commodore John Downes, assumed charge on the 16th of March. Commodore Downes continued the commandant for seven years and three months, until May 31, 1842, — a longer continuous command of the station than has ever been held by any one, except the first *Superintendent*, Commodore Samuel Nicholson, whose command extended from 1800 to 1812. Commodore Downes was also the commandant from March, 1849, to May, 1852, another period of three years; so that his administrations cover a greater time than any other commandant's before or since.

The "Independence," 74, the second vessel that was docked, having been razeed to a fine frigate,[2] took on board the United States Minister

[1] A nephew of Mr. Dewey, in a communication to the *Boston Evening Transcript*, Feb. 16, 1875, confirmed Mr. Drake's account, and added: "The morning after the figure-head was gone, all Boston was in commotion, and Sam Dewey was missing. The boots he wore the day before were hanging on a line in the back-yard, and his mother, having a strong suspicion that *she* knew who did the deed, confirmed the same by touching her tongue to the boots, and ascertained that they had been wet by salt water."

After the deed, Commodore Elliott posted a marine sentinel, with an officer constantly by his side at night, to defend the figurehead from further mutilation; and Commodore E. reported to the Secretary of the Navy "that on the 5th of July [he was probably mistaken] a second attempt was made to carry off a larger portion of the figure, which was discovered, one of the actors being probably drowned in attempting to escape, while the other succeeded in passing the wall. The boat [he adds] in which the attempt was made was captured, and is now at the yard." The excitement, and how far it extended, may be realized by stating the fact that when the news of the mutilation of the figure was received in Wheeling, Va., the bells were rung, and the people, in a public meeting, passed resolutions approving the act.

The "Constitution" finally sailed from Boston for New York with its mutilated figure of Jackson on her bow covered with canvas, painted to represent the American flag. At New York the head was replaced; and, in order to secure it against similar assaults, a copper bolt was driven perpendicularly through it into the body of the figure.

[2] "The 'Independence,'" says the *Boston Post* of that day, "is now one of the most elegantly-modelled, commodious, and efficient ships in the navy. She has a battery of sixty 32-pounders, thirty long guns on her main-deck, and an equal number of medium guns on her spar-deck. She is pierced for sixty-four guns, and her stern ports may in an exigency be converted into a battery, by changing the position of the aft and bow guns. The aggregate weight of the guns on the main-deck is 1,767 cwt, and on the spar-deck, 1,505 cwt. Her length, 200 feet; beam, 52; depth from spar-deck to hold, 30; depth between the beams and main-deck, 6 ft. 1 inch, an amount of space

to Russia, Hon. George M. Dallas and suite, and May 20, 1837, sailed, under the command of Commodore John B. Nicholson, from Boston.

There can be no doubt that the change made this ship the finest and heaviest frigate-built vessel of her time. On her arrival at Portsmouth, England, she was visited by the chief naval authorities, who expressed their admiration of her fine proportions and size; and the Admiralty soon after issued orders to lay down vessels of like character and capacity, and to razee several ships of the line to vessels of the same class.[1]

Another historic vessel was launched from the Yard when, on May 24, 1842, the frigate "Cumberland" slid from her ways.[2] She was a fine frigate of one thousand seven hundred and twenty-six tons, rated as a forty-four, but mounting sixty guns, and was built at a cost of $357,475. She served two cruises in the Mediterranean as Commodore S. H. Stringham's and Commodore Joseph Smith's flag-ship, and in 1846 as Commodore D. Connor's flag-ship in the Gulf of Mexico, and saw other service. She was afterward razeed into a decked sloop-of-war, or corvette, mounting twenty-two heavy guns, and was finally sunk by the rebel ironclad "Virginia" (Merrimac), in the memorable conflict in Hampton Roads, March, 1862.[3]

On Oct. 29, 1852, the United States steamer "Princeton No. 2" was launched. It is interesting to note that she was the successor of "Princeton No. 1," broken up in the Yard, and was built to contain her engines. The first "Princeton" was not only the first screw steamship added to our navy, but was also the first man-of-war screw steamship in the world.

Mention should be made of still another famous craft. On July 11, 1854, the keel was laid of a steam frigate, which was named the "Merrimac;" she was launched June 14, 1855, in the presence of many thousands of spectators, and towed to the upper shears to be masted. The National Lancers, of Boston, were present, and a salute of thirty-one guns was fired. The "Ohio," 74, and "Vermont," 74, in the stream, were thronged with people. She was modelled by Chief-Constructor John Lenthall, and built under the superintendence of Naval Constructor Edward H. Delano. She was of three thousand two hundred tons burden, was built to carry forty heavy guns, and cost complete $879,126.

which will be of the greatest utility during an engagement. Mainmast, 115 feet, and main-yard 105, and the same suit of sails she carried when a 74. Her draft at present is 22 feet 5 inches; and she carries 600 men, including the marines. She is probably the finest ship of her class in the world."

[1] On her arrival in Russia, she was visited incognito by the Emperor Nicholas; while he was inspecting the ship, the character of the royal visitor was discovered, when the imperial standard was hoisted at her main and a national salute fired, — a signal for all the surrounding ships of the Russian navy to hoist the Imperial standard, and to thunder out salutes of welcome.

[2] Her keel had been laid Oct. 29, 1825.

[3] Her fate has been immortalized in Longfellow's ballad of *The Cumberland:* —

. . . . . .

"Then like a kraken huge and black,
She crushed our ribs in her iron grasp!
Down went the 'Cumberland' all a-wrack,
With a sudden shudder of death,
And the cannon's breath
For her dying gasp.

"Next morn, as the sun rose over the bay,
Still floated our flag at the mainmast head.
Lord, how beautiful was Thy day!
Every waft of the air
Was a whisper of prayer
Or a dirge for the dead."

She sailed from Boston on her trial trip Feb. 25, 1856, and, returning, sailed again for Annapolis, where she arrived on April 19. She was the first screw steam-frigate launched in our navy, and while at Annapolis was visited and admired by great numbers, including nearly all the members of both Houses of Congress, then assembled in Washington. May 6, 1856, she sailed for Havana, and, returning to Boston July 7 following, sailed for England September 9 of the same year, and returned to Norfolk, Va., *via* St. Thomas, W. I., March 15, 1857. While in England she was visited by the naval authorities at Portsmouth, who pronounced her to be the finest vessel of war of her class afloat at that time; and the Admiralty at once issued orders to lay down several steam-frigates, patterned after her. From Norfolk she returned to Boston, and was immediately equipped for sea, and sailed Oct. 17, 1857, for the Pacific, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore John Collins Long. Returning from the Pacific, she arrived at Norfolk Feb. 6, 1860, and was put in ordinary. This was her last service under our flag. In April, 1861, she was got ready for sea, and but for the prevalence of treasonable counsels would have been taken out of Norfolk before the destruction of the navy yard, April 21, 1861. Her conversion into an ironclad, and, under the name of "Virginia," her attack upon our ships in Hampton Roads, and her defeat by the little "Monitor," March 8, 1862, and destruction by the rebels, May 11, 1862, have become matters of history.[1]

Jan. 1, 1858, the keel of a new steamship was laid in the upper ship-house. This ship, now known as the favorite flag-ship of Admiral Farragut, — the historic "Hartford," — was launched at 11.18 A. M., November 22, having been ten months and twenty-two days on the stocks.[2]

[1] Rear-Admiral Charles H. Davis wrote a history of the "Merrimac," which was printed in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, July, 1874.

[2] From a newspaper account we condense the following report of the launch of this since famous ship: —

"The weather was propitious, the mildness of a summer day succeeding an eager and nipping air, as the sun rose to the meridian; the tide was unusually high, — the highest of the year. As the hour for the launch approached, a continuous stream of visitors came pouring into the Yard. Hundreds were accommodated in the long galleries of the great ship-house, many betook themselves to the pier at the east side of it, and hundreds more took up positions along the sea-wall to the west of the ship. Many of the officers of the navy, and a large number of ladies and gentlemen, went on board and were launched in her. A large platform, temporarily erected, on the west side of the ship-house was filled with people, as were the tops of all the small buildings overlooking the scene. A line of scows was placed from the wharf to the 'Vermont' (74 guns), which was converted into a reception place for guests; and the Navy-Yard band, stationed on board, contributed to the interest of the occasion. The flag-ship 'Ohio' (74) was also gaily decorated with flags fore and aft. At half-past nine several hundred workmen were disposed along the ways, and with battering rams, each managed by four men, the work of setting up the wedges was commenced. The dull and irregular sound of wood meeting wood was succeeded by the busy clinking of the top-mauls against the iron wedges, splitting out the blocks upon which the keel rested, the wale and bilge shores having been previously removed. The blocks were cut out, and now the ship was held stationary on the long inclined plane by means of a thick oak plank on either side, one end of which was secured to the bilge-ways which went out from the ship, while the other was bolted firmly to the immovable launching ways. A double jack-screw was placed under the bow of the ship, by which to give her a start on her entrance into the watery element. The multitude of visitors momentarily increased. The harbor presented an animated appearance, dotted all around with the cutters of the navy, manned by gallant tars, the

The ship as launched rated fourteen heavy guns, but mounted twenty-two when equipped for sea, and measured one thousand nine hundred and twenty tons; under later laws her measurement was reduced to one thousand three hundred and sixty-six tons, and was increased again, by the addition of a spar-deck in 1870, to two thousand tons, and two thousand nine hundred tons displacement. Her first cruise — 1859–61 — was to the East Indies, as the flag-ship of Commodore Stribling. Returning thence, she was the flag-ship of Farragut at New Orleans and at Mobile. After the war she was sent to the East Indies as the flag-ship of Rear-Admiral H. H. Bell, who had been Farragut's chief of staff at New Orleans. Admiral Bell was drowned at Hiogo, Japan, while she was wearing his flag. On her return to New York, a spar-deck, as noted, was added, and she was almost rebuilt. She is now (1881) in the dry-dock, at the Navy Yard, Charlestown, undergoing extensive repairs. It is worthy of remark, that she was launched from the same ways as the "Merrimac." [1]

barge or long gig of some superior officer, and numerous yawl-boats from vessels in port. Here and there a squad of marines stood, interested spectators of the scene, and quite a number of the uniforms of the Boston police were to be seen among the crowd. Some bad boys delighted to astonish the multitude by shouting in an ecstasy of mirth and with roguish winks, 'There she goes!' each time raising the expectation of the bystanders, to be succeeded by looks of blank astonishment at the presumption of Young America. At length the sound of hammers ceased, the form of Mr. Delano, the constructor, appeared conspicuously at the forward part of the ship, and the order was given to saw off the planks that alone restrained her freedom. The plates of the saws had gone nearly through the planks, when the ship, impatient to leave *terra firma*, broke the remaining hindrance, and glided down the ways into the water, amid the shouts of the spectators, who first said cautiously, 'She moves!' then, as doubt gave way to certainty, a confident burst of '*There she goes!*' announced the success of the launch. The workmen cheered the ship, and those on board returned the compliment; the band struck up 'Hail Columbia,' and the battery on the sea-wall thundered a salute of thirty-two guns,—one for every State in the Union,—and amid loud cheers and the waving of handkerchiefs the good ship gracefully settled down upon the tide. As she touched the water, Miss Lizzie Stringham, daughter of the Commandant of the Yard, broke a bottle of Connecticut-River water across her figurehead; Miss Carrie Downes, daughter of Commodore Downes, a bottle of Hartford spring-water; and Lieutenant George H. Preble, a bottle of sea water, obtained from outside the harbor, — and thus was she nobly christened THE HARTFORD. The ship floated out into the harbor about three times her length from the pier, when she was checked by the cables, and her stern swung toward Chelsea, when the tugs 'Huron' and 'Wide Awake' steamed alongside and towed her to the wharf. Not the slightest accident occurred to mar the gala occasion. Hundreds came late, to find the vessel had gone off, and that 'time and tide wait for no man,' — or woman."

I may add to the account of the christening, that unfortunately one of the young ladies broke the bottle of water assigned her before the launch, and the other, in the excitement, threw hers wide of the mark, and it entered the water unbroken; so that the only bottle fairly broken upon her bows was a bottle of sea water, held by the writer, as he pronounced her, in loud voice, "The *good ship* HARTFORD." Commodore Stringham, consistently with his known temperance proclivities, would not allow the heathen custom of breaking a bottle of wine over the bows, as a libation to the gods Neptune and Bacchus.

[1] Prior to the war of 1861–65, the following vessels of war had been launched from the Navy Yard; namely, the "Frolic," sloop-of-war, 1813; "Independence," 74, 1814; "Alligator," schooner, 1820; "Boston," sloop-of-war, 1825; "Warren," sloop-of-war, 1826; "Falmouth," sloop-of-war, 1827; brig "Boxer," 1831; brig "Porpoise," and barques "Consort" and "Pioneer," 1836; "Marion," sloop-of-war, 1837; "Cyane," sloop-of-war, 1839; brig "Bainbridge," 1842; "Erie," rebuilt, 1842; "Cumberland," frigate, 1842; "Plymouth," sloop-of-war, 1843; "Vermont," 74 (launched), 1848; "Princeton," S.S., 1851; "Merrimac," screw-frigate, 1855 (afterward the historic Confederate iron-clad, "Virginia"); "Hartford," screw-sloop, 1858; "Narragansett," screw-sloop, 1859.

Between 1861 and 1866 the Civil War caused great activity in the building, equipping, and movement of vessels. During these years thirty-nine vessels of war were built at the Navy Yard, and in the neighboring shipyards of Boston;[1] and forty-three purchased vessels were equipped at the Navy Yard.

When, on March 5, 1874, the iron torpedo-boat "Intrepid" was launched from the upper ship-house, at 1.15 P. M., she was the first vessel of the kind added to our navy.

Between the years 1832 and 1880, inclusive, — a period of forty-eight years, — there was expended upon the establishment at Charlestown, including the civil establishment, improvements, outlays for the magazine and hospital, and contingent expenses and general maintenance, $10,618,716, — an average annual expenditure of $221,223.62. This does not include the expenditures on the ships built and repaired at the Yard during that period, or the pay of laborers and mechanics employed on them.

There are now, in 1881, on the stocks at the Navy Yard (besides what is left of the "Virginia"), the "Connecticut," a first-rate, of two thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine tons, and four thousand four hundred and forty-two tons displacement, whose keel was laid in 1864; the "Oregon," a double-turreted ironclad, whose keel was laid in 1864; and the "Penn-

[1] The following vessels were built: "Wachusett," 1861; "Housatonic," 1861; "Maritanza," 1861; "Huron," 1861; "Chocura," 1861; "Marblehead," 1861; "Sagamore," 1861; "Canandaigua," 1862; "Genessee," 1862; "Tioga," 1862; "Massasoit," 1863; "Osceola," 1863; "Mattabahassett," 1863; "Chicopee," 1863; "Tallapoosa," 1863; "Winooski," 1863; "Pequot," 1863; "Saco," 1863; "Monadnock," 1864; "Winnepec," 1864; "Ammonoosuc," 1864; "Ashuelot," 1865; "Speedwell," 1865; "Fortune," 1865; "Guerrière," 1865; "Leyden," 1866; "Palos," 1866; "Standish," 1866; "Mayflower," 1866; "Worcester" or "Manitou," 1866. Ironclads, — "Nantucket," 1863; "Nahant," 1863; "Canonicus," 1864; "Casco," 1864; "Chimo," 1864; "Shawnee," 1864; "Nausett," 1865; "Squando," 1865; "Suncook," 1865. The "Guerrière," in 1871, took the remains of Admiral Farragut from Portsmouth to New York; and in 1873 brought the remains of Major-General Robert Anderson, of Fort Sumter fame, from Nice to the same port. The "Monadnock," a double-turreted ironclad, was the first monitor ironclad to go from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, in 1866.

The following vessels were purchased for the United States, and equipped at the Navy Yard, during the war: —

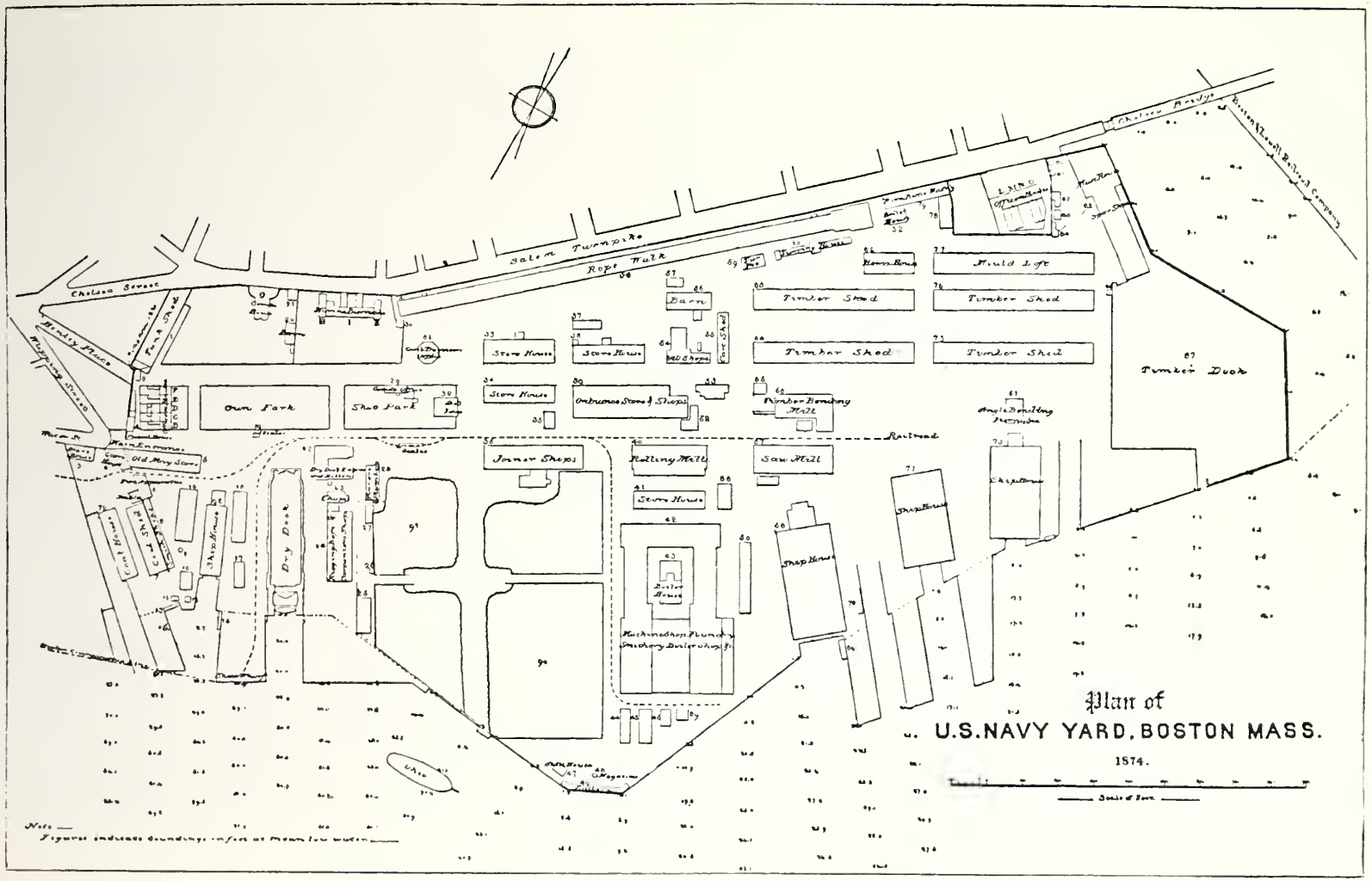
1861. — "P. Sprague," S.S., 963 tons, name changed to "Flag;" "Cambridge," S.S., 858 tons; "Ethan Allen," sailing bark, 566 tons; "Fear-not," sailing ship, 1,012 tons; "Gemsbok," sailing bark, 620 tons; "Ino," sailing ship, 985 tons; "Massachusetts," S.S., 1,115 tons; "South Carolina," S.S., 1,165 tons; "Onward," sailing bark, 874 tons; "W. G. Anderson," sailing bark, 542 tons; "Young Rover," sailing bark, 418 tons.

1862. — "Kensington," S.S., 1,052 tons.

1863. — "Aries," prize S.S., 820 tons; "Britannia," prize S.S., 495 tons; "Cornubia," prize S.S., 800 tons; "Dow," prize S.S., 390 tons; "Harvest Moon," S. W. Str., 546 tons; "Howgush," 397 tons; "Iron Age," S.S., 424 tons; "Niphon," S.S., 475 tons; "Kershaw," prize S.S., 80 tons; "Sunflower," steam-tug, 294 tons; "Vicksburg," changed to "Acacia," S.S., 500 tons; "Victory," changed to "Queen," prize S.S., 630 tons; "Wando," prize S.S., 645 tons.

1864. — "Atlanta," prize S.S. ironclad, 1,006 tons; "Azalia," steam-tug, 176 tons; "Bat," prize S.S., 530 tons; "Belle," 52 tons; "Cherokee," prize S.S., 606 tons; "F.W. Lincoln," name changed to "Phlox," Str., 317 tons; "Glide," steam-tug, name changed to "Glance," 80 tons; "Little Ada," prize S.S., 196 tons; "Philippi," prize S.S., 311 tons; "Thistle," prize S.S., name changed to "Dumbarton;" "Union," name changed to "Unit," S.S., 500 tons; "Tristram Shandy," prize S.S., 444 tons.

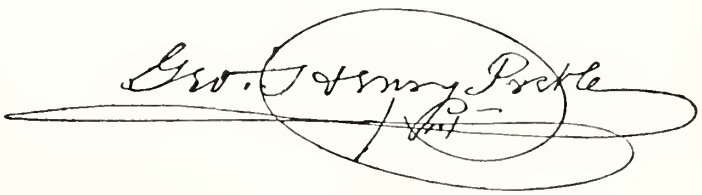
1865 — "Ella and Annie," prize S.S., 627 tons, name changed to "Malvern;" "R. E. Lee," prize S.S., 900 tons, name changed to "Fort Donaldson;" "Trefoil," steam-tug, 370 tons; "Young America," prize, 173 tons; "Yucca," S.S., 373 tons.


Salem Turnpike
Rope Walk
Chelsea Street
Navy Place
Main Entrance
Old Navy Store
Own Yard
Shoe Yard
Store House
Store House
Store House
Ordnance Store & Shops
Barn
Old Shops
Joiner Shops
Rolling Mill
Saw Mill
Timber Dry House
Timber Shed
Timber Shed
Timber Shed
Timber Shed
Mould Loft
Timber Dock
Railroad
Dry Dock
Ship House
Ship House
Ship House
Chapel
Boston & Lowell Railroad Company
Plan of
U.S. NAVY YARD, BOSTON MASS.
1874.
Scale of Feet
Note —
Figures indicate soundings in fathoms at Mean low water

sylvania," whose keel was laid in 1865. It is not probable that any of these vessels will be launched or put to any practical use as war vessels, being behind the times as to model and design, and much decayed. It will be more economical to build new ships.

The "Niagara" and "Iowa," first rates, "Ossipee,"[1] third rate, and "Ohio," 74, are in ordinary at the Yard. They are not likely to be called into active service again, as they are decayed, and more or less of an obsolete type. The steam-frigate "Wabash" lies off the Yard, in commission as the receiving ship for recruits; and the "Hartford," as has been stated, is in the dry-dock undergoing extensive repairs, which will be completed in 1882.

The Navy Yard, which was originally little more than an unpromising mud flat, with additional purchases since made, and the filling-in of flats and marshes, now contains an area of eighty-seven and a half acres.[2]



[1] The "Ossipee" was towed to Philadelphia in May, 1881, by the "Vandalia," to be rebuilt.

[2] It is surrounded on the land side by a substantial granite wall, twelve feet high, built in 1825–26, and has a water-frontage of eight thousand two hundred and seventy feet; it has three building-slips and four ship-houses: in all seven building-ways for vessels. There is a wet-timber dock at the eastern end of the yard, enclosing an area of over five acres. In the upper part of the Yard are two wet basins, only separated by a roadway, and covering an area of seven acres. It has been proposed to excavate these basins, to afford dockage for the ships in ordinary. There are now (1881) inside the walls twenty brick, eleven stone, thirty-six wooden, and two iron buildings, besides numerous temporary sheds and buildings. Only eight buildings are standing which are on the yard plan of 1823. The oldest, at the entrance of the Yard, was built of brick in 1803, for a storehouse, sail-loft, and offices, etc., and is now occupied by the library and museum of the United States Naval Library and Institute, and for court-martial room, dispensary, pay, and other offices. The dwelling-house for the commandant was not completed until 1809, and has been occupied by the first and every successive commandant. Its interior has undergone many alterations and changes; but its exterior presents much the appearance of the original plan. There are two avenues running lengthwise of the Yard, ornamented with shade-trees; and "Flirtation Alley," along the inner side of the ropewalk, with its shady trees and plank-walk, is a well-known resort of lovers on moonlight nights. There are four dwellings for officers at the eastern and five at the western entrance of the Yard. The commandant's house and the marine barracks, with the marine officers' quarters, occupy a midway position in the Yard.

The steam-engineering building, erected in 1858, is of brick, with granite trimmings. It covers an area of one hundred and thirty-five thousand seven hundred and fifty-five square feet, and contains a brass and iron foundry, boiler, blacksmith, and machine shops; there are two engines of one hundred horse-power in the building, to drive the machinery of the establishment; and the chimney is higher than Bunker Hill Monument, being two hundred and forty feet in height, while the monument is two hundred and twenty feet. The rolling-mill connected is a brick building, two hundred and seven by eighty-eight feet, and has an engine of one hundred horse-power.

The ropewalk, the finest in the country, was built in 1836, of rough ashlar granite, and runs parallel with Chelsea Street for *one thousand three hundred and sixty feet*. A second story, seven hundred and forty-eight feet long, was built in 1856. The head house is of three stories, sixty by seventy feet, and contains two double engines, — the needed power for the

manufactory. It can manufacture two thousand five hundred tons per year of all kinds and sizes of rope. All the rope used by the United States navy is manufactured at this establishment. A two-story brick building, to the eastward in line with the wall, in 1873 was arranged for the manufacture of wire rope, and is capable of turning out five hundred tons of wire rigging. There is a brick boiler-house, fifty-five by forty-four feet, containing eight boilers, supplying the requisite power for the use of the establishments; and a granite hemp-house, for the storage of that material; also a tarring-house. The machinery is almost automatic, and very interesting and curious, and in wonderful contrast to that of former years.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ANTISLAVERY MOVEMENT IN BOSTON.

BY JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE.

THE emancipation of four millions of slaves in the United States was certainly one of the greatest events of the nineteenth century. If finally accomplished by the sword, the power which wielded the sword was the conscience and reason of the nation, awakened to the sight of this great evil and sin. To create the moral force which overthrew slavery was the work of the Abolitionists; and they accomplished this work in about thirty years, or in the life of a single generation. When we consider the resistance which was overcome, this result must be regarded as an unexampled triumph of pure truth. The slaves held in the Southern States were valued, at the time of the Civil War, at about three thousand millions of dollars. Added to this pecuniary interest was the value of cotton lands, sugar plantations, and rice fields, cultivated exclusively by slaves. Besides this powerful motive for maintaining slavery were the force of custom, the habits engendered by despotism, pride, prejudice, and hatred of outside interference. These interests and feelings gradually united the whole South in a determined hostility to emancipation; and men professing Antislavery principles could not live safely in many of the slaveholding States. This united South had for its allies at the North both the great political parties, the commercial and manufacturing interests, nearly the whole press, and both extremes of society. Abolition was equally obnoxious in the parlors of the wealthy and to the crowd of roughs in the streets, — fashion and the mob being for once united by a common enmity. It was against this immense weight of opposition that the Abolitionists contended; and their strength consisted wholly in the justice of their cause, and the enthusiasm which that cause inspired. They could appeal to no personal interests or partialities. Their client, the colored man, was unattractive, ignorant, without influence, and could make them no return for their generous labors. They must "give, hoping for nothing again." In this cause they must be prepared to sacrifice the dearest friendships, social position, opportunity of advancement, — and with scarcely any reasonable prospect of ultimate success. Unless they could trust in the immortal power of justice and truth, they

had little ground for hope. But they did so trust, and their faith was rewarded with sight. Many lived to see the triumph of their cause, and in their case was realized the saying that "those who go forth weeping, bearing good seed, shall doubtless come again rejoicing, bringing their sheaves with them."

It is therefore no small honor to the city of Boston that it was the cradle in which this new Revolution was rocked, and the nursery where it grew into strength. It was not so considered at first. For a long time the presence of the Abolitionists and their meetings were regarded by the large majority of Bostonians as a misfortune; but we can now see that a community which furnished the proper soil in which such a plant could grow must have possessed a strong moral character.

It was not accident which made Boston the cradle of the Abolition movement, any more than it was accident which made it, sixty years before, the cradle of the American Revolution. A habit of independent thought, and a vigorous moral training, supplied the conditions necessary for both.

Before the Revolution, Massachusetts, like all the other States, held slaves. Those of my age can remember seeing in many households old colored men and women who, though they had become free, remained in the families where they had been born slaves. In the Congressional report of Mr. J. R. Ingersoll, in 1844, on Antislavery resolutions passed by Massachusetts, the State is taunted with advertisements from Boston newspapers of 1776, offering slaves for sale in that town. The very number of the *Boston Gazette*, July 22, 1776, which contained the Declaration of Independence, advertised a stout, healthy negro-man for sale. Down to that time slavery continued, though in a mild form, in our State. The number of slaves was not large. In 1763 the number of blacks to whites was as one to forty-five; in 1776, as one to sixty-five.[1] They were not badly treated. Slaves in Massachusetts were always allowed to testify against white men, even in capital cases.[2] No woman was ever known to labor as a field-hand in this State. The sentiment of the people was strong against slavery, even in early days. In 1646 the General Court passed an order sending back to Africa a negro stolen there and brought to Boston, expressing its indignation against man-stealing. In 1701 the Selectmen of Boston passed a vote requesting the Representatives "to put a period to negroes being slaves." In 1766 and 1767 votes were passed in town-meeting instructing its representatives "THAT for the total abolishing of slavery among us, THAT you move for a law to prohibit the importation and purchasing of slaves for the future."[3] In 1770 occurred the case of Prince Boston, who was hired and paid wages by a Quaker in Nantucket, — Elisha Folger; and when his owner brought an action for the recovery of his slave, the jury returned a verdict against the owner, and

[1] *Report to Massachusetts House of Representatives*, January, 1822, by Theodore Lyman, Jr., afterward Mayor of Boston.

[2] *Lecture at Lowell Institute*, by Emory Washburn, 1869.

[3] Theodore Lyman, Jr.'s *Report*, as above.

Prince Boston was manumitted by the magistrates. The feeling of those Bostonians who desired independence was expressed by Sam Adams, who, when a negro girl was offered as a present to his wife, declined to receive her as a slave, and said, "Surry must be free on crossing the threshold of my house."[1] This showed an advance from the time of Cotton Mather, who entered in his diary in 1706 that he "received a singular blessing" in the gift of "a very likely slave," which was "a mighty smile of Heaven upon his family." In 1783 slavery came to an end in Massachusetts, by the decision of the Supreme Court, which held that the declaration inserted in the State Constitution of 1780, that "all men are born free and equal," abolished slavery forever.[2] In the first census of the inhabitants of the United States, in 1790, only free persons were returned from Massachusetts, the only State in the Union which did not then hold slaves, and the only State represented in the first Congress, in 1789, which had formally abolished slavery.[3]

With such antecedents and traditions, it was natural that Massachusetts and Boston should be the home and centre of the last and successful movement for abolishing slavery throughout the whole Union.

William Lloyd Garrison, the leader of the movement, whose name will stand forever among those which the world will not willingly let die, was not a Boston boy indeed, though a son of Massachusetts. He was born in Newburyport,[4] Dec. 10, 1805, his father being a sea-captain, and his mother a member of the Baptists, and a deeply religious woman. From her he probably inherited his profoundly religious tendency and his strength of moral conviction. After trying one or two other trades he became a printer; and subsequently editor, in succession, of two or three newspapers, the last being a political journal in Bennington, Vermont. From this place he was taken by Benjamin Lundy to Baltimore, in 1829, to assist in editing his Antislavery paper, the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. His style of writing roused great opposition; and soon an article in which he denounced a Mr. Todd, a fellow-townsman, for taking in his vessel a cargo of eighty slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans, caused him to be prosecuted for libel, and sent to jail from inability to pay the fine of fifty dollars. This caused much excitement through the country. Joseph T. Buckingham, of the *Boston Courier*, a man who had "somewhat in him gritty,"[5] printed two sonnets written by Garrison in prison. John G. Whittier, then, or a little later, editing a Whig paper in Hartford, wrote to Henry Clay, telling him the case, and asking him to pay the fine. Clay inclined to do so, but requested further information from a gentleman in Baltimore. Meantime the fine was paid by Arthur Tappan, a leading New York merchant. Garrison then

[1] Robert Dickson Smith's *Oration*, July 5, 1880.

[2] [See the note on this point in J. P. Quincy's chapter on "Social Life in Boston," in Vol. IV. p. 6. — ED.]

[3] Theodore Lyman's *Report*, as above.

[4] [See a view of his birthplace in *Harper's Magazine*, 1875, ii. 166. — ED.]

[5] "Thought I, my neighbor Buckingham
Hath somewhat in him gritty,
Some Pilgrim stuff that hates all sham,
And he will print my ditty." — LOWELL.

proposed establishing an Antislavery paper in Washington; but considering that the North needed conversion as much as the South, and ought to be made the fulcrum for his lever, he came to Boston, and, Jan. 1, 1831, published the first number of the *Liberator*.[1]

Mr. Oliver Johnson, one of the earliest associates of Mr. Garrison, has given us a picture of the humble room and poor surroundings, — "the obscure hole," as it was called by the mayor of the city, — where

> "In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
> Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
> The place was dark, unfurnitured, and mean,
> Yet there the freedom of a race began."

"Everything around it," says Mr. Johnson, "had an aspect of slovenly decay. The dingy walls; the small windows, bespattered with printer's ink; the press standing in one corner, the composing stands opposite; the long editorial and mailing table, covered with newspapers; the bed of the editor and publisher on the floor, — all these made a picture never to be forgotten."

Garrison was singularly adapted to the work for which Providence selected him. He had a manifest calling, and he gave such diligence as to make it sure. Conscience, reason, and will were the leading elements of his character. His conscience caused him in each instance to ask, in regard to every action, custom, or institution, "Is it right or wrong?" His understanding was in the highest degree logical, and to his mind every proposition was either true or false. He was not one of those who perceive much to be said on both sides, and who sometimes confuse the clearness of their judgment by too much balancing in their thought. His fault was never that of indecision; he saw none of the fine shades which make a mild transition from one opinion to its opposite; and having decided what ought to be believed and done, nothing could afterward shake the persistency of his purpose. As Dr. Wayland said of John Howard: "Having formed his determination, he went forward to its accomplishment with an energy which the nature of the human mind prevented from being more, and the character of the individual forbade to be less." In these traits of Garrison we see reproduced the main elements of New England Puritanism, — its high moral tone; its intensity of conviction; its colorless, unpicturesque, and somewhat narrow methods of thought; its readiness to make

[1] These facts, and others here given, are taken from Oliver Johnson's book, *Garrison and his Times*. Oliver Johnson and Samuel E Sewall are almost the only survivors of those who were with Garrison from the very first. [Sets of the *Liberator*, so important to the study of the Antislavery movement, have fortunately been preserved in various places. Mr. F. J. Garrison reports twelve sets nearly complete: Boston Public Library, Boston Athenæum, Harvard College Library, Cornell University Library, Rhode Island Historical Society at Providence, American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Library of Congress, Long Island Historical Society at Brooklyn, Portland Public Library, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Miss Caroline Weston, of Weymouth, Mass., and the family of Mr. Garrison. See further on the *Liberator*, in Mr. Cummings's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

any sacrifice to its convictions; and that energy of will which has given it such commanding power on both continents.

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.[1]

The one question which Mr. Garrison asked concerning slavery was, "Is it right, or is it wrong?" This question was easily answered; and the

[1] [This likeness follows a daguerreotype by Chase, taken about 1853, and selected by the kindred of Mr. Garrison for the engraver's purpose. The Editor is indebted to Mr. Wendell P. Garrison for the following statement: —

"The number of portraits of Mr. Garrison, in every variety of medium, is very great. For the print-collector only four need be mentioned, namely: (1) A line-engraving on steel, by S. S. Jocelyn, after the full-size oil-painting from life, by N. Jocelyn, made in New Haven in April, 1833. The engraving was copyrighted just a year later. The likeness would not now be recognized readily, and was at the time considered a total failure. (2) A mezzotint, by John Sartain, after the cabinet oil-painting from life, by M. C. Torrey, made about 1836. Though faulty in its proportions, this likeness approves itself by its resemblance to Mr. Garrison's later aspect. The originals of both these portraits, which are front views, are now in the possession

natural inference was — "Being wrong, it ought to be immediately relinquished." Hence the fundamental doctrine of the Abolitionists, — the duty of immediate emancipation. To many this seemed a monstrous proposition. "What," they said; "set free at once more than two million slaves, — ignorant, helpless, vicious? This would be a curse to the slave and his master alike. These two millions do not own a dollar of property; they have nothing they can call their own; not an acre of land; no tools; no habits of foresight or self-control. You say slavery is a bad thing; bad in all its influence on slaves and master. If so, it has unfitted the slaves for freedom; it has depraved their characters; it has kept them children. To emancipate them at once would be like turning all the little children out into the streets to support themselves. No! Slaves ought not all to be immediately emancipated. They ought to be gradually prepared for freedom by some kind of education."

Something like this was the universal answer to Garrison's demand; but it did not disturb him. He fell back on his postulate: "Slavery is wrong. Every wrong act should be immediately abandoned. Therefore slavery ought at once to cease. Do right, and leave the results to God."

When pressed more closely in regard to the consequences of his proposed measure, he would explain his meaning thus: "By immediate emancipation I do not mean that the slaveholder should turn his slaves out of doors. I mean that he should at once recognize that they are no longer to be held as slaves, but to be regarded as free people, of whom he is the temporary guardian. I mean that he should allow those to leave him who desire it, and pay wages to those who remain." And this was, in fact, very nearly the actual solution of the situation when immediate emancipation came as the result of the Civil War.

The often quoted words in Garrison's opening address to the public in the first number of the *Liberator* indicated its whole course. He said: —

"I am aware that many object to the severity of my language; but is there not cause for severity? I *will be* as harsh as truth, and as uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to think, or speak, or write, with moderation. No! no! Tell a man whose house is on fire to give a moderate alarm; tell him to moderately rescue his wife from the hands of the ravisher; tell the mother to gradually extricate her babe from the fire into which it has fallen, — but urge me not to use moderation in a cause like the present. I am in earnest: I will not equivocate; I will not retreat a single inch, — AND I WILL BE HEARD."

of Edward M. Davis, Esq., of Philadelphia. (3) A lithograph, by Louis Grozelier, after the daguerreotype above mentioned, with the advantage of personal sittings, published in Boston by William C. Nell in 1854. This, though a little hard in drawing, is perhaps the most characteristic and vigorous of all the multiplied likenesses. The somewhat stern expression comports well with the motto beneath, — 'I am in earnest,' etc. (4) A line-and-stipple engraving, by F. T. Stuart, Boston, after a photograph by Warren, serving as frontispiece to Johnson's *Garrison and his Times* (1880). The view here is three-quarters to the right. The copy is very true to the original, which is well esteemed among the photographic likenesses of Mr. Garrison's latest years. Neither the bust by Clevenger nor that by Jackson was successful; but Miss Anne Whitney's (1878) is to be praised without reserve. In John Rogers's statuette group, 'The Fugitive's Story,' Mr. Garrison's head is carefully and not badly modelled, but the figure is stiffly posed."

The present likeness represents Mr. Garrison at the age of about forty-eight. His later years were passed in a house on Highland Street, in Roxbury. — ED.]

No one can say that Mr. Garrison did not fulfil to the letter this programme. He did not equivocate; he did not retreat; and he was heard! This trumpet uttered no uncertain sound; this soldier never fought as one who beat the air; this voice was heard and listened to year after year by increasing numbers. And now, looking back on the long conflict and its results, it is difficult to see how any other method could have been successful. Margaret Fuller explained in one fitting sentence the reason of the extreme sharpness of speech of the Abolitionists: "The nation was deaf in regard to the evils of slavery; and those who have to speak to deaf people naturally acquire the habit of saying everything on a very high key." The people would hardly have gone out into that wilderness of solitary convictions where Garrison and his few friends were, "to see a reed shaken by the wind" or "a man clothed in soft raiment;" but they *did* go out to hear Garrison. Nine years after the first issue of the *Liberator* there were nearly two thousand Antislavery societies, with a membership of about two hundred thousand persons.[1]

The first meeting for the purpose of forming an Antislavery Society on these principles was held in the office of Samuel E. Sewall, then a rising young lawyer of Boston, Nov. 13, 1831. Another followed, December 16. The names of those present, besides Mr. Garrison and Mr. Sewall, were Ellis Gray Loring and David Lee Child, Boston lawyers; Isaac Knapp, publisher of the *Liberator;* Samuel J. May, Unitarian minister, settled in Brooklyn, Connecticut, who was at the November meeting; Oliver Johnson, William J. Snelling, Alonzo Lewis, Abner Phelps, Abijah Blanchard, and Gamaliel Bradford. A constitution was drafted by Ellis Gray Loring and Oliver Johnson. The meeting for adopting this constitution was held, Jan. 6, 1832, in a school-room under the African Church on Belknap Street. It was a dismal night; a fierce snow-storm was raging outside, and within the room were a very few persons, scarcely known, with neither wealth nor influence; but then and there they united to overthrow the vast system of American slavery, — and in this effort they succeeded. Before that generation had passed away the work was done, and the society was disbanded as being no longer necessary. Then, as often in the course of history, it happened that God "chose the foolish things of this world to confound the wise; and weak things to confound the mighty; and things which were despised, and things which were not, to bring to nought things that were."

Before Mr. Garrison had been engaged in this work many years he was surrounded by a body of devoted friends and fellow-laborers, many of them belonging to this city by birth or residence. In Boston, and by the help of Boston men, he found the πού στῶ, the fulcrum for his lever, by which to move the world. Among these Bostonians we may mention the names of Samuel E. Sewall, Ellis Gray Loring and his wife Louisa Loring, Mrs. Maria W. Chapman and her sisters the Misses Weston, Samuel J. May, David Lee Child and his wife Lydia Maria Child, Henry I. Bowditch, William I. Bow-

[1] Wilson's *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, i. 187.

ditch, George Bradburn, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Charles Follen, John Pierpont, Francis Jackson, Charles F. Hovey, Eliza Lee Follen, Susan Cabot, Charles K. Whipple, Lucy Stone, and many others. Younger than most of these, but among the leaders, were Wendell Phillips and Edmund Quincy. Conspicuous for their Antislavery action, though not so closely affiliated with the Antislavery Society, were William Ellery Channing, Theodore Parker, Charles Sumner, Samuel G. Howe, Horace Mann, John A. Andrew, and John G. Palfrey.

Prominent among these associates of Garrison, both by his unsurpassed ability as an orator, his ready dialectics, and his unswerving devotion to the Antislavery cause, was Wendell Phillips. Born in Boston in 1811, son of the first mayor of the city, he graduated at Harvard in the class of 1831, and in the law-class of 1834. A witness of the mobbing of Garrison in 1835, he joined the Antislavery Society in 1836, and first appeared as an Antislavery speaker in the meeting occasioned by the murder of Lovejoy in 1837. From that time forward, until the final abolition of slavery, his time, thought, and means were devoted to this subject. As a public speaker he has been excelled by none, in our day, in the power of holding a miscellaneous audience, even when most hostile to himself and his ideas. Calm and self-possessed, speaking with deliberation, — without that fiery flow of thoughts and words which many consider as alone deserving the name of eloquence, — he charms his audience by clear, strong statement, happy illustration, unexpected surprises, unremitting appeals to human hopes and fears, loves and hates, and by contempt for baseness and admiration for truth and manly courage.

Another leader in the Garrisonian body was Edmund Quincy. Belonging to a family [2] in which patriotism, manly independence, and fearless speech have been transmitted from generation to generation, it was a good day for Antislavery in Boston when he gave to it his share of such an inheritance. With less fluency on the platform than Phillips, his clear, good sense, sharp logic, self-possession, and imperturbable determination made him an interesting speaker and formidable antagonist. He added to these qualities one very rare among these stern reformers, — a keen and brilliant wit. Satire and sarcasm they possessed abundantly; but only Edmund Quincy in Boston, and John P. Hale in the United States Senate were able to make fun of their antagonists while they demolished their arguments, and to speak the sober truth merrily. During many years a correspondent of the New York *Antislavery Standard* and the *New York Tribune*, the letters of Edmund Quincy sparkled with wit; and a very entertaining and instructive history of the times might be made by a judicious selection from those letters.

Several members of the Boston Bar did not hesitate early to identify themselves with the obnoxious Garrisonian Abolitionists, and prominent among

[1] [He was the son of the elder Mayor Quincy. — Ed.]

them to the last were Ellis Gray Loring, Samuel E. Sewall, and David Lee Child. Mr. Loring was wise, calm, strong, and gentle; a man more fond of literature and home than of the stormy Antislavery arena; but he was one always to be relied on to devote his hand, thought, heart, and means to the cause he accounted sacred. Mr. Sewall is still living among us in an honored age, and his modesty forbids that we should say more of him than this, — that in the long line of worthies who have honored the name of Sewall in Massachusetts, none will be found more deserving of her grateful remembrance than he.

Among the clergymen who very early took part with the Garrisonians were Amos A. Phelps, Samuel J. May, Samuel May, Jr., and Charles Follen. Less intimately connected with them, but warmly sympathizing with their purpose, were John Pierpont, Theodore Parker, Caleb Stetson, Henry Ware, Jr., Charles Lowell, John G. Palfrey, and others not so closely identified with Boston. Amos A. Phelps was the pastor of the Pine-Street Church, and his conversion to Antislavery was due to one of his parishioners, — Oliver Johnson. Besides other services, he helped the movement by contributing the definition of slavery which was accepted by all the Abolitionists as the basis of their action: "Slavery is the holding of a human being as property." Samuel J. May and Samuel May, Jr., nearly related to each other, and belonging to one of the most highly respected families in Boston, were always intimate friends of Garrison, and co-workers with him. Charles Follen, a native of Germany, and an exile for his liberal principles, also adopted this cause, — unpopular among most of his friends, but congenial to his convictions and his heart. John Pierpont — orator, poet, reformer, champion of human rights, a terror to evil-doers — did not hesitate in putting himself on the same side. John G. Palfrey, a representative from Boston in Congress, having forfeited that position by his speeches and votes against slavery and its extension, illustrated his sincerity by an act which won for him the high esteem of well-thinking men. Becoming heir to a part of the estate of his father, a resident in New Orleans, his brother offered to take the slaves as his own share, leaving other property for his Boston brother. This Dr. Palfrey declined, because it would be, in his judgment, equivalent to selling the slaves. He therefore took his portion of the slaves and emancipated them, brought them to Boston and found homes and occupation for them here.

A most important accession in Boston to the Antislavery movement was when William Ellery Channing — then in the height of his influence and fame — identified himself with it by his work on Slavery (1835); his letter to James G. Birney on "The Abolitionists" (1836); his appearance by the side of the Abolitionists in the State House in the same year; his demand in 1837 for the use of Faneuil Hall for a meeting to denounce the killing of Lovejoy in Alton; his speech at that meeting; and numerous publications in relation to slavery, from that time until the end of his life. But his world-wide reputation, his services to religion, literature, and good morals did not

save him from bitter criticism and opposition from the Boston press, and even from members of his own congregation. Though moderate in his statements, doing full justice to the slaveholder, and differing from the Garrisonian Abolitionists in many of their methods, it was enough that he was an earnest opposer of slavery and defender of the Abolitionists, to draw down on him the wrath of many of the leading citizens of Boston. In his book on Slavery he had laid down the principles that "man cannot be justly held and used as property;" that "he has sacred rights, the gift of God, and inseparable from human nature, of which slavery is the infraction." In his letter to Birney in 1836 he said of the Abolitionists: "When I regard their firm, fearless assertion of the rights of free discussion, of speech, and the press, I look on them with unmixed respect. . . . I do not hesitate to say that they have rendered to freedom a more essential service than any body of men among us. From my heart I thank them. I am myself their debtor. I am not sure that I should this moment write in safety had they shrunk from the conflict, shut their lips, imposed silence on their presses. A body of men and women more blameless than the Abolitionists cannot be found among us." Saying such words as these was enough in those days to change many of Dr. Channing's admirers into revilers and opponents. Dr. Channing had been much impressed with the wrong and evil of slavery during a visit to the West Indies in 1830, caused by ill health. On his return to Boston in 1831 he addressed his society, and spoke especially of what he had seen of slavery, saying such words as these: "I think no power can do justice to the evils of slavery. They are chiefly moral; they act on the mind, and through the mind bring intense suffering to the body. As far as the human soul can be destroyed, slavery is the destroyer. The slave is regarded as property, having no rights. I feel that we have little perception of the infinite evil of slavery, and I desire earnestly that a new sentiment should be called forth."

Lydia Maria Child, an ardent Abolitionist and able writer, whose *Appeal in favor of that Class of Americans called Africans* had just been published (1833), gives an account of her interviews with Dr. Channing at this period, in which she says: —

> "At every interview I could see that he grew bolder and stronger on the subject, while I felt that I grew wiser and more just. At first I thought him timid and even slightly timeserving, but I soon discovered that I formed this estimate from ignorance of his character. I learned that it was justice to *all*, not popularity for *himself*, which made him so cautious. He constantly grew upon my respect, until I came to regard him as the wisest as well as the gentlest apostle of humanity."

A little later than this, in the autumn of 1834, Samuel J. May describes an interview with Dr. Channing, which probably hastened the publication of his work on Slavery, which he began at Santa Cruz, but only printed in 1835. Mr. May had identified himself with Garrison from the beginning. He says that he always cherished such a reverence for Dr. Chan-

ning that he was inclined to defer to his opinions, and accept them in silence. On this occasion Dr. Channing, while expressing his agreement with the Abolitionists in all their essential doctrines, complained of their harsh denunciations, their violent language, and frequent injustice to their opponents; to which Mr. May at last replied: "If this is so, Sir, it is your fault. You have held your peace, and the stones have cried out. If we, who are obscure men, silly women, babes in knowledge, commit these errors, why do not such men as yourself speak, and show us the right way?" Having thus spoken, "I bethought myself," says Mr. May, "to whom I was administering this rebuke, — the best and greatest of our great and good men, who had ever treated me as a father. I was overwhelmed with a sense of my temerity. I waited, in painful silence, his reply. At last, in a subdued voice and the kindest tones, he said: 'Brother May, I acknowledge the justice of your reproof. I have been silent too long.'"

Samuel J. May, who gives us this anecdote, was himself a very remarkable man. In him was seen not only the rare union but the perfect harmony of strength and sweetness, leonine courage and kindly sympathy. He would be burned at the stake for his convictions, but would not unnecessarily hurt a fly. His presence was persuasion; and there were few opponents whose prejudices were not softened by his frank good-will. Anecdotes are related of Southern slave-holders who, meeting him with fury on account of his abolition sentiments, ended by becoming his warm friends.

Early in August, 1835, fifteen hundred prominent citizens of Boston appended their names to a call for a public meeting in Faneuil Hall, to denounce the agitation of slavery as putting in peril the existence of the Union. At this meeting men of influence charged the Abolitionists with being disturbers of the public peace, and endangering the safety of the country. The newspapers, with hardly an exception, took the same tone. The Abolitionists had sent a large number of tracts and papers to the South, — not intended for the slaves, few of whom could read them, but for the masters, whom they wished to convert. They were, however, accused both at the North and South of seeking to stir up the slaves to insurrection, and wishing them to cut their masters' throats. The community in Boston was excited against Mr. Garrison and his friends. The language of the Abolitionists was no doubt severe, and could not be otherwise. They were determined to arouse the conscience of the people. They did not strike in order to strike, but in order to hit. Their object was to rouse a sleeping nation, and woe was laid on them if they did their work negligently. At the same time let us do justice to those who then resisted the Abolitionists. The fear of losing Southern trade, and having Southern customers driven from Boston to New York, no doubt had its influence; but with this was joined an honest sympathy with the difficulties and dangers of those living in Southern States, an honest fear that the violent

speech of the Abolitionists would endanger the peace of the land, and that it would postpone the gradual emancipation which many were then expecting. The Abolitionists were commonly regarded as wild and reckless fanatics, who were ready to stir up strife between North and South, and excite the slaves to insurrection and murder. This was the prevailing public opinion in Boston during the first years of the Antislavery movement. It was shared by all classes, — lawyers, legislators, the clergy, the press, and the people generally. The conversation in the parlors of the fashionable, the coarse profanity of the drinking saloons, the speeches in the Legislature, and the leaders in the newspapers were in full sympathy on this subject. Every man who was willing to identify himself with Mr. Garrison and his movement did it at the risk of alienating his friends, losing his business, hurting the feelings of those dearest to him, and encountering the scorn and ill-will of the community. The worst of these trials was that of being condemned by really good men, — men justly respected in Church and State. It seemed, also, a hopeless struggle, "a warfare," as Bryant said, which would "only end with life; a friendless warfare, lingering through weary day and weary year, in which the timid good stood aloof, the sage frowned, and the hissing bolt of scorn would too surely reach its aim." Well-meaning men went so far as to be willing to give up the sacred guarantees of freedom in order to stop the press and shut the mouths of Abolitionists. Mr. William Sullivan, an excellent lawyer and worthy gentleman of Boston, printed a pamphlet, in which was expressed the hope "that Massachusetts will enact laws declaring the printing, publishing, and circulating pamphlets on slavery, and also holding meetings to discuss slavery and abolition, to be public, indictable offences, and to provide for the punishment thereof in such a manner as will more effectually prevent such offences." Leonard Woods, Jr., declared in the *Literary and Theological Review*, edited by him, that Abolitionists "were justly liable to the highest civil penalties and ecclesiastical censures." And Governor Everett, in his message to the Massachusetts Legislature in January, 1836, expressed the opinion that the Antislavery movement would injure the condition of the slave and endanger the Union; and that any publication calculated "to excite an insurrection among the slaves had been held by highly respectable legal authority an offence against the peace of the Commonwealth, which may be prosecuted as a misdemeanor at common law." Such being the general state of opinion among all classes of society, it is no wonder that these views soon resulted, in some of the Northern States, in acts of violence and outrage against the property and persons of the Abolitionists. Such was the violent suppression of Miss Crandall's school for colored girls in Canterbury, Conn.; such were the mobs in New York which sacked the house of Lewis Tappan; the mobs which destroyed Mr. Birney's press in Cincinnati, and broke up the meeting in Utica. Samuel J. May was mobbed five times in Vermont in one month. A hall in Philadelphia, built at an expense of $40,000 by the friends of free speech, was burned to the ground

by a mob, in the presence of the mayor and his police; and the public meeting held in Faneuil Hall, to denounce the Abolitionists, was followed, in two months, by the mob of "well-dressed gentlemen," which dispersed a meeting of women, destroyed an Antislavery sign, and threatened the life of Mr. Garrison. A lasting discredit rested on Boston from this transaction. It is another instance of the mischief which results when the reckless and turbulent few take the lead, and the more numerous timidly-good remain passive.

The facts in regard to this mob were these.[1] Great offence had been taken because George Thompson, an eminent and eloquent English Antislavery orator, had delivered public addresses in the United States against American slavery. This was thought to be a matter with which foreigners had nothing to do. The people of Boston forgot the assistance they had rendered to the Greeks in their insurrection against the Turkish tyranny, and how they had delighted in the eloquence of Webster, Clay, and Everett exerted in behalf of an oppressed people in a foreign land. It was right apparently for Americans, though foreigners, to speak in behalf of Greek slaves, but wrong for English foreigners to speak in behalf of American slaves. Mr. Thompson, before he came to this country, had done such service for the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies that in 1833, when the Act of Emancipation was passed, Lord Brougham said in the House of Lords: "I rise to take the crown of this most glorious victory from every other head, and place it upon George Thompson's. He has done more than any other man to achieve it." Having accomplished this work at home, Mr. Thompson accepted an invitation from the Abolitionists of America to come and speak in behalf of freedom here. He was immediately greeted with the title of "a British emissary," hired by "British gold," to destroy the American Union. He was denounced in Faneuil Hall by Harrison Gray Otis, Peleg Sprague, and Richard Fletcher. It is difficult to understand the degree of excitement and blind prejudice which then prevailed. The *Boston Centinel* called Thompson "a foreign vagrant," who would never be allowed to address another meeting in this country. The *Boston Courier* called him "a scoundrel," and "a vagabond." The *Commercial Gazette* was astonished that "he should dare to browbeat public opinion," and suggested that he and Garrison should be "thrown overboard" if they ventured to speak again.

While the feeling thus excited was at its height, a meeting was announced of the Boston Female Antislavery Society, to be held Oct. 21, 1835, in the building, 46 Washington Street, where the *Liberator* was printed. An incendiary placard was issued the same day, at 12 o'clock, from the office of the *Commercial Gazette*, announcing that "the infamous foreign scoundrel, Thompson, will hold forth this afternoon at the *Liberator*

[1] *Liberator* (see the Nos. for October and November, 1835). *Proceedings of the Antislavery meeting, held on the Twentieth Anniversary of the Mob of Oct. 21, 1855. The Garrison Mob. Papers relating to the Mob*, edited by Theodore Lyman, 3rd.

office, No. 46 Washington Street. The present is a fair opportunity for the friends of the Union to snake Thompson out." It added that one hundred dollars had been raised to be paid to the man who should "first lay violent hands on Thompson, that he might be brought to the tar-kettle before dark." George Thompson, however, was not at the meeting, nor in the city; nor had he been invited to speak. The crowd, however, early collected, and prevented all but about thirty women from entering. Some of the mob crowded into the room. Amid this tumult the ladies calmly proceeded with their business, Miss Mary Parker offering prayer in a clear and serene voice. Meantime the mayor, Theodore Lyman, who before had sent some officers to protect the building and keep out the mob, arrived himself, cleared the building of the rioters, and urged the ladies to retire, as it might not be in his power, with his small force, to protect them long. This they did, the police making a passage for them through the mob. But though the mayor assured the crowd that Mr. Thompson was not in the building, it did not disperse, but became larger and more noisy. The mayor and his officers continued to defend the entrance of the building; but finding that the mob now clamored for Garrison, he went upstairs and advised Mr. Garrison to leave the house by a private way which led into Wilson's Lane behind. This Mr. Garrison did, but with calmness, as he continued to do all things during the whole affair. Then the mayor went down again to the door, and fearing that the Antislavery sign might induce the mob to throw stones at it, and so be led on to further violence, directed it to be taken into the house. Instead of this, however, it was put into the hands of the mob, and destroyed. Meantime, Mr. Garrison had been intercepted by some of the mob, a rope was coiled round his body, "probably," as he says in his account written at the time, "to drag me through the streets." He adds: "I fortunately extricated myself from the rope, and was seized by two or three powerful men, to whose firmness, policy, and muscular energy I am probably indebted for my preservation. They led me through the streets bare-headed; through a mighty crowd, ever and anon shouting: 'He sha'n't be hurt! You sha'n't hurt him! Don't hurt him! He is an American!' This seemed to excite sympathy among many of the crowd, and they reiterated the cry, 'He sha'n't be hurt!'" As Garrison and those who held him approached the City Hall, then in the Old State House, the mayor and peace officers, together with his sturdy protectors, succeeded in getting him into the City Hall. Thence he was sent in a carriage to the jail for temporary security; and shortly returned to his office and his work.[1]

[1] These facts are taken from Mr. Garrison's statements made in the *Liberator*, just after these events; from Samuel E. Sewall's statement written at the same time; from the mayor's account, afterward published; and from a comparison of the accounts of eye-witnesses. Yet eye-witnesses are sometimes mistaken. The story of the rope round Garrison's neck, which the *Liberator* at the time positively contradicted, came from a man who professed to be an eye-witness. In Mr. Garrison's statement at the time, quoted in the text, he describes those who held him as his protectors. This does not appear in his account given twenty years after, which runs thus: "The most active of the rioters found me in the second story of

As soon as it was known that the Antislavery women had been expelled from their room by the mob, Francis Jackson invited them to continue and conclude their meeting at his own house; and they did so. He well knew the danger. It was not improbable that the mob might attack and destroy his house, and endanger the safety of its inmates; but he was determined that there should be freedom of speech in Boston, if he had the power of securing it, at whatever peril. A calm, unpretending, silent man, — in common times never putting himself forward, — he was one of those who show the temper of heroes in the hour which tries men's souls.

The next event of much importance was in the following year, 1836. That part of Governor Everett's message which related to the Abolitionists had been referred to a joint legislative committee of five, of which George Lunt, of Newburyport, was chairman. To the same committee were also referred the communications from the Legislatures of slaveholding States, making it penal for citizens of non-slaveholding States to speak or write against slavery. Samuel J. May, Ellis Gray Loring, Mr. Garrison, William Goodell, and Professor Charles Follen addressed the committee in opposition to any action against Abolitionists on the part of the Legislature. Dr. Follen was interrupted by Mr. Lunt, and was told that he and his associates were there to exculpate themselves, and not to instruct the committee. Mr. May denied that they were there as culprits. They complained to the Legislature of the treatment they had received, and had another hearing, at which the same gentlemen spoke again, together with Samuel E. Sewall. Mr. Lunt, as before, repeatedly interrupted the speakers in a threatening manner. He was, however, rebuked for this, not only by Mr. Moseley, one of his associates, but also by Mr. George Bond, a merchant of high standing, who declared that in his opinion the committee was too fastidious. It was on this occasion that the incident took place which Miss Martineau described in a picturesque way in her article on "The Martyr-age of America."

"While the committee were, with ostentatious negligence, keeping the Abolitionists waiting, they, to whom this business was a prelude to life or death, were earnestly consulting in groups. At the further end of the chamber, Garrison and another; somewhat nearer, Dr. Follen, looking German all over, and a deeper earnestness than usual overspreading his serene and meditative countenance. In consultation with him was Ellis Gray Loring, only too frail in form, but with a face radiant with inward light. There were May and Goodell and Sewall and several more, and many an anxious wife, sister, or friend looking down from the gallery. During the suspense the door opened and Dr. Channing entered, — one of the last people who could on that wintry afternoon have been expected. He stood a few moments, muffled in his cloak and shawl-handkerchief, and then walked the whole length of the room, and was immediately seen

the carpenter's shop alluded to, and, coiling a rope round my body, let me down to the crowd below. I was dragged, bare-headed, through the streets, when my clothes were nearly all torn from my body, etc." After reading all the accounts, it seems evident that the mayor did all he could do, with the small means at his disposal. [Compare the statements in Mr. Bugbee's chapter on "Boston Under the Mayors." There is a circumstantial account of this mob, by Ellis Ames, who was an eye-witness, in *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, 1881. — Ed.]

shaking hands with Garrison. A murmur ran through the gallery, and a smile went round the chamber. Mrs. Chapman whispered to her next neighbor, 'Righteousness and peace have kissed each other!' Garrison, the dauntless Garrison, turned pale as ashes, and sank down on a seat. Dr. Channing had censured the Abolitionists in his pamphlet on Slavery; Garrison had, in the *Liberator*, rejected the censure; and here they were shaking hands in the Senate chamber. Dr. Channing sat behind the speakers, handing them notes, and most obviously affording them his countenance, so as to be from that day considered by the world as an accession to their principles, though not to their organized body."

The result was that Mr. Lunt in his report strongly condemned the Abolitionists, and added some resolutions wholly disapproving their doctrines and measures; but the Legislature laid report and resolutions on the table, and there they remained, and were never acted on.

In the next year, 1837, occurred some of the memorable debates in Congress on the right of petition, in which John Quincy Adams held a position hardly ever equalled by any speaker in a deliberative body. Maintaining the right of petition, against the solid South and a large part of the Northern representatives, he stood like a rock in mid-ocean, against which a thousand storms beat in vain. Though not a representative from Boston, yet through the grandeur of his position, his immovable purpose, his vast resources of knowledge, his keen intellect, he triumphantly defended the rights of the whole North against the assumptions of slavery, — and the hearts of Antislavery men in Boston were strengthened by that triumph.

In November of the same year Elijah P. Lovejoy was killed in Alton, while defending his press which a mob was seeking to destroy. A petition for the use of Faneuil Hall for a meeting to protest against this violation of the principles of liberty, signed by Dr. Channing and others, was rejected by the Boston authorities. With fearless promptitude Dr. Channing issued an appeal to the citizens of Boston, calling on them to reverse this action of the city government. A meeting at the Supreme Court room, presided over by George Bond, passed resolutions prepared by Benjamin F. Hallett, demanding of the mayor and aldermen to change their course and give the hall. They did so, and the meeting was held. Jonathan Phillips presided. Dr. Channing made an impressive address in favor of the right of free discussion, violated by the murder of Lovejoy. He was followed, in the same sense, by Benjamin F. Hallett and George S. Hillard, a young lawyer, not then known to fame. Wendell Phillips was to have followed, but the floor was taken by the Attorney-general of the State, James Trécothic Austin, who declared that Lovejoy "died as the fool dieth," and that the men who killed him were as great patriots as those who threw the tea into Boston harbor. He was loudly cheered by a large part of the meeting, and Wendell Phillips, who then ascended the platform, was hooted at by the crowd; but in spite of their opposition and outcries he held his ground, and sternly rebuked the speech of Austin. "When I heard," said he, "the gentleman lay down principles which placed the murderers of Alton side by side with

Otis and Hancock, with Quincy and Adams, I thought those pictured lips," pointing to their portraits, "would have broken into voice to rebuke the recreant American, the slanderer of the dead." From that hour Wendell Phillips took his place among the great orators of the land.

The combination of interests, beliefs, and habits which supported slavery in the United States was so powerful that it seemed madness in the Abolitionists to hope for success against them. First, there was the pecuniary value of the slaves to the South, amounting even then, as was computed, to one thousand millions of dollars. But if that vast sum had been voted by Congress as compensation for the slaves, it would have been refused on account of the difficulties and dangers of emancipation. More than that, slavery had become an ingrained part of the system of life in the Southern States; and it was believed that the whole fabric of society would be rent asunder by emancipation. Nor would any Southern community have consented, for any amount that could be offered, to allow the negroes when emancipated to remain among them; and if they were bought by the North, and all sent out of the country, where would laborers and servants be found to take their place? As against emancipation, then, the South was a unit, though some of the border States were not opposed to emancipation if it could be connected with deportation of the colored people. The slaveholders, being united, controlled the politics of the South; and the South, being united, controlled the politics of the nation. They held great majorities in Congress; they elected pro-slavery presidents; they took possession of the Federal courts; the Federal power in its three branches — legislative, executive, and judicial — was held firmly in their hands. They controlled the merchants of the North by their trade, the newspapers of the North through their business; both the fashion of the North and the mobs were on their side. Not satisfied with this, the slave-power proceeded to strengthen its position by a series of successful aggressions. In 1845 it annexed Texas, then a Free State belonging to Mexico, with the avowed purpose of cutting it into four slave States, and so to add eight slaveholders to the United States Senate. It obtained a new and stringent Fugitive-Slave Law, by which to seize fugitives at the North. It repealed the Missouri Compromise, which prohibited the extension of slavery into Territories north of a certain parallel, so as to allow the slaveholders to carry their slaves where they would. It obtained the opinion of the U. S. Supreme Court, in the Dred Scott case, to the same effect. It took possession of Kansas by violence, murdering men whose only crime it was to wish to make it a free State; and struck down Charles Sumner on the floor of Congress. Such was the great and constantly increasing strength of the slave-power.

And what had the Abolitionists to oppose to it? They had no political, social, or fashionable influence. They were mostly poor, and all were unpopular. They had nothing on their side but Truth, Justice, and God. Relying on these they were strong, eloquent, brave, untiring. Their methods

were simple and few. They formed Antislavery societies, held public meetings, published newspapers, tracts, and books. They took advantage of every new act and aggression of the slave-power to appeal to the popular indignation against wrong. They had on their side poets like Whittier, Lowell, Longfellow, Pierpont, and Bryant; orators like Phillips, Fred. Douglass, Theodore D. Weld, Stephen Foster, Parker Pillsbury, and a multitude of others. They had noble women working for them in their societies, speaking on the platform, writing books and pamphlets; such women as Maria Weston Chapman, Lucretia Mott, Louisa Loring, Lydia Maria Child, Lucy Stone, Abby Kelley, Sarah and Angelina Grimké. At their meetings were to be seen fugitive slaves, telling with their lips what they had known of the barbarities of slavery, — like William and Ellen Craft, Henry Box Brown, and Father Henson. They welcomed to their platform the defenders of slavery, and any slaveholder who chanced to be in Boston was sure to have every opportunity for the freest speech, — sure, also, of being answered as he had never been answered before. Every outrage on freedom brought new converts to their side; every triumph of the slave-power was the text for more convincing arguments against the system which could only live by such encroachments on the rights of all. The best thought of the North, like that of Ralph Waldo Emerson, came to their side. The "enraged eloquence" of their meetings drew crowds to listen. Men were there who struck and spared not, — men like Stephen S. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, and Henry C. Wright, to whom there was nothing sacred in Church or State when allied with slavery. They denounced the church as "a brotherhood of thieves;" they cursed the Constitution of the United States, which called on them to surrender fugitives. The higher the position of a man, if he was on the wrong side, the better they liked to strike him. Stormy and tumultuous were these debates, often interrupted, sometimes broken up by the mob, but never commonplace or tame. The attacks of the Abolitionists on the churches were excused, if not justified, by the hostile attitude assumed by many of the religious newspapers and influential ministers. While some of these came to their side, the majority of the leading clergymen in all denominations stood aloof. These had in their churches men allied to the South by business interests, or men who were bitterly prejudiced against abolition. They belonged to the great denominations, containing numerous Southern churches, and they foresaw disruption if they admitted this uncompromising element. Hence many clergymen of high standing were led to excuse or defend slavery. Most prominent among these were Dr. Nehemiah Adams of Boston, President Lord of Dartmouth College, New Hampshire, and Bishop Hopkins of Vermont, — all of whom defended slavery as right in itself, good for masters and slaves, and having the authority of the Bible in its favor. The President of Dartmouth College maintained, in two pamphlets published in Boston,[1] that

[1] *A Letter of Inquiry*, etc., by a Northern Presbyter, Boston, 1854. *A Northern Presbyter's Second Letter*, etc., by Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth College, Boston, 1855.

slavery was a divine institution according to natural and revealed religion, not opposed to the law of love; that it was a wholesome institution, which ought to be extended; that it was right to do away with those political barriers which prevented it from going into Northern Territories and Northern States; that it was not slaveholders, but the opposers of slavery who deserved condemnation; and that he, President Lord, would himself cheerfully own slaves if it were convenient or necessary. John Henry Hopkins, Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont, also published a book in 1857, in which he began by giving a false definition of slavery, making it only serfdom, and ignoring the chief evils of the system. He declared, in opposition to the facts in the case, that the condition of a slave was preferable to that of a free colored man, and in many respects superior to that of the white laborer in the Northern States. He denied that Christianity was opposed to slavery; and declared that "the color of the African race forms an insuperable obstacle to its elevation and civilization in this country." He even went so far as to think the African slave-trade, with all its horrors, was sent by the providence of God to bring the colored people to this country, where they might be taught Christianity, and then sent back in mass to Africa to civilize that continent. He seemed to forget that the Christian training they received was chiefly a knowledge of how to raise cotton and sugar, and that an excellent lady had recently been sent to prison for teaching them to read and write, this action of hers being made criminal by the laws of the Southern States. He defended the course of the South in this long struggle, declaring that the South was right and the North wrong. "The spirit of encroachment," said he, "is all on the side of the North," adding that the North was seeking to excite the slaves against their owners. This last assertion was not true, for the most ultra Abolitionists never passed a resolution or published a tract with any such purpose. But after having shown to his own satisfaction that the slave-trade was ordained by God, that slavery was a divine institution, and that the slaves were the happiest laboring population on earth, the Bishop proposed that they should all be bought by the United States, at a cost of about sixty millions of dollars annually, and be sent to Africa, with what object and for what purpose it was very difficult to discover.

To these two clerical defenders of slavery was joined Dr. Nehemiah Adams, a distinguished Orthodox divine of Boston, who has therefore a place in the history of this discussion. Going down to South Carolina in 1854, and spending three months there, he came back and published a book called *A South-Side View of Slavery*. The substance of it was that he had found slavery an exceedingly pleasant institution; the slaves very happy; and he had been told by many Southern gentlemen that they were not ill-treated, and had no wish to be free. Dr. Adams went on with the usual arguments to prove slavery a divine institution, reproved the Abolitionists, and added a few delicate hints of the advantage which might come from the revival of the slave-trade and the extension of slavery in the United States.

Is it wonderful that the Abolitionists, struggling against such odds in what they believed the cause of him who came to "preach deliverance to the captives," became rather angry and bitter when they saw themselves opposed by such influential teachers of Christian morals?

As if all these opponents were not enough, Mr. Garrison found himself obliged to resist and oppose a false friend, in the form of the American Colonization Society. This association was formed Dec. 31, 1816, and in 1821 purchased the territory in Western Africa known as Liberia. Of this society Henry Clay was the president; and one of its professed objects was to promote emancipation by providing a home in Africa to which freedmen could be sent. There were those who claimed that slavery in the United States could thus be abolished, by sending, at an enormous expense, the total annual increase of the colored people to Africa. Many intelligent people were so far misled as to encourage this absurd enterprise of sending the whole laboring population of the South from the country where their work was needed to one where it was not needed. The Colonization Society was encouraged by many Southern slaveholders as a means of getting rid of the free colored people among them, who were regarded as dangerous to the institution of slavery; and it was supported at the North on the opposite ground of being a method by which slavery might be gradually abolished. Mr. Garrison exposed the fallacy of this hope, and helped to undeceive those who had been misled by it.

It was in the year 1844 that Garrison and the Garrisonian Abolitionists took the ground of "No union with slaveholders." In their original declaration, adopted in 1833, they had plainly stated that the Constitution of the United States pledged the people of the free States to assist in putting down a slave-insurrection, and to return the fugitive to slavery; but ten years passed by before they deduced from this fact the logical necessity of the dissolution of the Union. Their argument now was that the Constitution of the United States was a pro-slavery document, and that every man who consented to vote or act under it was pledged thereby to support slavery whenever called on to do so. It was the Union of the North with the South which enabled the slaveholders to maintain the system and keep down the slaves. Therefore, by simply supporting the Union we were supporting slavery. The Union, therefore, ought to be dissolved, and this should be the object of all true Abolitionists.

Many, however, of the most earnest opposers of slavery hesitated at this point, and declined to follow Mr. Garrison. They contended that if there were pro-slavery clauses in the Constitution, its spirit and influence were antislavery, and that the organic basis of the Union was not the Constitution but the Declaration of Independence. They maintained that the laws of the free States were also unjust in many things, and commanded what was wrong, and that the only way to escape this kind of compromise with evil would be to go out of the world; but they added that we were thus

only passively connected with wrong-doing, and that when called upon to assist actively in returning fugitives, we had a right to refuse, under our allegiance to the higher law of Universal Right. They also said that in practice nothing was gained by the doctrine of disunion. Before you could induce the North to dissolve the Union, you must convince the majority of the people of the free States that slavery was a sin; and when you had convinced them of that they would not dissolve the Union, but by means of the Union would put an end to slavery. The slaveholders, always wise in their generation, desired to dissolve the Union, because they knew that when they were an independent slaveholding community they could better defend and protect this institution. Those who were opposed to slavery ought, therefore, it was said, to maintain the Union and not to dissolve it.

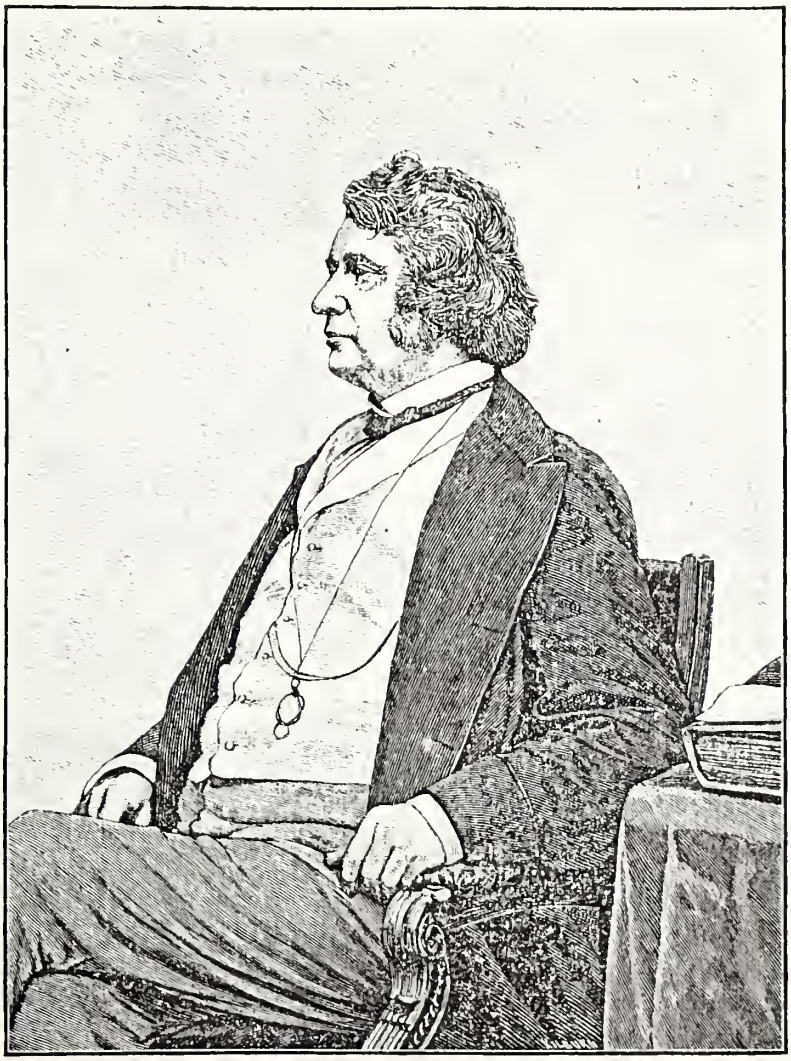
The result proved that this position was the true one. Slavery was finally abolished by the war which was begun in order to defend the Union. It was abolished not by those who wished to destroy the Union, but by those who were determined to preserve it. If the Garrisonians had succeeded in convincing the Northern people that it would be good and right to separate from the South and give up the Federal Union, there would have been no conflict. The Southern States would have been allowed to secede, and slavery would not have been abolished as a result of the war. It might have come to an end at last, in some other way; but certainly not then, and probably not for a long time.

Therefore, while the Garrisonian Abolitionists refused to vote or to take part in public affairs, political Antislavery parties were also formed by those who wished political action in the interests of freedom. The first of these was the Liberty Party, begun in New York in 1840, by Myron Holley, Alvan Stewart, and Gerrit Smith, who called a convention in Albany, at which James G. Birney, a Kentucky Abolitionist, was nominated for President. Casting only seven thousand votes in that Presidential campaign, at the next, in 1844, they had sixty thousand, and their vote probably defeated Mr. Clay, for whom, however, many of the party had voted in order to prevent the annexation of Texas, which soon followed Mr. Polk's election. Salmon P. Chase now became one of the chief leaders of this body; but this party was merged in 1848 in the Free-Soil party, which was formed by a secession of Antislavery voters from the Democrats and Whigs. The Democrats had nominated for President General Cass, who had openly opposed the Wilmot proviso, which excluded slavery from all territory acquired from Mexico. This caused, especially in New York, a secession from the Democratic party of men like William C. Bryant, Preston King, John A. Dix, and John Van Buren. They were called Barn-burners by their opponents, who charged them with wishing to destroy the Democratic party in order to rid themselves of its evils, as a man might burn his barn to rid himself of rats. On the nomination of General Taylor as the Whig candidate a similar but larger secession went from the Whig party. Those of Massachusetts met in convention at Worcester and adopted a platform, the

basis of which was the Wilmot proviso. Daniel Webster, who had declared the nomination of General Taylor "one not fit to be made," was visited in Boston by Henry Wilson and Charles Allen, members of the convention, and expressed his approval of the platform and his strong desire to see a political movement which would maintain the rights of the North; but he did not believe the new party would succeed in doing this. The South had ruled too long, he said, and had too much power to be defeated.

The Free-Soil State Convention of Massachusetts met in Boston, Sept. 6, 1848. Among others, Charles Sumner spoke on this occasion, and reported resolutions and an address to the people. This new party cast, at the Presidential election in November, two hundred and ninety thousand votes, with no hope of success, but simply to maintain a principle. Charles Sumner, who thus assisted in the formation of the Free-Soil party, was one of the noblest contributions made by Boston to the Antislavery cause. Born in Boston, Jan. 6, 1811; educated at the Boston Latin School; a student of law in Boston, after graduating at Harvard College, he was admitted to the Suffolk Bar in 1834. After his return from his tour in Europe he first took an active part in the Antislavery discussion in the matter of the "Creole." In 1841, some slaves taken on this American brig, bound from Virginia to New Orleans, freed themselves on the voyage and took the vessel to Nassau, where they were liberated. Daniel Webster, then Secretary of State, addressed a letter to our Minister at the Court of St. James, and claimed that the owners and officers of the vessel ought, by the comity of nations, to be assisted in maintaining their authority over the vessel and all on board, — in other words, that the English Government should arrest and return fugitives from slavery. Dr. Channing immediately wrote a pamphlet, in which he complained that Mr. Webster's letter "maintained morally unsound and pernicious doctrines fitted to deprave the public mind, and tending to commit the free States to the defence and support of slavery." He consulted Charles Sumner on some of the legal points before its publication. When Dr. Channing's position was attacked in the journals Sumner came at once to its defence, insisting on the purely local and exceptional character of slavery, — a theme which he expanded, ten years later, in his first Antislavery speech in the Senate, entitled "Freedom National, Slavery Sectional." He was at this time interested in the work of Garrison, subscribed for his paper, attended many of the Antislavery meetings, but declined joining their society, as he disapproved their methods. He could not admit that the Constitution of the United States was "a covenant with death and an agreement with hell," and believed that it was by means of the Union, and not outside of it, that slavery would be abolished. The event proved him to be right in this view. His first public appearance in Boston in the Antislavery conflict was in the Faneuil Hall meeting of November, 1845, called to oppose the admission of Texas into the Union. In 1846 he addressed the meeting in Faneuil Hall, on the occasion of the abduction of a fugitive who had escaped from New Orleans in a ship

belonging to John H. Pearson. The slave escaped from the vessel, was pursued and captured on shore, was forcibly held against law in the waters



CHARLES SUMNER.[1]

of Massachusetts, and sent back to slavery in the barque "Niagara." The meeting to protest against this inhuman proceeding was presided over by

[1] [This cut follows a photograph by Brady, taken about 1869. It has once before been engraved in *Every Saturday*, and was furnished by Sumner's friend and biographer, Edward L. Pierce, who kindly gives the following statement regarding other likenesses of Mr. Sumner: —

1. A crayon drawing by Eastman Johnson, made in 1846, held by the artist to be a good likeness, but others express a doubt. It is owned by Longfellow, and is engraved in Pierce's *Memoir*, vol. ii. 2. A large daguerreotype, by Southworth & Hawes, in 1853, owned by Mr. Pierce, and engraved in *Memoir*, vol. i. 3. A daguerreotype taken a few months later, owned by Mrs. W. S. Robinson. 4. A Crayon by W. W. Story, made for Lord Morpeth in 1854; now

John Quincy Adams, who, in a feeble and tremulous voice said: "Fifty years ago I attended a meeting in this place, over which Elbridge Gerry presided, who, apologizing for his age and infirmities, declared that if he had but one day to live he would have been present. That event was the taking out of an American frigate certain seamen by a British man-of-war." Mr. Adams said that he appeared in that hall for the same reason, and in defence of the same principle. Dr. Samuel G. Howe stated the facts. John A. Andrew, secretary of the meeting, offered the resolutions. Charles Sumner, Stephen C. Phillips, Wendell Phillips, and Theodore Parker spoke. On this occasion Andrew and Parker first publicly associated themselves with Sumner in Boston in a cause in which they stood by his side during so many years; and no three men have done more to illustrate the character

at Castle Howard; lithographed by S. W. Chandler before the drawing went to England; photographed at York since Sumner's death, and of this Mr. Pierce has a copy. 5. A portrait in oils by M. Wight, in 1856; given to the Boston Public Library in 1874; has been engraved. 6. A portrait by Wellman Morrison, painted in 1856; was given to Harvard College in 1874 by Oliver C. Everett, and is now in Gore Hall. 7. A photograph by Black in 1869; engraved in Sumner's *Works*. 8. Warren of Cambridge took several photographs about 1870–71; one standing, one sitting with a cane, one holding a French newspaper, and one reproduced in the *Memorial* published by the city in 1874. 9. A photograph by Allen & Rowell, the last ever taken, made late in 1873; is reproduced in the *Memorial* volume printed by the State in 1874, and has been engraved by the Treasury Department at Washington. The photographers have also issued it enlarged. 10. A portrait by Edgar Parker. 11. A portrait by William M. Hunt, not from life, but following Allen & Rowell's photograph. 12. A full-length portrait by ———, taken about 1873 for Hayti, of which there is a copy at Wormley's in Washington. 13. The earliest representation of any kind is Crawford's bust of him, taken in 1839, now in the Art Museum. See *Memoir*, ii. 94, 265. 14. Milmore's bust of him, now at the State House, is called good; but a repetition of it, which the State gave to George William Curtis, is better. 15. Various busts and statues of him were produced in plaster, etc., at the time of the competition for his bronze statue, erected in 1878 in the Public Garden, for which Thomas Ball's design was adopted.

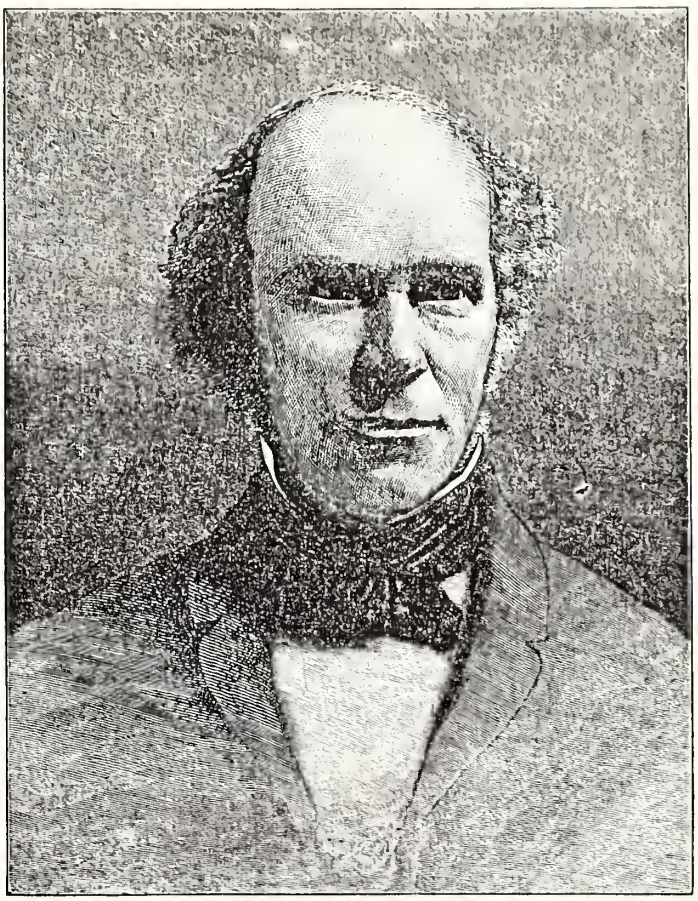
The authoritative account of Sumner's life has been well begun by his friend and one of his literary executors, already referred to, Edward L. Pierce, who published in 1877 two volumes of *Memoir and Letters*, coming down to 1845, when Sumner was just on the threshold of his public career. This *Memoir* occasioned various reviews, — *Galaxy*, December, 1877; *Westminster Review*, January, 1878; *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1878; *North American Review*, 1878, by George F. Hoar; *International Review*, January, 1878, "Sumner's Place in History," by B. Perley Poore. Until this biography is completed, we must depend, apart from the general histories of his times, upon hasty compilations, occasioned by his death in 1874, like C. E. Lester's *Life and Public Services of Charles Sumner*, Phelps's *Life of Charles Sumner*, and Elias Nason's *Life and Times of Charles Sumner*. More valuable are Carl Schurz's eulogy before the City Government in Boston, making part of a *Memorial* published by the City; James Freeman Clarke's paper in his *Memorial and Biographical Sketches*; recollections by his secretary, A. B. Johnson, published in *Scribner's Monthly*, vols. viii.–x.; and a eulogy by G. W. Curtis before the State authorities, printed in a *Memorial* by the State. The speeches occasioned by his death, delivered in Congress, are preserved in a *Memorial* issued by the two Houses. The colored representative from South Carolina, R. B. Elliot, delivered an oration before the colored citizens of Boston in Faneuil Hall, which is also the chief feature of another *Memorial* volume. Mr. Pierce also printed "A Senator's Fidelity Vindicated" in the *North American Review*, July, 1878. There are letters of his, during his public life, in Weiss's *Theodore Parker*. Laugel treats of him in his *Grandes Figures Historiques*. Mrs. M. C. Ames, in her *Outlines of Men*, etc., gives an account of his home. He left his library and collection of autographs to Harvard College Library, and an account of this *Sumner Collection* has been printed by that Library. Theodore Parker formed a scrap-book of newspaper-cuttings concerning Sumner, and this is in the Public Library, together with a special collection of newspapers taking note of his death, and other memorials of him. A view of the monument over Sumner's grave at Mount Auburn is given in the *Harvard Register*, July, 1881. — ED.]

of Boston in its devotion to human liberty than they. Of Andrew we shall shortly have occasion to speak; but we must now briefly describe the Antislavery work done in Boston by Theodore Parker.

Theodore Parker was not born in Boston, but in Lexington, Mass., in 1810. His veins were filled with the blood of Puritans and Revolutionary patriots. An earnest student, a great scholar, devoted, like Dr. Channing, to ideas, — like Dr. Channing he laid aside his dearest literary projects to obey the call of conscience and divine duty. That call led him to give a large part of his time, thought, energy, and heart to the Abolition movement. He first began to take a public part in it in 1845, and from that time till his death he was always in the front ranks of the Antislavery work. Intimate and familiar with Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and their body, a frequent speaker on their platform, he was equally intimate with the leaders of the political Antislavery parties. He was in correspondence with Charles Sumner, John P. Hale, Salmon P. Chase, James G. Birney, Horace Mann, John G. Palfrey, William H. Seward, Gerrit Smith. After coming to Boston, in 1845, he preached every Sunday to great audiences in the Melodeon and Music Hall; and in his sermons discussed with fiery ardor every event bearing on the great topics of Slavery and Freedom. Thus he spoke of the annexation of Texas, the rendition of fugitive slaves, the war with Mexico, and all the assaults of the slave-power on the cause of human liberty. He spoke repeatedly in Faneuil Hall; published many pamphlets, essays, speeches, and sermons; lectured on slavery through all the free States, and once in Delaware; aided the fugitives to escape, and sheltered them in his house; was a member of the vigilance committees; and wrote many letters to public men concerning their duties in this relation. He did not agree with Garrison in his opposition to the Union; he regarded the Union as an instrument by which slavery would be abolished; and in this he showed his rare sagacity. Thus, from 1845 until his fatal attack in 1859, he was a power in Boston to move public opinion in opposition to slavery, and to bear aloft the standard of human freedom.

During all this struggle fugitives from slavery were constantly arriving from the South, and telling the same tale of their sufferings from slavery, and their various methods of escaping. One man had been packed in a box, and so brought through by the freight company as goods. He afterward went by the name of Box Brown, and told his thrilling tale on many an Antislavery platform. Another got under the guards of a Southern steamer bound for Philadelphia, and clung for many hours to the vessel, though every heavy roll buried him under the sea. Ellen Craft, a light mulatto woman, escaped disguised as a young Southern planter, bringing her husband with her in the character of her body servant. Father Henson, a man of much talent and character, told a long tale of his trials and adventures in escaping from Kentucky. These personal narrations thrilled the audiences, and brought home to them the real horrors and miseries of the system. But among those nurtured into eloquence by wrong, none equalled Frederick Douglass. Men

listened with wonder to a speaker, of the first class of orators, who had been born and raised a slave; and the old argument that the slaves were



Theodore Parker.[1]

not qualified for freedom seemed ridiculous wherever his clear, strong arguments and his powerful appeals were heard.

[1] [This likeness of Theodore Parker follows a photograph kindly loaned by Wendell Phillips, Esq., and copied from one taken for Miss Hunt about 1856 or 1857. Miss Caroline C. Thayer owns the same on porcelain, in which the expression is softer and more satisfactory. By the will of Mrs. Parker, who is recently deceased, Story's bust and Cheney's crayon of Parker have come to the Public Library. This bust is engraved in vol. ii. of Weiss's *Life of Parker*. Milmore's bust, much liked by Parker's friends, is still in the artist's studio. The authoritative account is the *Life and Correspondence of Theodore Parker*, issued by John Weiss in 1864, in two volumes. A condensed narrative is a review of this in the *North American Review*, April, 1859, by O. B. Frothingham, who in 1874 published his *Theodore Parker: A Biography*, which may be supplemented by the chapter on "Theodore Parker, the Preacher," in Frothingham's *Transcendentalism in New England*. Mr. Frothingham also supplied an introduction, and Miss H. E. Stevenson a biographical sketch, to Parker's *Discourse on Matters Pertaining to Religion*, 1876. A little book, *The Life and Teachings of Theodore Parker*, by Peter Dean, was published in London in 1877, where also had been published, in 1865, A. Réville's *Life and Writings of Parker*, a trans-

Thus the years passed, the slave-power growing stronger in political influence, carrying one measure after another, bending to its interest the leading politicians of both parties. At the same time the moral power of the Antislavery movement increased with still greater rapidity. A small body in Congress resisted the encroachments of the South; among them was John G. Palfrey, who, in the Thirtieth Congress, delivered a speech of great power and beauty, in which he showed the growth of the pro-slavery influence, which he was the first to call the slave-power. He ended by saying: "If the slaveholders insist that Union and Slavery cannot live together, they may be taken at their own word; but it is the Union that must stand." It was on this occasion that John Quincy Adams exclaimed, "Thank God! the seal is broken." In this same debate Horace Mann made a powerful argument against the admission of slavery into the Territories; he spoke forcibly on the effect of slavery in destroying manliness and energy of character, and said: "There are in this land three million Casper Hausers."

At last, in 1850, an effort was made by the leaders of the two great parties, the Whigs and Democrats, to put an end to this agitation, and silence discussion by passing a series of measures in Congress, embodied in what was called the Compromise Bill. The question which had to be settled was the condition to be assigned to the territory gained by the war with Mexico. According to the Wilmot Proviso, it was to be all free. This the slave-power bitterly opposed. In January, 1850, Henry Clay introduced his compromise measure, which proposed to admit California as a State and New Mexico as a Territory, without applying the Wilmot Proviso to either; refusing to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but prohibiting the slave-trade there; allowing the trade in slaves between the States, and passing a more stringent fugitive-slave law. In the debate which followed, Mr. Clay declared that "no earthly power would induce him to introduce slavery where it did not exist."

lation of a book issued in Paris the same year. This writer had printed "Un Réformateur Américain" in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, Oct. 1, 1861.

Parker's own works are largely illustrative of his intellectual development, particularly his *Experiences as a Minister, with an Account of his Early Life*, 1859, contained also in the appendix of Weiss's *Life* of him. See the autobiographic pieces in the London edition of his works (1876), xii. His strong feelings came out emphatically in his *Discourse on the Death of Daniel Webster*, 1852, and in his *Trial for the "Misdemeanor" of a Speech, in Faneuil Hall, against Kidnapping, April 3, 1865, with His Defence.* There is in the Public Library a scrap-book, formed and annotated by himself, containing newspaper cuttings relating to his indictment for obstructing the United States Marshal at the time of the rendition of Burns.

On his death various memorial sermons were published by Boston ministers, — W. R. Alger, C. A. Bartol, J. F. Clarke, G. H. Hepworth, etc. See also Mr. Clarke's tribute in his *Memorial and Biographical Sketches.* Colonel T. W. Higginson paid one at the time in the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1860. He has frequently been the subject of commendation and animadversion in the periodical press, —*Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1861, and April, 1869; *Christian Examiner*, January, 1864, by J. H. Allen, and July, 1864, by D. A. Wasson; *New Englander*, ii. and iii., by Noah Porter; *Contemporary Review*, 1866, by Professor Cheetham; *Fortnightly Review*, 1867, by M. D. Conway. Numerous other references will be found in Allibone's *Dictionary.* A discourse by Samuel Longfellow was delivered at the dedication of the Parker Memorial Meeting-house in Boston, Sept. 21, 1873, and is printed in a pamphlet of the *Dedicatory Services.* — Ed.]

It was at this time that Daniel Webster made his famous Seventh-of-March Speech, in which he opposed the exclusion of slavery from the Territories by law, and accepted the Fugitive-slave law. This speech caused the greatest sadness at the North among those who had looked to Daniel Webster as a tower of strength against the encroachments of the slave-power. Down to the very day when this speech was made his intimate political friends in Boston announced that Webster was about to make a great speech in opposition to the plans of the slaveholders. He had already claimed the Wilmot Proviso as "his thunder;" he had consulted with Joshua Giddings and Thaddeus Stevens in regard to his course. They had been led to believe that he would put himself at the head of those who opposed the extension of slavery. He now declared, however, that he was willing to divide Texas into four slave States; he said that he was ready to support the new fugitive-slave law with all its provisions. This speech of Webster was a great blow to the Antislavery cause. Whittier wrote concerning it his poem called "Ichabod." Men at the North regarded it, justly or otherwise, as a bid for the Presidency. But Mr. Webster's influence was still so great that a large and influential body of his friends in Boston, after a little hesitation, expressed their approbation of his course. Many, however, refused to follow him. Joseph T. Buckingham, in the Massachusetts Legislature, moved to incorporate in a series of resolutions the words formerly spoken by Mr. Webster, in which he had declared that the opposition of Massachusetts to the extension of slavery was universal, and that they would "oppose such extension in all places, at all times, and under all circumstances, against all inducements, all combinations, all compromises."

But the compromises passed through Congress and became a law, and both the great parties decided to put down all slavery agitation; there was to be no more discussion of the subject in Congress or elsewhere. But an event soon occurred which dispelled this pleasing illusion. Three months after Daniel Webster's speech, and before the Compromise measures had finally gone through Congress, Harriet Beecher Stowe began the story of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" in the *National Era*, published in Washington. In 1852 *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was published in Boston in book form, and is thus a Boston book. In eight weeks the sale in the United States reached a hundred thousand copies; in 1856 over three hundred thousand copies had been sold in the United States, and more than a million in England. It was translated into every language of Europe; also into Arabic, Chinese, and Japanese.[1] Thus the whole world was reading about slavery in the United States, and discussing it.

Two or three fugitives from slavery were arrested in Boston, and two, Simms and Burns, surrendered by the United States Commissioners, were

[1] [There are in the Public Library of all these translations of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* as many as could be procured a few years ago, the *Catalogue* of the British Museum affording the titles to be searched for. Since the collection was made, Mr. George Bullen, the keeper of the printed books in the Museum, has furnished a full bibliographical list of such versions to a new edition of the novel published in this city. —Ed.]

taken back into slavery; but the trifling advantages gained by slavery from such renditions were vastly outweighed by the indignation against the slave-power, and all its abettors, occasioned by these transactions. In all ages and nations it had been held odious to return fugitives into the hands of their oppressors. The history of ancient and modern times teemed with this sentiment. George S. Hillard was a United States Commissioner, and as such would have been bound to surrender fugitives when brought before him in accordance with the law; but his wife, Susan Hillard, a noble woman, devoted to generous deeds, sheltered fugitives under their roof. On the day of the rendition of Burns the streets through which he was to pass were draped in black, and immense crowds filled Court Street, State Street, and Washington Street; the military who guarded him were received with loud shouts as "Kidnappers! kidnappers!" The tension was so extreme that there seemed at one moment imminent danger of a tumult which would have cost many lives. The Fugitive-slave law was not only odious in itself, but believed to be unconstitutional in its provisions. The United States Constitution had provided that "no person shall be deprived of his liberty without due process of law," and that "in all suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved." But Simms and Burns were deprived of their liberty without seeing either judge or jury. All the old guarantees of human liberty seemed to be removed by this law; and those who took part in passing it or executing it, from Daniel Webster and Millard Fillmore down, lost their political position from that hour.

The violence of the slave-power, and its disregard for the rights of the free States, caused many persons to accustom themselves to the thought that sooner or later force must be met by force. Others, believing that to send a man into slavery was a violation of the law of God, refused to permit the Fugitive-slave law to be enforced if it were possible to prevent it. They held themselves justified in rescuing a slave from his oppressor at any risk. Loving peace well, they loved justice more. This sentiment showed itself in Boston in the Shadrach rescue, the Burns riot, the formation of the vigilance committee, and in contributions to enable the oppressed Free-State emigrants to Kansas to defend themselves against the Missouri invaders.

In February, 1851, Shadrach, a colored waiter at the Cornhill Coffee House in Boston, was arrested as a fugitive from slavery under a warrant issued by George T. Curtis, United States Commissioner. After a preliminary hearing the case was adjourned; and at this moment a body of colored men seized the prisoner, rescued him from the officers, and sent him away to Canada. Washington was filled with excitement; the President issued a proclamation; Congress was deeply moved. Several persons were tried in Boston for assisting in the rescue, but none were convicted.

A few months later, Thomas M. Simms was sent into slavery by the same commissioner. It was on this occasion that the Court House was

surrounded with chains by the United States Marshal, and the judges of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts were obliged to stoop under this symbol of the slaveholders' supremacy in order to reach their tribunals of justice. This was the hour of the deepest humiliation in Massachusetts; but it stirred the souls of many a son of Boston with the purpose of determined resistance to this overbearing iniquity.

This feeling showed itself on the next occasion when the Fugitive-slave law was enforced in Boston, by the arrest of Anthony Burns, under a warrant issued by Edward G. Loring. Meetings were held in Faneuil Hall and elsewhere in Boston, at which the most determined speeches were made by Samuel G. Howe, George R. Russell, Francis W. Bird, Thomas W. Higginson, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, and others. Meantime a plan for the rescue of Burns had been formed by Albert G. Browne, John L. Swift, T. W. Higginson, and Seth Webb, Jr.; but it failed for want of a full understanding between those engaged. Higginson, Webb, Lewis Hayden, and a few companions forced their way into the Court House, but failed of their purpose. Indictments were found against Parker, Phillips, Higginson, and one or two more. They were defended by John P. Hale, Charles M. Ellis, William L. Burt, John A. Andrew, and Henry F. Durant. The indictment was quashed, and the cases dismissed.

It is not necessary to describe the emotion produced by the murderous assault on Charles Sumner by Preston Brooks of South Carolina. This took place in the Senate Chamber, May 22, 1856. The cause of this brutal attack was Sumner's speech on "The Crime against Kansas." In this he had described the terrible wrong against freedom which the slave-power had committed in that territory. Unable to reply to his arguments, the slaveholders answered by blows; and during four years his vacant chair in the Senate testified in silence against this outrage. But he was spared to return to uphold the arms of Abraham Lincoln during the Rebellion, to see the end of slavery, and at last to be followed to his grave with the grateful tears of vast multitudes in his own loved city of Boston.

One of the warmest friends of Sumner, and one who stood by him faithfully during his whole Antislavery career, was Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe. In him there seemed to reappear in New England the romance and chivalry of the Middle Ages. Born in Boston, a pupil in the Latin School, a student of medicine here, he went to Greece to assist in its effort for independence, when he was but just of age; and afterward took part in the Polish and French revolutionary struggles. Long after, amid his tender labors for the blind, the deaf and dumb, the idiots, and other children of sorrow, the Abolition movement appealed equally to his humanity and his chivalry. Especially he was deeply interested in the movement for making Kansas a free State. At his office on Bromfield Street you would meet the men engaged in organizing that emigration to Kansas which, after years of persecution and trial, succeeded in saving it from slavery. There was to be found that most generous of men, — George L. Stearns, — who, after giving

thousands of dollars to furnish the Kansas emigrants with clothing, provisions, and Sharpe's rifles, is said to have given to John Brown, "first and last, more than ten thousand dollars in money and arms." In that office the present writer met and talked with Brown himself, just before his movement on Harper's Ferry, and heard from his own lips the general plan, though not the place or time, of his proposed assault on Southern slavery.[1]

The struggle for freedom in Kansas excited great interest through New England, and Boston again became the centre of operation, where this interest was organized into activity. Money was raised to assist the Free-State emigrants and supply them with all necessary help. The men raised funds to furnish them with Sharpe's rifles and ammunition; the women collected clothing and money for food. In numberless towns small societies were organized for this purpose, and the supplies were sent to Boston to be forwarded to Kansas by a committee, of which Mrs. Samuel Cabot, Jr., was the efficient and admirable head. When John Brown, of Ossawattomie, needed money, he came to Boston and obtained it. When taken prisoner and about to be tried, John Albion Andrew raised for his defence a sufficient sum to obtain for him the best legal counsel. When he died in Virginia, a martyr for freedom, a large public meeting was held in Boston to obtain aid for his wife and surviving children. Thus Boston was faithful to the end, and down to the beginning of the Civil War was the recognized centre of all Antislavery movements, both moral and political.

When the Civil War began in 1861, John Albion Andrew[2] had been chosen Governor of the State of Massachusetts. He had been long known as an Antislavery man, and as a leading member of the Republican party; but few foresaw the ability he would display in his trying position, or how easily he would rise to its difficulties. With what foresight, with what judgment,

[1] See the speeches of Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson and others, in the *Memoir of Samuel Gridley Howe*, by Julia Ward Howe: Boston, 1876.

[2] [A statue of Governor Andrew stands in Doric Hall in the State House. It is the work of Thomas Ball, and a published volume describes the services at the unveiling. Another statue, by Thomas R. Gould, was erected over his grave in the Hingham Cemetery in 1875, when it was publicly dedicated, October 8, with an address by Horace Binney Sargent. A memorial volume, containing the exercises of the dedication, was compiled by Luther Stevenson, Jr., and published in 1878, giving views of the statue, which is in marble. The materials for his official life are contained in more than thirty thousand pages of his correspondence as Governor, preserved at the State House, and in about five thousand pages of his private correspondence. He sent during his five years of service nearly one hundred messages to the Legislature. Edwin P. Whipple delivered the address at the commemoration services of the city, and it is contained in his *Success and Its Conditions*. His military secretary, Albert G. Browne, Jr., prepared a sketch of his life, which, having served as an article in the *North American Review*, January, 1868, was published, somewhat expanded, as *The Official Life of John A. Andrew*, 1868. This volume also contained his valedictory address on leaving the governorship. His pastor, James Freeman Clarke, printed a sketch in *Harper's Monthly*, February, 1868, afterward included in his *Memorial and Biographical Sketches*. Peleg W. Chandler supplied a memoir, printed in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, April, 1880. This was later issued separately, with the addition of personal reminiscences and with two of the Governor's literary addresses, never before printed. His descent is traced in the *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, January, 1869. — Ed.]

with what untiring devotion to his country's needs, with what courage to meet every danger, his work was done, all may read in the history of that terrible struggle. As Boston was the leader in the war for Independence, under the guidance of Sam Adams and his companions, so it was again the leader of the North in the war for Union and Freedom, under the guidance of John Albion Andrew. Just to all his opponents, with no self-seeking, with imperturbable sweetness of temper, though capable of a fiery indignation against wrong-doing, he disarmed opposition at home, and united Massachusetts in an unbroken phalanx against secession. William Lloyd Garrison, John Albion Andrew, Charles Sumner, and other of the Boston leaders in this struggle were fortunate beyond most reformers in living to see the work fully accomplished to which they had given their lives. Some indeed, like Theodore Parker, Horace Mann, and Ellis Gray Loring, "died without the sight;" but many, like Garrison, Sumner, Phillips, Sewall, Andrew, Oliver Johnson, Maria Chapman, Lydia Maria Child, and Lucretia Mott, lived to see the consummation of their hopes in the advent of universal freedom; they lived to see a Republic trodden by no foot which was not free. More than four millions of human beings had been changed from slaves to freemen, had become American citizens, and had entered on an upward career of improvement.[1]

Of the war itself, of which this was the result, we have nothing to say here. A great number of Boston young men went to hardship, peril, and death, from their interest in this cause. Those who returned had their reward in knowing that they had assisted in the triumph of human liberty; those who fell have made the place where they sleep hallowed ground forever.

"Their memory wraps the dusky mountain;
Their spirit sparkles in the fountain;
The meanest rill, the mightiest river,
Rolls mingling with their fame forever!"

James Freeman Clarke

[1] [A group symbolic of Emancipation, — affording a portrait statue of Abraham Lincoln, representing him as freeing a slave, cast in bronze at Munich, designed by Thomas Ball, in 1874, and presented to the city by Moses Kimball, — was erected in 1879 in Park Square, when Frederick O. Prince, the mayor of the city, delivered a dedicatory oration, December 6. (*City Document* No. 126, of 1879, describes it and the ceremonies.) — Ed.]

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONGREGATIONAL (TRINITARIAN) CHURCHES OF BOSTON SINCE 1780.

BY THE REV. INCREASE N. TARBOX, D.D.

THIS chapter presents, in a brief and comprehensive form, the history of those Congregational churches of Boston which, since the American Revolution, have kept to the Trinitarian belief. To keep within the limited space it will be needful to avoid minuter details, and confine ourselves strictly to a general or outline view.

The population of the town of Boston in 1775 was, according to the common estimate, not far from 17,000. Her Congregational churches at that time were eleven in number, named as follows, with the dates of their organization: —

First Church	Aug. 23, 1630.	Federal-Street Church	Nov. 15, 1727.
Second Church	June 5, 1650.	Hollis-Street Church	Nov. 14, 1732.
Old South Church	May 12, 1669.	West (Lynde Street) Church	Jan. 3, 1737.
Brattle-Street Church	Dec. 12, 1699.	Samuel Mather Church	May 29, 1742.
New North Church	May 5, 1714.	School-Street Church	Feb. 17, 1748.
New South Church	Nov. 22, 1719.		

The Federal-Street Church, organized in 1727, was originally Presbyterian, but is placed in the above list because it eventually became Congregational. The two churches standing last upon the list ceased to exist soon after the close of the war. They were both peculiar in their origin, though in ways quite different. They were organized under such conditions that their life and fortunes were made to be largely dependent upon the two men who filled their pulpits. As it happened, these two men had, each of them, a long pastorate. But upon the death of the Rev. Andrew Croswell, minister of the School-Street Church, April 12, 1785, and of Dr. Samuel Mather, June 27, 1785, these two organizations were suspended, and their membership was merged in the neighboring churches. The other churches named above continue for the most part until the present day.

Up to the Revolution the strength of the Boston population was Puritan, after the order of the first founders, with only a small admixture of antagonistic elements. The church development had been, therefore, chiefly

Congregational. Nevertheless, in addition to the churches named above, there were at that period three Episcopal churches, — King's Chapel, 1686; Christ Church, 1723; and Trinity, 1728. There were also two Baptist churches, — the First, 1665; and the Second (now known as Warren Avenue), 1743. One Methodist church had been established, 1771; and one Quaker, 1694.

It was long ago said that "Boston was the paradise of ministers." During the one hundred and forty-five years preceding the Revolution, in nothing had her people taken greater delight than in their learned and able divines, and their stately Sabbath assemblies. Favored at the beginning in the possession of John Wilson and John Cotton, associate ministers of the First Church, and meanwhile, as her churches multiplied, having had her choice among the graduates of the college near at hand, her ministry had been her pride and boast. Her meeting-houses, though built in the simplicity of the ancient days, with more of strength than beauty, were yet structures of dignity, on which the thought and the wealth of the town had been freely expended. Mr. Cotton had done more, perhaps, than any other man, to give shape to the early Congregationalism of New England, and to the forms and usages of her public worship. That system which he helped to build, and which soon after was embodied in the Cambridge Platform of 1648, was something grand, stately, governmental; but it was not Congregationalism, as we now understand the meaning of that word. It was a system of high forms and graded dignities, in which the bench of elders, — the teaching, the pastoral, and the ruling elders, — held all the real power; while to the common members was given the Christian privilege of obeying their elders in the Lord. What we now regard as vital to the true idea of a Congregational Church, — the equality of all voting members in matters of government and order, making the organization a simple and strict democracy — this was something known among the Pilgrims at Plymouth from the outset, but was practically unknown in the Massachusetts Bay through all those early years. But whatever the system of church government prevailing in Boston before the Revolution, no one can doubt that her churches were to her as the apple of her eye.

The Thursday, or fifth-day, Lecture was suspended for several months during the time of the siege. Snow, in his *History of Boston*, says: "Thursday lecture had been continued by Dr. Andrew Eliot until about the 23d of December, and was renewed immediately after the evacuation of the town, on the 28th of March, when Washington attended." This weekly lecture continued, as an institution, until after the middle of the present century. Some eight or ten thousand lectures must have been delivered in the town during the two hundred years while the custom lasted. Now and then one of more than usual interest and importance was published and preserved. Most of them filled their places from year to year, and from age to age, like the regular meals of a household, which furnish strength and vigor for the passing days, and are forgotten.

In glancing back it will be seen "that from the founding of the First Church in 1630, down to the organization of the School-Street Church in 1748, no long period had passed without adding a new church to the list. The longest interval was that of thirty years, between the formation of the Old South in 1669 and Brattle Street in 1699. In general a new church appeared upon the field on an average of about ten years. This being so, the contrast between the times going before 1748 and those following after is very remarkable. On the old territory of Boston no new Congregational Church appeared from the year 1748 down to the organization of Park-Street Church in 1809; while, as we have seen, two of the churches which existed in 1748 became extinct in 1785. In this long period of sixty-one years not only was there no gain, but an absolute loss.

The last half of the last century and the early years of the present must be regarded as a period peculiarly unfavorable to religious growth and prosperity in New England. We might, in this connection, speak of the disastrous results of the long-continued union of Church and State in our early New England history, and other kindred causes. But leaving these aside, there are certain open and obvious facts looking in the same general direction, which deserve to be brought into special notice.

For fifty years and more from the middle of the last century the minds of men in this country were peculiarly absorbed by questions of politics and war. First came the "French and Indian War," so-called, which made a very heavy draft upon the families and the property of New England. Hardly had this passed, when the fierce agitations between this and the mother country began. This was a strife which year by year waxed hotter and hotter, until it culminated in the eight years' struggle of the Revolution. After this war closed, came up the long and tedious debates touching the formation of the government and the provisions of the federal constitution. To aggravate the case, and render matters connected with religion still worse, our friendly alliance with France during the years of the Revolution had made our people very familiar with French ideas of life, here and hereafter. Nothing could be more at variance with the old New England faith than this light, airy, unthinking philosophy. At the close of the last century French infidelity had become quite current in New England, especially among the young men. And nowhere was this more common than among the young men in our colleges, — advanced thinkers, as they thought themselves to be, and aspiring to be leaders of public opinion. Whether we have here given the true causes or not, it must be admitted that New England was never at a lower point, religiously, as seen in her public and in her private life, than in the earliest years of the present century.

Thus far our attention has been directed to Boston, as its territory was known and bounded in the last century. But it is of course proper that the Boston of to-day should be comprehended and exhibited. To this end it is needful that we turn back again for a moment, and enumerate the

Congregational churches existing one hundred years ago on the territory recently brought within the city limits. These churches are five in number, namely: —

First Church in Roxbury	July, 1632.
First Church in Charlestown	Nov. 2, 1632.
First Church in Dorchester	Aug. 23, 1636.
Second Church in Roxbury (West Roxbury)	Nov. 2, 1712.
Third Church in Roxbury (Jamaica Plain)	Dec. 11, 1770.

These five, added to the eleven already enumerated, show the existence of sixteen Congregational churches, in 1780, upon the territory now embraced within the city of Boston. In some lists the First Church in Brighton is made to date from 1730. But we reckon the year of the formation of the Old Brighton Church to be 1783. Brighton was anciently a part of Cambridge, and was called Little Cambridge. A preaching service, more or less irregular, had been maintained at Little Cambridge from 1730 onward. But the real organization of the church did not take place till 1783, and we date from that organic act, and not from the early movements looking in that direction.

Of the sixteen churches named above, which were in active existence one hundred years ago upon the present Boston soil, all but two in the early years of the present century became known as Unitarian. The two remaining Trinitarian were the First Church in Charlestown and the Old South. As the Unitarian churches of the city will be presented in a separate chapter, we will not attempt farther to follow their fortunes, but will give our attention to the two above-mentioned, and those of like faith which have come into existence during the present century.

After that long period of dulness and decline of which we have spoken, at length came the time when the religious life of New England set forward again under new and more favorable auspices. Some of the evils and hindrances of the former years had worked themselves out to their full end, and had disappeared. That scheme of church-membership introduced by the Synod of 1662, and known as the Half-way Covenant, had at length been abandoned. The ruling elders, who figured so prominently in the early generations, had taken their departure. The aristocratic features of the Cambridge Platform, giving such undue power in the government of the churches to the ministers, had lost their vitality. The union of the Church with the State was rapidly drawing to a close. The churches, both in city and country, were losing some of their formal dignity and growing more and more into the pattern of the New Testament simplicities. The exclusiveness of the former days had gone by; and a fair and open field was presented to churches of other denominations, giving them substantially the same rights and privileges which had before been reserved for churches of the standing order. In due time came the full inauguration of the principle that religion should be free, — that no person should be taxed for any church except at his own pleasure. Changes so radical as these seemed to

many of the conservative men of fifty and sixty years ago the giving up of all that New England had held most dear. But, looking back from the present, few will deny that our religious condition is far more sound and healthful in consequence of these changes. This revolution was a growth from within, rather than a measure forced upon the churches from without. There never was a time when the churches of the standing order in New England were forced by outside majorities to change their early policy; they yielded rather to the silent pressure of their own underlying principles. Step by step they advanced logically toward greater liberty and toleration.

With the opening years of the present century other elements, of a different type, came into the church life of New England. Then began that great migratory movement, by which the pent-up population of the Atlantic slopes and the gathering hosts of the Old World were to be distributed across this broad continent. A missionary field of the most majestic proportions opened before the churches of every name and order. Coincident with this came the Christian impulse to send the blessings of the gospel far abroad to the nations sitting in darkness. The thoughts of men and women were thus turned away from themselves and from the little worlds in which they personally moved to the broad land which God had given them for an inheritance, and to a wide and waiting world appealing to their Christian sympathies. The missionary work at home and abroad done by this and by other lands distinguishes, to an eminent degree, the Christianity of the present century from the centuries that went before. There is now among the churches of the New England type less of form and ceremony, less of dignity and state, less of dogmatic controversy than in the generations past; but there is, let us hope, more of the spirit of that great Teacher and Master who went about doing good. Looking at things in a certain way, it is easy to conclude that men and women were more religious formerly than now. There was a far more enforced conformity to religious observances; but when we remember that religion is a thing of the heart, and not of the outward form, and that nothing can be truly genuine and worthy in this respect which does not spring naturally out of a free and willing mind, we may find some evidence that the real piety of this generation is as good as that of the past.

Early in the present century began the formation of Sunday-schools among the churches of this country, — an enterprise which has already grown into vast proportions. It has called out the benevolence and the working power of our churches to a very great degree. From year to year this enterprise takes on new forms and varieties and methods of work; but never, perhaps, has the range of its activity been larger or more healthy than at present. All these things indicate religious activity, if not religious thought. The century in which we are living has witnessed an advance in almost every department of life truly marvellous; and we believe that the religious progress during this period will prove as truly great as the revolution wrought in things outward and material.

Going back then once more to the beginning of the century, and setting out with the two churches which had come over from the previous generations, we find that within the limits of the present city of Boston forty-one Congregational churches have meanwhile sprung into existence. Of these, twenty-six were on the ancient territory of Boston, and fifteen were in the several districts which have lately been added to the city. These are as follows, taking first those on the old territory: —

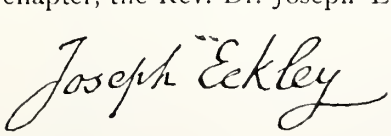
Park Street, 1809; Union, 1822; Phillips, 1823; Green Street, 1823; Bowdoin, 1825; Salem Street, 1827; Berkeley, 1827; Mariners, 1830; Central, 1835; Maverick, 1836; Free Church, 1836; Garden Street, 1840; Mount Vernon, 1842; Messiah, 1844; Church of the Pilgrims, 1844; Leyden, 1844; Payson, 1845; Shawmut, 1845; Edwards, 1849; Church of the Unity, 1857; Springfield Street, 1860; Oak Place, 1860; E Street, 1860; Chambers Street, 1861; Salem and Mariners, 1866; Olivet, 1876.

Those in the new districts are as follows: —

Second Church, Dorchester, 1808; Brighton, 1827; Village Church, Dorchester, 1829; Winthrop, Charlestown, 1833; Eliot, Roxbury, 1834; South Evan., West Roxbury, 1835; Bethesda, Charlestown, 1847; Central, Jamaica Plain, 1853; Immanuel, Roxbury, 1857; Trinity, Neponset, 1859; Pilgrim, Dorchester, 1862; Highland, Roxbury, 1869; Walnut Avenue, Roxbury, 1870; Church of Hollanders, Roxbury, 1873; Boylston, Jamaica Plain, 1879.

In making a brief reference to the men who have occupied the pulpits of these churches during the century, we shall be obliged to confine our notices to some of the more conspicuous, who have already passed away. In making our selection we shall choose indiscriminately from the ancient Boston, and from those portions recently brought within the city limits.

In 1779, almost at the beginning of the period contemplated in this chapter, the Rev. Dr. Joseph Eckley was ordained pastor of the Old South Church. He was a native of London, England, and a graduate from the College of New Jersey. His ministry continued thirty-two years, until his death in 1811. It was eminently a transition period among the churches of Boston, and Dr. Eckley to some degree sympathized with the changes going forward, though not to such an extent as to leave his old theological associations. He was a man of refined manners and good culture, who fulfilled his ministry in a troubled and revolutionary period.

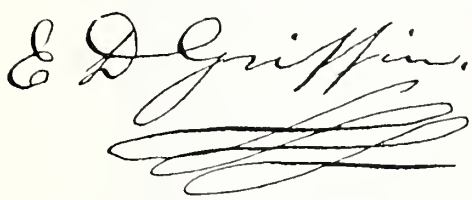


In the year 1808 the Rev. Joshua Huntington was settled as his colleague. He was a man greatly beloved and honored, but his ministry was cut short in 1819 by his untimely death, at the age of thirty-four.

The Rev. Jedidiah Morse, D.D., was settled over the First Church of Charlestown in 1789, and continued in office until 1820, when he resigned. He was one of the marked men of his generation, distinguished by his pulpit talents and his power as a writer upon religious and doctrinal topics.

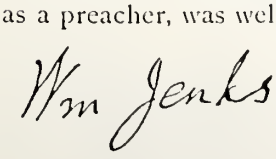
He has been known also as the father of American geography, and was deeply interested in all matters scientific and historical. For several years he was the editor of the *Panoplist*, and was prominently connected with the founding of the Andover Theological Seminary. Great as he was in himself, he was still more distinguished in his sons, who have filled a high place in journalism, and in the records of great inventions. He was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and of other learned bodies.

The Rev. Edward Dorr Griffin, D.D., the first pastor of Park-Street Church, professor of rhetoric in Andover Theological Seminary, and president of Williams College, impressed the men of his generation as a preacher of solid power and commanding eloquence. His stay in Boston was brief. His longest term of office was in the presidency of Williams College, where he remained from 1821 to 1836. He was among the leading pulpit orators of his time in New England.



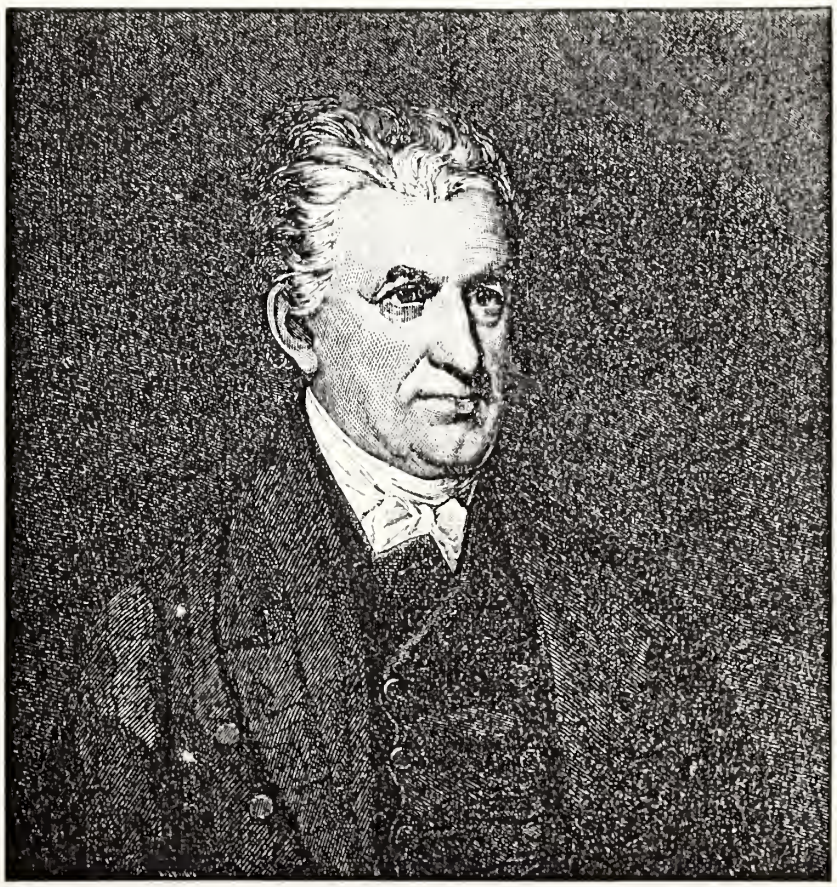
The Rev. John Codman, D.D., first pastor of the Second Church in Dorchester, remained in office thirty-nine years, till his death. The son of a wealthy Boston merchant, he enjoyed more than the usual opportunities for education, both at home and abroad. Without any thought or forecast at the time of his settlement as to what would happen, it fell to his lot to open that great strife, in the early years of the present century, whereby a separation took place between the Congregational churches since known as Unitarian and those that adhered to the old New England standards of faith. The opening years of his ministry were therefore very stirring and eventful. Dr. Codman was a man strong, solid, and practical, rather than brilliant. Blessed with fortune, he was able to become a public benefactor in a financial way, and took delight in imparting of his substance for individual and public good. His name abides in honor.

The Rev. William Jenks, D.D., more widely distinguished as an author than as a preacher, was well known in Boston in various connections from 1818 till his death in 1866, at the advanced age of eighty-eight. His gentlemanly person, his quiet manners, and his refined taste are well remembered by multitudes in the city. In the later years of his life, as he sat in the pulpit of the Old South Church on the Sabbath with his ear-trumpet, his saintly looks and gentle ways acted like a constant benediction upon the congregation. He was an able and instructive preacher in the



days of his strength and activity, but was more remarkable for his ripe learning and his great success in authorship. His *Comprehensive Commentary*, the fruit of the labor of many years, is said to have had a sale of 120,000 copies. Other works of his, illustrative of the Bible and designed as helps in its study, have had a large circulation

The stay of Dr. Lyman Beecher in Boston is to be regarded as a kind of episode in his long, stirring, and eventful life. He was resident here only from 1826 to 1832. But these were years when he was in the full plenitude



Lyman Beecher[1]

of his strength, — when his intellect was at the best, and his experience already large. Dr. Beecher, though quaint, odd, and absent-minded, was not unsymmetrical. He was a man to be trusted with great interests. While

[1] [This cut follows a portrait by Baird of Cincinnati, painted about 1843, and now owned by Mrs. Mary Foote Perkins, a daughter of Dr. Beecher. — Ed.]

he was pastor in Boston his influence in all the surrounding towns was very great. As an author, his published writings bear witness to the order and comprehensiveness of his thought. In short he was not, as some suppose, simply an impulsive and fiery orator, carrying his points by the sway and splendor of his rhetoric; he was a scholar also, — a man of system and orderly arrangement, working intelligently toward his end. He was unique to an extraordinary degree.

Fifty years ago the name of the Rev. B. B. Wisner, D.D., was one of the popular and beloved names of Boston. As pastor of the Old South Church from 1821 to 1832, and as one of the secretaries of the American Board from 1832 to his death in 1835, few men have more thoroughly won public affection and confidence. Of a fine presence and winning aspect, with an attractive address and a fluent speech, he was a general favorite with the people. He passed away at a comparatively early age, at a period when a man usually begins to take on his full mental vigor and compass. He was but thirty-nine at the time of his death, but left behind him an excellent record for culture, activity, and usefulness.[1]

The Old South Church also suffered a severe affliction in the early death of the pastor immediately succeeding Dr. Wisner, — the Rev. Samuel H. Stearns. His ministry, begun in 1834, opened with great promise, and the young pastor was most highly esteemed and loved by his congregation. But his work was soon cut short by disease. He died after a ministry of only three years.

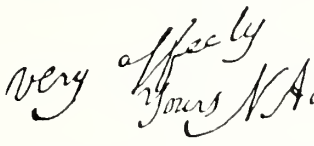
One of the early ministers of the church in Brighton was the celebrated Dr. William Adams, who after a long and very conspicuous life has recently passed away by death in the city of New York. His settlement at Brighton was in 1831, immediately after leaving the theological seminary. He had not then learned to use the treasures of his learning and power. In later years he became one of the foremost clergymen in the land. By his stately dignity and eloquence, few men could more adequately meet the requirements of a great occasion.

The first pastor of the Salem-Street Church was the Rev. Justin Edwards, D.D. Before coming to Boston, he had been pastor at Andover for fifteen years. His pastorate at Boston was short, because of failing health; but after recovering strength he became a conspicuous worker through all the later years of his life in reformatory movements. He was the founder of the American Temperance Society, and became its secretary. He was actively engaged both as writer and public debater upon the Sabbath question. An immense number of copies of his

[1] [We owe to Dr. Wisner the only history we have of the Old South Church. — Ed.]

Sabbath Manual, his *Temperance Manual*, and of other of his works were circulated among the people. He was for several years the President of the Andover Theological Seminary.

In 1834 the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D.D., began his ministry in Essex Street, as pastor of the Union Church, and from that time until recent years he has been one of the most marked men connected with the Boston ministry. Of conservative tendencies on all questions of theology and morals, of strong and abiding will, he was yet a man of such grace of culture, and such felicity of public address, that his services were always in full demand so long as his health and strength lasted. He had the delights and delicacies of literary culture to a most remarkable degree. In the fitness and aptness of his Scriptural quotations he was well-nigh unsurpassed. To all these advantages are to be added the comeliness and beauty of his person, and his calm self-possession in all public duties. He bore a prominent part in the religious controversies of his day, but took a greater delight in more quiet authorship. As a public writer he was large and comprehensive. There is a wide variety in the books which he has left behind; but they are all marked by the ever-recurring touches of his peculiar genius.



The first pastor of the Eliot Church, Boston Highlands, was the Rev. John S. C. Abbott, D.D., a man of quick and versatile genius, and holding pre-eminently the pen of a ready writer. In connection with his public labors in the ministry in various places he has been prolific in authorship to a remarkable degree, and his writings have enjoyed a large popularity. While many have not been able to coincide with some of his historical judgments, all will concede that there is a peculiar charm spread over the pages of his books. Few men have gathered about themselves a greater multitude of readers.

The Rev. Sereno E. Dwight, D.D., the second pastor of Park-Street Church, was the son of Dr. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College. His own abilities, as well as his father's name, caused him to become conspicuous in public life during the early years of the present century. As a preacher and a writer he obtained a good reputation. After leaving Park Street in 1826, he was for a short period President of Hamilton College, New York, but was more largely engaged as a writer and author. He published several works, of which the most important was the life of his distinguished ancestor Jonathan Edwards, which makes the first volume in his ten-volume edition of Edwards's Works, published in 1830.

The Rev. Joel H. Linsley, D.D., pastor of Park-Street Church at a later date, was a man of very effective pulpit powers. Not demonstrative, not aiming at oratorical display, he was often eloquent after the most genuine fashion. He touched and captivated the heart. Simple and natural in

his daily life and in all his public addresses, he was a choice and valued Christian worker in his generation. After leaving Boston he became President of Marietta College, Ohio. His longest ministry was in his later years at Greenwich, Connecticut, where he died in 1868.

The Rev. Silas Aiken, D.D., successor to Dr. Linsley in the Park-Street pulpit, was a man different in the habits of his mind and in his constitutional tendencies; less tender and emotional, but strong, solid, and worthy. He had not the elements of a strictly popular preacher; but he had strength of understanding, and was a wise, faithful, judicious pastor, — a man to be honored and trusted. His pastoral care of the church continued for eleven years, from 1837 to 1848.

The Rev. Amos A. Phelps, connected as pastor with three of the Boston churches between the years 1832 and 1847, was a man who left behind him a much greater name than any immediate success would seem to warrant. The secret of this is to be found probably in the fact that he was a thoroughgoing Antislavery advocate at a time when Antislavery sentiments were not popular in the great cities of the north. Moreover, as an Antislavery man he did not consort with men of the radical type, but kept himself in strict alliance with the churches, where at the first he found little sympathy. As an acute and logical thinker, whose ideas though tardily received were at length victorious, he has an honor now which he did not enjoy in his lifetime. He was of a delicate constitution, and passed away at a comparatively early age. Few of his contemporaries, however, accomplished more than he in the cause of truth and righteousness.

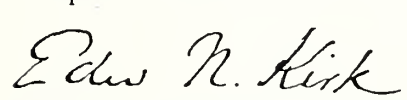
Another Congregational minister, who like the preceding was cut off in the midst of his days, was the Rev. William M. Rogers, the brilliant pastor of Central Church from 1835 to 1851. For a number of years, while his health and strength were continued, there was no Congregational minister in Boston who had greater attractive power than he. The Central Church in those years was one of the places of popular resort. Mr. Rogers was of a slight figure, with marked nervous energy, and with a style of address that reached and thoroughly penetrated his hearers. He was averse to every form of radicalism. He might be called ultra-conservative. But notwithstanding these seeming drawbacks he had the elements of popularity in him to a marked degree, and filled a conspicuous place during the short period of his public activity.

The Rev. Samuel Green, the first pastor of Union Church, was one of those men of excellent quality and large promise who are not permitted to continue. After a ministry of eleven years in Essex Street he died at the age of forty-two, greatly beloved and honored. He was a brother of

the Rev. David Green, so widely known as a wise and able secretary of the American Board.

The successor of Dr. Lyman Beecher, at the Bowdoin-Street Church, was the Rev. Hubbard Winslow, D.D., who remained in office from 1832 to 1844. Mr. Winslow was a man of a companionable nature, easily accessible, and during his ministry Bowdoin-Street Church was full to overflowing. For some years no Congregational Church in Boston was more crowded. Dr. Winslow, though not a great preacher in the highest sense, had the power of adaptation to the wants of common minds, so that he was a favorite with the people. After leaving the ministry in 1844 he became well known as a teacher and writer. He published several volumes of a religious and practical nature which had a good circulation.

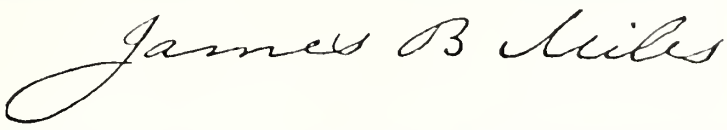
The Rev. Edward N. Kirk, D.D., came to Boston in 1842 to be made the first pastor of the Mount Vernon Church. Previous to his coming hither he had acquired a wide reputation as an evangelist. He was an accomplished pulpit orator, and wherever he went he was certain to draw crowds to hear him. He preached the gospel with great fervor and directness, and in a most winning manner. With a voice clear, rotund, musical, capable by its range of finding out the most distant hearer; with a figure full, graceful, easy of movement,—he had few equals in the land in making a popular impression. Turning from his life as an evangelist to become a settled pastor, many thought that he had perhaps made a mistake, and that the new enterprise would prove a failure in his hands. But on coming to Boston Dr. Kirk thoroughly identified himself with every good word and work. No man among us has been more widely connected with great evangelical movements, not only near at hand, but throughout the land and the world. His name has been as familiar almost in England, France, Germany, and Italy, as in the United States.



The Rev. William Ives Budington, D.D., was settled over the ancient church of Charlestown in 1840, and remained there fourteen years before his removal to Brooklyn, New York. He was a man of finished culture, of rare mental gifts and moral graces. As a public speaker, especially in extemporaneous address, he was often exceedingly felicitous. Wherever he went he was certain to win friends and draw men of kindred spirit into close companionship with himself. While in Charlestown he wrote his *History of the First Church*. The work was done on so large a plan, and the time covered by the history was so long, that great labor was involved in the undertaking. It was finished in a scholarly manner, and remains now as a standard book of reference.

Dr. Budington's successor at Charlestown was the Rev. James B. Miles D.D., who filled the pastoral office from 1855 to 1871, when he was dismissed to become secretary of the American Peace Society. In this connection he made the society known in this land and in foreign lands,

in a way in which it had not been known before. For some years Dr. Miles and the American Peace Society became familiar even in the courts of Europe. How far this work will abide, how permanent this influence



will prove, we cannot say; but certainly Dr. Miles used his office industriously, and carried his plans of peace and public arbitration in national affairs into the highest assemblies of the Old World.

The foregoing is a rapid review of some of the men who have stood in the Congregational pulpits of Boston during the last century. We have confined the sketch simply to those who are dead. There are many names among the living worthy of honorable mention.

If all the Congregational churches of Boston previously enumerated had lived until the present time, in addition to the two ancient churches already mentioned, we should find to-day within the city limits forty-three Congregational churches. Instead of this number we find but twenty-six. Seventeen of the churches enumerated above have died, or have been merged in others. This is the common fortune of churches of every order planted in great and growing cities. Changes of the most revolutionary kind are constantly taking place amid these city populations. The chief and chosen resorts for quiet residences in one generation become the principal centres of noise and traffic in the next. The places where the fathers most naturally gathered for their public worship are far away from the homes of the children. And so it happens almost inevitably, in the progress and growth of cities, that some churches must die while others are born.

To this cause, which is peculiar to cities, we may add others common alike to city and country. Some churches, wherever they may be, are but untimely births, growing out of strifes and divisions, or strange idiosyncrasies. Persons of discernment, looking on at the time, see that such churches will be short-lived in the nature of things. They are not born out of any real want, and have therefore no natural basis of health and growth.

Whether this church mortality, as we may call it, has been greater among the Congregationalists of Boston than in other denominations we have not undertaken to inquire; but, as before stated, on the territory of Boston, as it is now bounded, we have to-day twenty-six Congregational churches in place of the forty-three which would have been found here had death not invaded their ranks. But no enumeration of this kind can give any more than a very partial idea of the religious growth of the city during the last one hundred years. Before the age of railroads the city was the city, and the country was the country. But now there is a Boston which is very largely outside even of the enlarged city limits. There is a popula-

tion of many thousands in the suburban towns — ten, fifteen, twenty miles away — which in some sense belongs to the city as truly as though it dwelt within the city enclosure. There are churches representing the various denominations which have been formed out of this half city, half country population. No one can doubt that the churches of Chelsea, of Cambridge, of Newton, of Medford, of Malden, and divers other towns and villages depend for their chief strength and support upon men whose business life is in the neighboring city. If all the Congregational churches in these outlying districts which really draw their life from this tributary population could be added to those already enumerated, it would greatly swell the sum total of what is really to be credited to Boston.

All this history which has thus been briefly summarized will be more clearly and satisfactorily exhibited in the annexed tables, which will show the succession of churches and ministers in Boston from 1780 to the present time. Here it will be easy to trace the churches which have continued until this present time, and those which have died out or been merged in others.

TABLE SHOWING THE SUCCESSION OF CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES OF BOSTON, WITH THEIR MINISTERS, FROM 1780 TO 1880.

The letters A. P. *standing against a name signify Acting Pastor.*

Churches, when organized.	Ministers.	Place and Date of Birth.	College, and Year of Graduation.	Date of Settlement.	Date of Dismission.	Date of Death.	Age.	Remarks.
Charlestown, First Church,[1] Nov. 2, 1632.	Thomas Prentice . .	Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 9, 1702 .	Harvard, 1726 . . .	Oct. 3, 1739	.....	June 17, 1782	80	.....
	Joshua Paine	Sturbridge, Mass., 1763	Harvard, 1784 . . .	Jan. 10, 1787	.....	Feb. 27, 1788	24	.....
	Jedidiah Morse, D.D.	Woodstock, Ct., Aug. 23, 1761 .	Yale, 1783	April 30, 1789	Feb. 22, 1820	June 9, 1826	65	.....
	Warren Fay, D.D.. .	Northboro', Mass., Feb. 17, 1784 .	Harvard, 1807 . . .	Feb. 23, 1820	Aug. 16, 1839	Mar. 2, 1864	80	.....
	Wm. I. Budington, D.D.	New Haven, Ct., April 21, 1815 .	Yale, 1834	April 22, 1840	Sept. 22, 1854	Nov. 29, 1879	64	.....
	James B. Miles, D.D.	Rutland, Mass., Aug. 18, 1823 .	Yale, 1849	Jan. 2, 1855	Oct. 2, 1871	Nov. 14, 1875	52	.....
	Francis F. Ford. . .	Newark Vall., N.Y., Nov. 27, 1827	Hamilton, 1851 . . .	Dec. 11, 1872	Oct. 27, 1874	.....	...	.....
	Henry L. Kendall . .	Barrington, R.I., March 5, 1849 .	Brown University, 1871	April 19, 1876	Nov. 13, 1879	.....	...	.....
Old South,[2] May 5, 1669.	Joseph Eckley, D.D. .	London, England, 1750	Coll. of N. Jersey, 1772	Oct. 27, 1779	.....	April 30, 1811	61	.....
	Joshua Huntington. .	New London, Ct., Jan. 31, 1786 .	Yale, 1804	May 18, 1819	.....	Sept. 11, 1819	34	.....
	Benj. B. Wisner, D.D.	Goshen, N.Y., Sept. 29, 1794 . .	Union, 1813	Feb. 21, 1821	Nov. 12, 1832	Feb. 9, 1835	41	.....
	Samuel H. Stearns . .	Bedford, Mass., Sept. 12, 1801 .	Harvard, 1823 . . .	April 16, 1834	.....	July 15, 1837	36	.....
	Geo. W. Blagden, D.D.	Washington, D.C., Oct. 3, 1802 .	Yale, 1823	Sept. 28, 1836	.....	.....	...	.....
	Jacob M. Manning, D.D.	Greenwood, N.Y., Dec. 31, 1824 .	Amherst, 1850 . . .	Mar. 11, 1857	.....	.....	...	.....
Dorchester, Second Church, Jan. 1, 1808.	John Codman, D D. .	Boston, Mass., Aug. 3, 1782 . .	Harvard, 1802 . . .	Dec. 7, 1808	.....	Dec. 23, 1847	65	.....
	James H. Means, D.D.	Boston, Mass., Dec. 13, 1823 . .	Harvard, 1843 . . .	July 13, 1848	Dec. 20, 1878	.....	...	.....
	Edward N. Packard .	Lancaster, Mass., Dec. 16, 1838 .	Bowdoin, 1862 . . .	April 9, 1879	.....	.....	...	.....
Park Street, Feb. 27, 1809.	Edward D. Griffin, D.D.	East Haddam, Ct., Jan. 6, 1770 .	Yale, 1790	July 31, 1811	April 27, 1815	Nov. 8, 1837	67	.....
	Sereno E. Dwight, D.D.	Greenfield, Ct., May 18, 1786 . .	Yale, 1803	Sept. 3, 1817	April 10. 1826	Nov. 30, 1850	64	.....
	Edward Beecher, D.D.	East Hampton, L.I., Aug. 22, 1803	Yale, 1822	Dec. 27, 1826	Oct. 28, 1830	.....	...	.....
	Joel H. Linsley, D.D.	Cornwall, Vt., July 15, 1790 . .	Middlebury, 1811 . .	Dec. 5, 1832	Sept. 28, 1835	Mar. 23, 1868	77	.....
	Silas Aiken, D.D. . .	Bedford, N.H., May 14, 1799 . .	Dartmouth, 1825 . .	Mar. 22, 1837	July 12, 1848	April 7, 1869	70	.....
	Andrew L. Stone, D.D.	Oxford, Ct., Nov. 25, 1815 . . .	Yale, 1837	Jan. 25, 1849	Jan. 25, 1866	.....	...	.....
	William H. H. Murray	Guilford, Ct., April 26, 1840 . .	Yale, 1862	Nov. 11, 1868	Oct. 24, 1874	.....	...	.....
	John L. Withrow, D.D.	Coatesville, Pa., March 19, 1837 .	Coll. of N. Jersey, 1860	Sept. 28, 1876	.....	.....	...	.....
Union (Essex Street), June 10, 1822.	Samuel Green . . .	Stoneham, Mass., March 3, 1792 .	Harvard, 1816 . . .	Mar. 22, 1823	Mar. 26, 1834	Nov. 20, 1834	42	.....
	Nehemiah Adams, D.D.	Salem, Mass., Feb. 19, 1806 . .	Harvard, 1826 . . .	Mar. 26, 1834	.....	Oct. 6, 1878	72	.....
	Henry M. Parsons . .	East Haddam, Ct., Nov. 13, 1828 .	Yale, 1848	Dec. 1, 1870	Dec. 30, 1874	.....	...	.....
	Franke A. Warfield . .	Holliston, Mass., Oct. 4, 1846 . .	Yale, ...	Feb. 1, 1876	....	.....	...	.....

[1] For list of pastors whose ministry closed before 1780 see *American Quarterly Register*. vol. xi., p. 46.

[2] For list of pastors whose ministry closed before 1780, see *Ibid.*, vol. vii., p. 29.

STATISTICS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES (*Continued*).

CHURCHES, WHEN ORGANIZED	MINISTERS.	PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH.	COLLEGE AND YEAR OF GRADUATION.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF DISMISSION.	DATE OF DEATH.	AGE.	REMARKS.
SOUTH BOSTON, PHILLIPS, Dec. 10, 1823.	Prince Hawes	Warren, Ct., 1783	Williams, 1805	April 28, 1824	April 18, 1827	Dec. 14, 1848	65	
	Joy H. Fairchild, D.D.	Guilford, Ct., April 24, 1790	Yale, 1813	Nov. 22, 1827	June 2, 1842	Mar. 21, 1859	69	
	Wm. W. Patton, D.D.	New York City, Oct. 19, 1821	New York Univ., 1839	Jan. 18, 1843	Dec. 22, 1845			
	John W. Alvord	East Hampton, Ct., April 18, 1807	Yale, A.M., 1842	Nov. 4, 1846	Mar. 24, 1852	Jan. 14, 1880	73	
	Charles S. Porter	Ashfield, Mass., Dec. 9, 1804	Amherst, 1827	Feb. 22, 1854	July 8, 1859	April 10, 1870	66	
	Edmund K. Alden, D.D.	Randolph, Mass., April 11, 1825	Amherst, 1844	Sept. 21, 1859	Nov. 2, 1876			
	Robert R. Meredith	Ireland, Feb. 8, 1838	Boston University, 1861	Nov. 13, 1878				
GREEN STREET, Dec. 30, 1823.	William Jenks, D.D.	Newton, Mass., Nov. 25, 1778	Harvard, 1797	Oct. 25, 1826	July, 1844	Nov. 13, 1866	88	United with Garden Street Church to form Messiah Church, July 1844.
BOWDOIN STREET (AT FIRST HANOVER ST.) July 18, 1825.	Lyman Beecher, D.D.	New Haven, Ct., Oct. 12, 1775	Yale, 1797	Jan. 19, 1826	Sept. 26, 1832	Jan. 10, 1863	88	
	Hubbard Winslow, D.D.	Williston, Vt., Oct. 30, 1799	Yale, 1825	Sept. 26, 1832	April 3, 1844	Aug. 13, 1864	65	
	Jared B. Waterbury, D.D.	New York City, Aug. 11, 1799	Yale, 1822	Sept 3, 1846	June 16, 1857	Dec. 31, 1879	80	
	Edwin Johnson	Plymouth, Ct., Dec. 1, 1826	Yale, 1846	June 29, 1859	Sept. 18, 1861			Church disbanded.
SALEM STREET, Sept. 1, 1827.	Justin Edwards, D.D.	Westhampton, Mass., Apr. 25, 1787	Williams, 1810	Jan. 1, 1828	Aug. 20, 1829	July 23, 1853	66	
	Geo. W. Blagden, D.D.	Washington, D.C., Oct. 3, 1802	Yale, 1823	Nov. 4, 1830	Sept. 5, 1836			
	Joseph H. Towne, D.D.	Salem, Mass., May 27, 1805	Yale, 1827	June 2, 1837	Dec. 27, 1843			
	Edward Beecher, D.D.	East Hampton, L.I., Aug. 22, 1803	Yale, 1822	Mar. 13, 1844	Nov. 7, 1855			
	George W. Field, D.D.	Belfast, Me., Dec. 19, 1818	Bowdoin, 1837	Oct. 15, 1856	Oct. 28, 1863			
	Solomon P. Fay, A.F.	Westboro', Mass., June 21, 1820	Marietta, 1844	Nov. 1, 1863	May 6, 1866			United with the Mariners' Church, Dec. 2, 1866.
BERKELEY (FORMERLY PINE) ST., Sept. 2, 1827.	Thos. H. Skinner, D.D.	Harvey's Neck, N.C., Mar. 7, 1791	Coll. of N. Jersey, 1809	April 10, 1828	Aug. 18, 1828	Feb. 1, 1871	80	
	John Brown, D.D.	Brooklyn, Ct., July 4, 1786	Dartmouth, 1809	Mar. 4, 1829	Feb. 6, 1831	Mar. 22, 1839	52	
	Amos A. Phelps	Farmington, Ct., Nov. 11, 1804	Yale, 1826	Sept. 13, 1832	Mar. 26, 1834	July 30, 1847	43	
	Artemas Boies	Blandford, Mass., Sept. 8, 1792	Williams, 1816	Dec. 10, 1834	Oct. 9, 1840	Sept. 25, 1844	52	
	Austin Phelps, D.D.	W. Brookfield, Mass., Jan. 7, 1820	Univ. of Penn., 1837	Mar. 31, 1842	Mar. 11, 1848			
	Henry M Dexter, D.D.	Plympton, Mass., Aug. 13, 1821	Yale, 1840	April 19, 1849	June 28, 1867			
	William B. Wright	Cincinnati, O., April 15, 1838	Dartmouth, 1857	Oct. 30, 1867				
BRIGHTON, Sept. 13, 1827.	Geo. W. Blagden, D.D.	Washington, D.C., Oct. 3, 1802	Yale, 1823	Dec. 26, 1827	Sept. 3, 1830			
	William Adams, D.D.	Colchester, Ct., Jan. 25, 1807	Yale, 1827	Feb. 2, 1831	April 23, 1834	Aug. 31, 1880	73	
	Wm. W. Newell, D.D.	South Natick, Mass., Sept. 17, 1807	Yale, 1830	Aug. 19, 1834	June 13, 1837			
	Samuel Lamson	Salem, Mass., June 6, 1807	Brown University, 1828	Sept. 20, 1837	Sept. 16, 1841	Jan. 24, 1864	57	
	John R. Adams, D.D.	Plainfield, Ct., March 20, 1802	Yale, 1821	Feb. 2, 1842	Dec. 16, 1846	April 25, 1866	64	

	Arthur Swazey, D.D.	Bucksport, Me., June 22, 1824	Bowdoin, 1844	Oct. 6, 1847	May 13, 1856	.....	...	.....
	Thomas O. Rice	Ashby, Mass., Aug. 19, 1815	Amherst, 1839	April 6, 1858	July 6, 1859	.....	...	.....
	Richard G. Greene	East Haddam, Ct., June 29, 1829	Yale, A.M., 1873	Sept. 19. 1860	Aug. 1862	.....	...	.....
	John P. Cushman	Troy, N.Y., Jan. 19, 1830	Union. 1851	Jan. 11. 1863	April, 1866	.....	...	.....
	David T. Packard	N. B'dgew'r, Mass., Aug. 24, 1824	Amherst, 1850	Dec. 6, 1866	Aug. 11, 1873	Nov: 28, 1880	56	.....
	Henry A. Stevens	Salisbury, N. H., Dec. 29, 1834	Amherst, 1857	June 11, 1874	.....	.....	...	.....
Dorchester, Village Church, March 11, 1829.	David Sanford	Medway, Mass., Aug. 28, 1801	Brown University, 1825	July 14, 1830	Sept. 17, 1838	Dec. 17, 1875	74	.....
	Daniel Butler	Hartford, Ct., June 23, 1808	Yale, 1835	Oct. 31, 1838	Jan. 31, 1845	.....	...	.....
	David Dyer	England, 1811	.....	April 9, 1845	June 1, 1852	Feb. 8, 1870	59	.....
	Daniel T. Noyes	Boston, April 20, 1824	Yale, 1847	Feb. 16, 1853	Feb. 14, 1855	Oct. 4, 1862	38	.....
	Theodore T. Munger	Bainbridge, N. Y., March 5, 1830	Yale, 1851	Feb. 6, 1856	Oct. 22, 1860	.....	...	.....
	Edmund S. Potter	Leyden, Mass. Oct. 31, 1813	.....	Feb. 13, 1861	May 4, 1863	.....	...	.....
	A. J. Rich	Cooper, Me., Dec. 6, 1834	.....	Mar. 30, 1864	Dec. 13, 1866	.....	...	.....
	H. M. Tenney	Hanover, N. H., May 16, 1841	Amherst, 1864	Oct. 21, 1868	Sept. 21, 1870	.....	...	.....
	William B. Clarke	Cuba, Dec. 27, 1829	Yale, 1849	April 1, 1871	June 30, 1873	.....	...	.....
	Philander Thurston	Pelham, Mass., May 25, 1837	Amherst, 1865	Jan. 21, 1875	Jan. 21, 1880	.....	...	.....
	Solomon P. Fay, A.P.	Westboro', Mass., June 21, 1820	Marietta, 1844	Sept. 26, 1880	.....	.....	...	.....
Mariners' Church, Jan. 20, 1830.	Daniel M. Lord	Lyme, Ct., April 9, 1800	Amherst, 1830	Nov. 11, 1834	July 20, 1848	Aug. 26, 1861	61	.....
	George W. Bourne	Wells, Me., 1813	Bangor Institute, 1837	Feb. 15, 1849	1854	April 23, 1872	59	.....
	Elijah Kellogg, A.P.	Portland, Me., March, 1813	Bowdoin, 1840	1855	1866	.....	...	United with Salem-Street Church, Dec. 2, 1866.
Charlestown, Winthrop Church, Jan. 9, 1833.	Daniel Crosby	Hampden, Me., Oct. 1799	Yale, 1823	Aug. 1833	May 28, 1842	Feb. 28, 1843	43	.....
	John Humphrey	Fairfield, Ct., March 19, 1816	Amherst, 1835	Nov. 30, 1842	Mar. 26, 1847	Dec. 2, 1854	38	.....
	Benj. Tappan, D.D.	Augusta, Me., June 26, 1815	Bowdoin, 1833	Oct. 4, 1849	Aug. 10, 1857	.....	...	.....
	A. E. Kittredge, D.D.	Roxbury, Mass., July 20, 1834	Williams, 1854	Sept. 14, 1859	Dec. 2, 1863	.....	...	.....
	J. E. Rankin, D.D.	Thornton, Vt., Jan. 2, 1828	Middlebury, 1848	Dec. 1, 1864	Oct. 29, 1869	.....	...	.....
	Alexander S. Twombly	Boston, Mass., March 14, 1832	Yale, 1854	May 2, 1872	.....	.....	...	.....
Boston Highlands, Eliot Church, Sept. 18, 1834.	John S. C. Abbott, D.D.	Brunswick, Me., Sept. 18, 1805	Bowdoin, 1825	Nov. 25, 1835	Jan. 13, 1841	June 17, 1877	71	.....
	Aug. C. Thompson, D.D.	Goshen, Ct., April 30, 1812	Yale, A.M., 1841	July 27, 1842	.....	.....	...	.....
	Benjamin F. Hamilton	Chester, Mass., Nov. 4, 1835	Amherst, 1861	Nov. 9, 1871	.....	.....	...	.....
West Roxbury, South Evan. Church, June 11, 1835.	Christopher Marsh	Campton, N. H., Aug. 1794	Dartmouth, 1820	May 17, 1837	Dec. 11, 1853	June 30, 1859	64	.....
	Thomas Laurie, D.D.	Craglieth, Scotland, May 19, 1821	Illinois, 1838	May 7. 1851	Jan. 20, 1868	.....	...	.....
	William S. Hubbell	Wolcottville, Ct., April 19, 1837	Yale, 1858	Jan. 30, 1868	Jan. 25, 1872	.....	...	.....
	Edward Strong, D.D.	Somers, Ct., Oct. 25, 1813	Yale, 1838	May 2, 1872	.....	.....	...	.....

STATISTICS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES (*Continued*).

CHURCHES, WHEN ORGANIZED.	MINISTERS.	PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH.	COLLEGE AND YEAR OF GRADUATION.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF DISMISSION.	DATE OF DEATH.	AGE.	REMARKS.
CENTRAL CHURCH, May 11, 1835.	William M. Rogers	Island of Alderney, Sept. 10, 1806	Harvard, 1827	Aug. 6, 1835	.....	Aug. 10, 1851	45	.....
	George Richards	New London, Ct., Nov. 2, 1816	Yale, 1840	Oct. 8, 1845	April 20, 1859	Oct. 20, 1870	54	.....
	John E. Todd, D.D.	Northampton, Mass., Dec. 6, 1833	Yale, 1855	Feb. 2, 1860	April 28, 1869	.....	...	.....
	John DeWitt, D.D.	Harrisburg, Pa., Oct. 10, 1842	Col. of N. Jersey, 1861	Dec. 1, 1869	Dec. 30, 1875	.....	...	.....
	Joseph T. Duryea, D.D.	Jamaica, L. I., Dec. 9, 1832	Col. of N. Jersey, 1856	April 17, 1879	.....	.....	...	.....
EAST BOSTON, MAVERICK CHURCH, May 31, 1836.	Wm. W. Newell, D.D.	So. Natick, Mass., Sept. 17, 1807	Yale, 1830	July 19, 1837	July 21, 1841	.....	...	.....
	Amos A. Phelps	Farmington, Ct., Nov. 11, 1804	Yale, 1826	Mar. 2, 1842	June 2, 1845	July 30, 1847	43	.....
	Robert S. Hitchcock	Newport, R.I., 1818	Amherst, 1837	Nov. 18, 1846	Nov. 6, 1850	.....	...	.....
	Rufus W. Clark, D.D.	Newburyport, Mass., Dec. 17, 1813	Yale, 1838	Dec. 3, 1851	April 8, 1857	.....	...	.....
	Thomas N. Haskell	Mina, N. Y., Jan. 20, 1826	Miami University, 1851	June 24, 1858	Mar. 5, 1862	.....	...	.....
	Joel S. Bingham, D.D.	Cornwall, Vt., Oct. 16, 1815	Univ. of Vermont, 1848	Mar. 10, 1863	Sept. 6, 1870	.....	...	.....
	Dan'l W. Waldron, A.P.	Augusta, Me., Nov. 11, 1840	Bowdoin, 1862	June 1, 1871	Dec. 1, 1872	.....	...	.....
	J. V. Hilton, A.P.	Andes, N. Y., Aug. 7, 1838	Kenyon, 1859	July 1, 1873	April 1, 1880	.....	...	.....
	John H. Barrows	Medina, Mich., July 11, 1847	Olivet, 1867	Dec. 1, 1880	.....	.....	...	.....
FREE CHURCH, MARLBOROUGH CHAPEL, 1836.	Charles Fitch	Lisbon, Ct., 1804	.....	May 31, 1836	1839	1843	39	.....
	Amos A. Phelps	Farmington, Ct., Nov. 11, 1804	Yale, 1826	July 24, 1839	1841	July 30, 1847	43	Supplied for some time after by different preachers, and then disbanded.
GARDEN STREET, July 27, 1841.	William R. Chapman	Bethel, Me., Feb. 26, 1812	Dartmouth, 1837	Sept. 8, 1841	July, 1844	Oct. 25, 1855	43	United with Green Street to form Messiah Church, July, 1844.
MT. VERNON, June 1, 1842.	Edward N. Kirk, D.D.	New York City, Aug. 14, 1802	Col. of N. Jersey, 1820	June 1, 1842	.....	Mar. 27, 1874	72	.....
	Sam'l E. Herrick, D.D.	Southampton, L. I., April 6, 1841	Amherst, 1859	April 21, 1871	.....	.....	...	.....
MESSIAH CHURCH, Oct., 1844.	William Jenks, D.D.	Newton, Mass., Nov. 25, 1778	Harvard, 1797	July 23, 1844	1846	Nov. 13, 1866	88	Both pastors dismissed and church disbanded in 1846.
	William R. Chapman	Bethel, Me., Feb. 26, 1812	Dartmouth, 1837	July 23, 1844	1846	Oct. 25, 1855	43	
LEYDEN, Feb. 7, 1844	Joseph H. Towne, D.D.	Salem, Mass., May 27, 1805	Yale, 1827	Feb. 28, 1844	.....	.....	...	Voted July 1847 to suspend public worship.
CHURCH OF THE PILGRIMS, July 1, 1844.	Matthew Hale Smith	Portland, Me., Oct. 15, 1810	.....	Oct. 18, 1846	1849	Nov. 7, 1879	69	.....
	S. H. Higgins, D.D.	Cambridge, Md., Aug. 5, 1813	Univ. of Maryland, 1832	July, 1850	1852	.....	...	Soon became extinct.
SO. BOSTON, PAYSON CHURCH, July 16, 1845.	Joy H. Fairchild, D.D.	Guilford, Ct., April 24, 1790	Yale, 1813	July 16, 1845	.....	Mar. 21, 1859	69	Merged in F. St. Church March 21, 1860.

SHAWMUT CHURCH, Nov. 20, 1845	George A. Oviatt	Bridgeport, Ct., April 5, 1811	Yale, 1835	Nov. 20, 1845	Mar. 28, 1849	.....	...	.....
	William C. Foster	Hanover, N. H., July 8, 1815	Dartmouth, 1841	Oct. 25, 1849	Dec. 30, 1851	.....	...	.....
	Charles Smith	Hatfield, Mass., Aug. 10, 1818	Amherst, 1841	Dec. 8, 1853	Nov. 8, 1858	.....	...	.....
	Edwin B. Webb, D.D.	Newcastle, Me., Jan. 19, 1820	Bowdoin, 1846	Oct. 5, 1860	.....	.....	...	.....
CHARLESTOWN, BETHESDA CHURCH, June 10, 1847.	Jesse Guernsey, D.D.	Watertown, Ct., July 8, 1822	.....	June 10, 1847	April 21, 1849	Nov. 24, 1871	49	Merged in Winthrop Church.
EDWARDS CHURCH, Feb. 1, 1849,	Christo'r Cushing, D.D.	Scituate, Mass., May 3, 1820	Yale, 1844	Feb. 21, 1849	April 23, 1851	.....	...	.....
	Preston Pond	Wrentham, Mass., Feb. 14, 1818	Bowdoin, 1840	Feb. 25, 1852	.....	Aug. 1853	35	Disbanded by advice of council, in 1853.
JAMAICA PLAIN, CENTRAL CHURCH, Sept. 29, 1853.	Alonzo H. Quint, D.D.	Barnstead, N. H., March 22, 1828	Dartmouth, 1846	Dec. 27, 1853	May 12, 1863	.....	...	.....
	Francis B. Perkins	Boston, Mass., Aug. 7, 1833	Williams, 1854	Sept. 21, 1864	Oct. 1, 1870	.....	...	.....
	Joseph B. Clark	Sturbridge, Mass., Oct. 7, 1836	Amherst, 1858	Oct. 8, 1872	Oct. 21, 1879	.....	...	.....
	George M. Boynton	Brooklyn, N.Y., May 13, 1837	New York Univ., 1858	Mar. 24, 1880	.....	.....	...	.....
BOSTON HIGHLANDS, IMMANUEL (FORMERLY VINE ST.) CHURCH, April 9, 1857.	John O. Means, D.D.	Augusta, Me., Aug. 1, 1822	Bowdoin, 1843	June 3, 1857	Sept. 13, 1877	.....	...	.....
	Lyman H. Blake	Cornwall, Vt., July 19, 1840	Middlebury, 1863	Sept. 13, 1877	.....	.....	...	.....
SOUTH BOSTON, CHURCH OF THE UNITY, Oct. 14, 1857.	Charles S. Porter	Ashfield, Mass., Dec. 9, 1804	Amherst, 1827	Oct. 14, 1857	Mar. 21, 1860	April 10, 1870	66	Merged in E Street Church, March 21, 1860.
NEPONSET, TRINITY CHURCH, May 11, 1859.	Marshall B. Angier	Southboro', Mass., March 22, 1819	Yale, 1844	May 22, 1860	Jan. 2, 1862	.....	...	.....
	J. B. Johnson, A.P.	Boston, Mass., Oct. 9, 1825	.....	1862	1864	.....	...	.....
	Geo. E. Freeman, A.P.	Liverpool, Nova Scotia, 1831	.....	1865	1867	.....	...	.....
	Clark Carter	Boston, Mass., Oct. 4, 1841	Harvard, 1862	Feb. 13, 1868	July 2, 1869	.....	...	.....
	Rowland H. Allen	Norton, Mass., Aug. 13, 1840	Amherst, 1862	Feb. 8, 1870	.....	Sept. 12 1872	32	.....
	Myron A. Munson, A.P.	Chester, Mass., May 5, 1835	Harvard, 1860	Jan. 1, 1874	Jan. 1, 1876	.....	...	.....
	John H. Gurney, A.P.	Dover, Me., Sept. 21, 1821	Oberlin, 1845	July 2, 1876	July 31, 1877	.....	...	.....
	Robert F. Gordon, A.P.	Glasgow, Scotland, May 23, 1828	Edinburgh, 1858	Sept. 1877	.....	.....	...	.....
SPRINGFIELD STREET, Jan. 4, 1860.	John L. Graves	Sunderland, Mass., Aug. 15, 1831	Amherst, 1855	Jan. 4, 1860	June, 1862	.....	...	.....
	Daniel Tenney	Chester, N.H., Dec. 10, 1816	Dartmouth, 1841	June 25, 1862	Nov. 14, 1865	.....	...	.....
	Benj. F. Parsons, A.P.	Wiscasset, Me., June 21, 1820	Bowdoin, 1842	Sept. 1868	Sept. 1869	.....	...	In 1869 became Presbyterian.
SOUTH BOSTON, E STREET CHURCH, March 21, 1860.	Charles S. Porter	Ashfield, Mass., Dec. 9, 1804	Amherst, 1827	Mar. 21, 1860	1863	April 10, 1870	66	.....
	A. R. Baker, D.D., A.P.	Franklin, Mass., Aug. 30, 1805	Amherst, 1830	1864	1866	April 30, 1876	71	.....
	Edward A. Rand	Portsmouth, N.H., April 5, 1837	Bowdoin, 1857	June 18, 1867	Oct. 9, 1876	.....	...	.....
	Fred H. Allen	Lyme, N.H., Oct. 1, 1845	.....	Jan. 1, 1877	Jan. 1, 1878	.....	...	.....
	Simeon S. Hughson	Chester, N.J., March 27, 1823	Oberlin, 1847	Mar. 1, 1878	.....	.....	...	.....

STATISTICS OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES (*Concluded*).

CHURCHES, WHEN ORGANIZED.	MINISTERS.	PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH.	COLLEGE AND YEAR OF GRADUATION.	DATE OF SETTLEMENT.	DATE OF DISMISSION.	DATE OF DEATH.	AGE.	REMARKS.
OAK PLACE, June 21, 1860	Charles Smith, A.P.	Hatfield, Mass., Aug. 10, 1818	Amherst, 1841	June 21, 1860	April 30, 1862	.....	...	.....
	Joseph P. Bixby	Thompson, Ct., Jan. 28, 1833	Williams, 1858	April 30, 1862	1864	.....	...	United in 1864 with Presbyterian Church in Beach St., and Mr. Bixby became pastor of the United Church.
CHAMBERS-ST. CHURCH,[1] Dec. 4, 1861.	G. R. W. Scott, A.P.	Pittsburg, Pa., April 17, 1842	Middlebury, 1864	Nov. 16, 1873	Dec. 1, 1875	.....	...	.....
	Frederick B. Allen, A.P.	Boston, Mass., Nov. 5, 1840	Amherst, 1863	Jan. 16, 1876	Feb. 1, 1879	.....	...	.....
	Stacy Fowler, A.P.	Sangerville, Me. Feb. 27, 1831	.....	Feb. 8, 1879	June 1, 1879	.....	...	United with Mount Vernon Church.
DORCHESTER, PILGRIM CHURCH, Nov. 2, 1862.	Edmund Squire[2]	Taunton, Eng., March 14, 1815	King Alfred School, [minster, Eng.	Nov. 13, 1867	Dec. 1868	.....	...	.....
	H. M. Dexter, D.D., A.P.	Plympton, Mass., Aug. 13, 1821	Yale, 1840	Jan. 1, 1869	Jan. 1, 1871	.....	...	.....
	Frederick R. Abbe	Litchfield, Ct., Oct. 28, 1827	Yale, 1848,	May 10, 1871	June 4, 1873	.....	...	.....
	Frederick A. Hand	Hancock, Mass., Oct. 23, 1842	Williams, 1867	Dec. 10, 1873	Mar. 31, 1875	Oct. 4, 1880	38	.....
	H. A. Shorey	Industry, Me., Feb. 7, 1831	.....	Jan. 15, 1878	Dec. 16, 1879	.....	...	.....
	Stacy Fowler, A.P.	Sangerville, Me., Feb. 27, 1831	.....	Sept. 6, 1879	June 8, 1880	.....	...	.....
SALEM AND MARINERS, Dec. 2, 1866.	J. M. H. Dow, A.P.	Atkinson, N. H., March 8, 1813	.....	1866	1869	June 25, 1878	65	.....
	Stephen H. Hayes, A.P.	Industry, Me., Nov. 14, 1813	Bowdoin, 1838	May 1870	Nov. 21, 1879	.....	...	Disbanded Nov. 21 1879.
BOSTON HIGHLANDS, HIGHLAND CHURCH, March 9, 1869.	Albert E. Dunning	Brookfield, Ct., Jan. 5, 1844	Yale, 1867	Sept. 30, 1870	Jan. 25, 1881	.....	...	.....
BOSTON HIGHLANDS, WALNUT AV. CHURCH, Dec 19, 1870.	Albert H. Plumb	Gowanda, N.Y., Aug. 23, 1829	Brown University, 1855	Jan. 4, 1872	.....	.....	...	.....
BOSTON HIGHLANDS, CHURCH OF THE HOLLANDERS, Feb. 20. 1873.	Guy Van Der Kreeke	Holland, Europe, Sept. 9, 1847	Hope Col., Mich., 1868	Feb. 20, 1873	.....	.....	...	.....
OLIVET CHURCH, Jan. 12, 1876.	Henry M. Parsons	East Haddam, Ct., Nov. 13, 1828	Yale, 1848	Feb. 16, 1876	Sept. 26, 1877	.....	...	.....
	Fred H. Allen	Lyme, N.H., Oct. 1, 1845	.....	April 1, 1878	April 19, 1879	.....	...	.....
	David A. Stearns	Pictou, N.S., June 2, 1844	.....	June 2, 1880	.....	.....	...	.....
JAMAICA PLAIN, BOYLSTON CHURCH, Feb. 4, 1879.	Sherberne S. Mathews	Salisbury, Mass., June 3, 1847	.....	Feb. 4, 1879	.....	.....	...	.....

[1] Supplied by the pastors of the Old South Church until the year 1873.

[2] He was Acting Pastor from Nov. 2, 1862, until Nov. 13, 1867.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BAPTISTS IN BOSTON DURING THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY THE REV. HENRY M. KING, D.D.,
Pastor of the Dudley-Street Baptist Church, Roxbury.

ONE hundred years ago there were only two Baptist churches in Boston, and they were not strong in the number or social influence of their members. The First Baptist Church had had an existence of one hundred and fifteen years, having been organized in Charlestown in 1665, and after so long a period did not number more than one hundred and fifty members. The Second Baptist Church, subsequently known as the Baldwin-Place Church, and at the present time bearing the name of the Warren-Avenue Church, had been formed in 1743, and at the end of forty years had forty-three members. In 1784 published statistics of the denomination reported two hundred and one professing Baptists in Boston.

It is not necessary to present at length the reasons for this slowness of growth, or to give in detail the causes which prevented the views of the Baptists from taking root more quickly and bringing forth fruit more abundantly. It is enough to say that the soil was preoccupied; that legislation was adverse to the introduction or progress of Baptist principles; and that there was a strong public sentiment in opposition to any religious beliefs or organizations differing from those of "the standing order."

It should be remarked, however, that open hostility had ceased long before 1780, and the spirit of religious toleration (that plant of slow growth and tardy maturity), and even of friendliness, was becoming more and more prevalent. It had been one hundred and thirty-six years since Mr. Painter had been publicly whipped at Hingham for refusing to allow his child to be baptized, and a whole century had passed away since the doors of the meeting-house of the First Baptist Church were nailed up by order of the Governor and Council of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, under date of March 8, 1680. Indeed, in 1718, when Rev. Elisha Callender was ordained as pastor of the First Baptist Church, three Congregational ministers — the Mathers, father and son, and Rev. John Webb — accepted invitations to be present at the service. Mr. Callender was a graduate of the College at Cambridge, and

this fact may not have been without its influence on their minds. Rev. Cotton Mather preached the sermon on that occasion, choosing for his theme, "Good Men United." In the sermon he earnestly condemned "the withdrawal of fellowship from good men," and the disposition to "inflict uneasy circumstances upon them, under the wretched notion of *wholesome severities;*" he denounced that "cruel wrath," which is "good for nothing but only to make divisions in Jacob and dispersions in Israel," and followed his denunciation with the very humble and frank confession, expressive of his own position and undoubtedly of the changing sentiment of his people, that "New England also has, in some former times, done something of this aspect, which would not now be so well approved of; in which, if the

REV. SAMUEL STILLMAN, D.D.

brethren in whose house we are now convened, met with anything too unbrotherly, they now with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of everything that has looked like persecution in the days that have passed over us."

The better times had come. The rights of private judgment and personal conscience in matters of religious faith and worship were quite generally acknowledged, although laws were still in force which allowed the taxation of all lands for the support of the town minister, and it was not until 1832 that the last vestige of oppressive legislation was removed from the statute books of Massachusetts.

In 1780 Rev. Samuel Stillman, A.M., was pastor of the First Baptist Church, having been settled fifteen years before, and Rev. Isaac Skillman, A.M., had had for seven years the pastoral care of the Second Baptist Church. Mr. Skillman remained in the pastoral office until 1787. After the brief ministry and sudden death of Rev. Thomas Gair, the Second Church secured the services of Rev. Thomas Baldwin in 1790. Under the ministry of these two eminent preachers, Dr. Stillman and Dr. Baldwin, whose memory is still gratefully cherished in the denomination, the two Baptist churches were greatly strengthened and increased. The two hundred and one members of 1784 became four hundred and twenty-five members in 1795. The relations between the two churches and their pastors were of the most fraternal kind. Although the Second Church had gone out from the First, because the pastor at that time, Rev. Jeremiah Condy, was thought to be slightly tainted with Arminianism; and although Dr. Stillman and Dr. Baldwin sympathized with different political parties in the exciting discussions at the beginning of the present century, so that on Thanksgiving and Fast days the congregations were considerably intermingled, and "the Federalists naturally went to Stillman Street and the Democrats to Baldwin Place," — yet it was an era of unbroken harmony and prosperity. The favor of God rested upon his servants and their labors.

Dr. Stillman continued to be pastor of the First Church for forty-two years. He died March 12, 1807, greatly beloved and honored. His fellow laborer and intimate friend, Dr. Baldwin, preached the sermon at his funeral, and it is said that "all the members of the society appeared with badges of mourning, the women with black bonnets and handkerchiefs." Dr. Baldwin remained pastor of the Second Church thirty-five years. His death occurred Aug. 29, 1825, and called forth expressions of universal sorrow. "The bells of the city were tolled, and his funeral, attended by the Governor of the Commonwealth, by other high officials, both of the State and the city, and by the clergy of all denominations, was signalized by manifestations of respect seldom equalled." The following lines have been fittingly used to portray his character: —

"*He was a good man.* On his open brow
Benignity had set her brightest seal;
And though the iron hand of Time might plough
Some furrows there, still you could not but feel,
When looking on him, that the highest weal
Of human kind was to his bosom dear;
Age did not cloud it, age could not conceal
The beam that shone so pure, so warm, so clear:
Such was the man of God whose memory all revere."

During Dr. Baldwin's ministry the church received such increase that its wooden house of worship was enlarged in 1797, and in 1810 was removed to make room for a larger edifice of brick, which was dedicated Jan. 1, 1811. This building, which was vacated by the church on its removal to Warren

Avenue, was purchased by one of Boston's well-known charities, the Baldwin-Place Home for Little Wanderers.

Under such eminent leadership, crowned with the divine blessing, the principles held by the Baptists became better known and found intelligent and conscientious believers, and the size and strength of the denomination were steadily increased. The First Church, having worshipped for one hundred and fifty years by the side of what was then called the "mill-pond," on the north side of Stillman Street, between Salem and Pond streets (a second and larger edifice having been built on the same spot during the period), removed to a new meeting-house situated at the corner of Union and Hanover streets, in June, 1829. This building it occupied for twenty-four years, when, in 1853, compelled by the encroachments of business upon its location, it transferred itself to Somerset Street, where upon a most eligible site it erected a beautiful sanctuary, whose lofty spire overlooks the city, and is a conspicuous object to those who approach from the sea. This building, also, the church at length vacated by reason of the very general removal of its families to the south end of the city, and in 1877 it united with the Shawmut-Avenue Baptist Church, worshipping at the corner of Shawmut Avenue and Rutland Street, the new church taking the name and inheriting the rich history of the mother church.

Soon after the beginning of the present century the growth of the denomination began to manifest itself in the springing up of new churches within the city limits and in the immediate suburbs. The following table of decades will show the number of churches established, and the order of their organization. The list includes, in addition to those suburban towns which have been actually annexed to Boston, those whose inhabitants largely do business in Boston, and might properly be reckoned in its population, — such as Brookline and Cambridge. The dates are those of organization: —

FIRST DECADE, — 1800 to 1810.

First Baptist Church, Charlestown	1801
Independent (colored)	1805
Charles Street (formerly called the Third)	1807

SECOND DECADE, — 1810 to 1820.

First Cambridge	1817
Arlington	1817

THIRD DECADE, — 1820 to 1830.

Dudley Street (Roxbury)	1821
Clarendon Street (at first Federal Street, afterward Rowe Street)	1827
Second Cambridge	1827
Brookline	1828
South Baptist (South Boston)	1828

FOURTH DECADE, — 1830 to 1840.

North Baptist (disbanded 1840)	1835
First Chelsea	1836
Neponset Avenue (Dorchester)	1837
Harvard Street (formerly called Boylston Street)	1839
Tremont Street (now Union Temple)	1839

FIFTH DECADE, — 1840 to 1850.

Bowdoin Square	1840
Jamaica Plain	1842
Old Cambridge	1844
Union Church (now Union Temple)	1844
High Street (Charlestown, disbanded 1863)	1844
Central Square (East Boston)	1844
Stoughton Street (Dorchester)	1845
Tremont (Roxbury, disbanded 1866)	1845
Twelfth Church (colored)	1848

SIXTH DECADE, — 1850 to 1860.

First Mariners'	1851
Bunker Hill (Charlestown)	1851
Brighton Avenue (Allston)	1853
North Cambridge	1854
Shawmut Avenue (united with First Church)	1856
Fourth Street (South Boston)	1858
Cary Avenue (Chelsea)	1859

SEVENTH DECADE, — 1860 to 1870.

Union Temple	1863
Broadway (Cambridge)	1865
Dearborn Street (Roxbury)	1870
Ruggles Street (Roxbury)	1870
Ebenezer (colored)	1871
Winthrop	1871
Tabernacle (Roxbury, disbanded 1877)	1873
Roslindale (West Roxbury)	1874
Charles River (Cambridge)	1876
Day Star (colored)	1876
Revere	1877
Trinity (East Boston)	1878
Union Church (Cambridge, colored)	1879
First German	1879

EIGHTH DECADE, — 1870 to 1880.

On the average more than one Baptist church for each two years has been organized within what may now be called Boston, since the beginning of the present century. With very few exceptions, these churches still live, and give abundant promise of growth and yet further multiplication. The few exceptions are the result not of any defection or surrender of principles, but of the receding of the tide of population, or a lack of wisdom in the choice of location. In two or three instances two churches have united their strength for the accomplishment of a larger work.

The limits of a single chapter will preclude even the briefest outline of the history and activity of this band of Christian churches of like faith, and will prevent the mention even of the names of the ministers who, for a longer or shorter period, have served them in the past, or are filling their pulpits to-day. But in addition to the names of Dr. Samuel Stillman and Dr. Thomas Baldwin, already mentioned, there are a few names of Baptist preachers, who by their special eminence, as well as by their prolonged service in this city, have been honored no less by other denominations than by their own. So intimately connected have they been with the progress of Baptist churches and principles in Boston during the last seventy years that the omission of their names in the briefest history would be an unpardonable neglect in the historian.

Rev. Daniel Sharp, D.D., was the second pastor of the Charles-Street Church. Entering into this official relation in 1812, he remained in it until his death in 1853, his ministry covering a period of forty-one years. There are many who still delight to recall "his erect form and noble countenance, his personal dignity and natural eloquence." His preaching was characterized as "lucid, serious, instructive, earnest," and he is said to have been "an enthusiastic believer in the ethics of Christianity," and to have "attached special importance to the culture of the moral virtues as the fruits of a genuine faith." His pulpit was one of great attractiveness and power, and he gave himself freely to every noble reform and every great denominational enterprise.

Rev. Baron Stow, D.D., began his ministry in Boston in 1832. For six-

teen years he was pastor of the Second or Baldwin-Place Church, and then for nineteen years the pastor of the Rowe Street, now the Clarendon-Street Church. He was "eminent as a Christian, a philanthropist, and a preacher," and "to every post of duty and labor he brought a sound judgment, an earnest purpose, a prayerful and conciliatory spirit." His preaching was thoroughly scriptural, with the doctrinal and practical judiciously united, and, when he was in the vigor of his manhood, was characterized by a kindling eloquence, which made him one of the most popular pulpit orators of his time. His wisdom and zeal were felt in every department of Christian labor.

Rev. Rollin Heber Neale, D.D., was called to the First Church in 1837, and held the position of pastor until 1877, when, no longer able to bear the burdens of the active ministry, he resigned his official relation with the church, but continued in its endeared fellowship until his death in September, 1879. Endowed with superior mental gifts, with largeness of heart and catholicity of spirit, he stood for forty years at his important post, the trusted pastor, the eloquent preacher, the friend of all good causes; and thus with a hand of love he wrote the long story of his ministerial fidelity, and died sincerely esteemed and greatly beloved by all who knew him.

Rev. Francis Wayland, D.D., who during a presidency of twenty-five years at Brown University acquired a renown as an educator second to that of no one in New England, was, for five years previous to his connection with the college, pastor of the First Baptist Church in this city. Though his pastorate of the church was brief, he added strength to the denominational life and to the whole religious life of Boston, and the glory of his name still lingers about the pulpit of the old church which he served.

The names of Rev. James M. Winchell, called "the beloved Winchell;" of Rev. Bela Jacobs, the early and life-long friend of Newton Theological Institution; of Rev. James D. Knowles, the accomplished Christian gentleman and scholar, who went from the pulpit of the Baldwin-Place Church to a Professor's chair at Newton; of Rev. Henry Jackson, D.D.; of Rev. Howard Malcom, D.D.; of Rev. Robert W. Cushman, D.D.; and of Rev. Sumner R. Mason, D.D., — all of whom were able expounders of the Word and faithful ministers of their respective churches, — are as familiar to Baptists as household words.

These men and others not less worthy of mention, the living and the dead, — and not only clergymen, but distinguished laymen not a few, — have toiled and prayed and sacrificed for the advancement of the great central truths of the Christian faith which they believed essential to the welfare of society and the salvation of men, and for the defence of those particular views which, accepting the Word of God as of supreme authority in matters of religious belief and practice, they have conscientiously held.

In the year 1780 the two Baptist churches in Boston were connected with the Warren Association, — an association of Baptist churches formed at Warren, R. I. in 1767, and embracing "all but five of the regular Baptist

churches in Rhode Island, all in eastern Massachusetts, and several in the southern part of New Hampshire." In 1811 this association, covering so much territory, contained sixty churches. In that year it was voted by delegates from the churches in eastern Massachusetts to form the Boston Association. At its first session in 1812 twenty-four churches were represented, ranging from Templeton, Mass., to New Boston, N. H., from Newton to Haverhill and Marblehead. As the churches increased in number, the more distant ones dropped off to form new associations, — the Worcester, the Old Colony, the Salem, etc.; until in 1848 the Boston Association was again divided into the Boston North and the Boston South, the dividing line going through the heart of the city. These two associations, covering a circle of territory with Boston as a centre, and a radius of eight or ten miles, now contain seventy-nine churches with an aggregate membership of 19,028. The two little Boston churches, organized prior to 1780, are found at the expiration of the century to have been multiplied by thirty-nine and a half in number, and by one hundred in respect to members. Or, if we confine our view to the actual limits of Boston today, the increase has been more than fifty-fold. The larger estimate of increase — namely, one hundred-fold, which it is certainly fair to accept — is perhaps a little in excess of the rate of increase which the denomination has had in the whole country during the last hundred years. There could hardly have been more than 25,000 Baptists in the United States in 1780, according to the most generous estimate; and the statistics of 1880 represent the denomination of regular Baptists as numbering 2,296,327 members. It may be hoped that the Baptist churches in Boston give evidence of a corresponding increase in culture, wealth, social influence, moral and spiritual life; in fact, in everything which goes to make up the power and adds to the efficiency of a church of Christ.

To estimate properly the progress of a religious denomination it is not enough to consider the mere multiplication of numbers, for great numbers may sometimes be an element of weakness rather than of strength, and increasing proportions may be no certain indication of a larger spiritual life. The progress of a denomination is seen especially, first, in the progress of the principles for which it stands; and, secondly, in the nature of the enterprises which it inaugurates and carries forward. With reference to the first point, this is not, of course, the proper place for any discussion. It will be sufficient to say that the Baptists of Boston, as elsewhere and always, have been the earnest advocates of religious liberty, — meaning thereby freedom of conscience, the unquestioned right of private judgment, and the separation of Church and State, — and also of a regenerated church-membership which is a vital part of their polity; and that they have borne no inconsiderable part in securing the more general acceptance of these principles among Christian citizens. It will be well, however, to look briefly at the second point, and consider the character of some of the enterprises which have engaged the attention of Boston Baptists, as indicative of their progressive spirit.

Previous to 1800 the Baptists of this country had done little or nothing to extend the knowledge of Christianity beyond their own borders. In this respect, however, they did not differ from other denominations of Christians. It was not until 1810 that the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, the first and largest of American missionary societies, was organized. The Baptists were few in number, for the most part in humble circumstances, and oppressed with disabilities, so that their little available strength was largely consumed for home support and advancement. A few scattered contributions had been forwarded to Rev. Dr. Carey, the pioneer missionary of the English Baptists at Serampore. In 1806 and 1807 he acknowledged the receipt of six thousand dollars from America. Another has said that the Baptists of America "were waiting for that Providential touch, as of the rod of Moses on the rock in Horeb, to which the gushing waters would come." That Providential touch was felt in the conversion of the Judsons to Baptist views, and their appeal from the distant East to those whose faith they had been led to adopt, to come to their support. When the ship "Tartar" arrived at Boston in January, 1813, bringing the unexpected tidings from the Judsons, and like unexpected tidings from Rev. Luther Rice,—who had been ordained at the same time with Mr. Judson, had sailed for India under appointment of the American Board in another ship, and had also become a Baptist during the voyage by the independent study of the Scriptures,—it was looked upon as a divine call summoning the people to immediate and united action. Boston welcomed the call and responded with alacrity in the formation of "The Baptist Society for Propagating the Gospel in India and other Foreign Parts," of which Thomas Baldwin and Daniel Sharp were chosen president and secretary. Other societies were formed at other centres, and all were united in 1814 in the "General Missionary Convention" for prosecuting the work of foreign missions. Rev. Adoniram Judson, Jr., was formally appointed their first missionary, and the denomination entered upon its sublime work of faith, and took the first step in obedience to the great commission of its risen Lord. The Convention was to meet once in three years, and the board at first had its seat in Philadelphia. At the fourth meeting, however, measures were instituted which resulted, in 1826, in the transfer of the seat of management to Boston. The Baptists here accepted the solemn trust, and for fifty-four years have administered it with distinguishing wisdom and fidelity. The American Baptist Missionary Union, the name by which the society is now known, is, indeed, almost a national society, receiving its support from States east, north, and west, and expending during the past year $290,000 in its work; yet its support and its prosperity have been dependent in no small degree upon the fostering care and generous sympathies of the men and the churches to whose immediate supervision its interests have been committed. They have not only given to it their wisdom in the direction of its operations, but again and again in times of emergency have taken its burdens and made them their own, accepting them as from the Lord, and bearing them ch[illegible]

for His name's sake. They have been abundantly compensated, not only by the consciousness of duty done, but by the enlargement and success of the work, there being now 162 American Baptist missionaries laboring under the direction of the Missionary Union, and 1,052 native preachers, and 85,308 living members of organized churches.

Another object in which the Baptists of Boston have been especially interested during the present century, has been the work of ministerial education. The first quarter of the nineteenth century was distinguished by the activity of Christians of different names in this country in making provision for an educated ministry. In 1808 the Theological Seminary in Andover, Mass., was founded; in 1810 the Theological Seminary of the Dutch Reformed Church in New Brunswick, N. J.; in 1812 the Theological Seminary in Princeton, N. J.; and in 1814 the Theological Seminary in Bangor, Me. The Baptists caught the spirit of the time, and, acknowledging the necessity of special training for those who were to be the spiritual guides of the people and the leaders of religious thought, moved forward to meet it. It is, indeed, true, in the language of Rev. Dr. Sprague, that "The Baptists, as a denomination, have always attached little importance to human learning as a qualification for the ministry, *in comparison with* those higher, though not miraculous, spiritual gifts which they believe it the province of the Holy Ghost to impart; and some of them, it must be acknowledged, have gone to the extreme of looking upon high intellectual culture in a minister as rather a hindrance than a help to the success of his labors."[1] He very justly adds, however, "The Baptists have had less credit as the friends and patrons of learning than they have deserved."

The First Baptist Church in Boston was compelled to select its first pastors from such material as it had at hand, generally choosing some godly man from its own number. Such were Thomas Gould, John Russell, Isaac Hull, and Ellis Callender. The second pastor, John Russell, was a shoemaker by trade, and probably, like the Apostle Paul, thought it an honor, and also found it a necessity, to work at his trade after entering the ministry. He is described as "a wise and worthy man," who, making no pretensions to scholarship, "plainly spoke what he did know." His humble calling and meagre preparation for the ministry were sometimes made subjects for ridicule by his educated neighbors, and he was exhorted to "stick to his last." Having written an account of the trials of his church, and been so unwise as to venture into print with it, it was spoken of as a pamphlet which "a wedder-dropped shoemaker had stitched up." A Mr. Willard moralized sagely in this way: "Truly, if Goodman Russell be a fit man for a minister, we have but fooled ourselves in building colleges and instructing children in learning."

When, however, the church had it in its power to secure for its pulpit those who had enjoyed larger advantages, it was not slow to do it. Its sixth and seventh pastors were Elisha Callender and Jeremiah Condy, both of

[1] Historical Introduction to *Annals of American Baptist Pulpit*, p. xv.

whom were graduates of Harvard College. They served the church from 1718 to 1764. The eighth pastor was Dr. Stillman, who "had received a good classical education, and studied theology under his pastor, the Rev. Mr. Hart," of Charleston, S. C. This method, namely, of private study with some prominent pastor, was often resorted to, even after graduation from college, for special theological training. It was the best method possible at the time, but was felt to be utterly inadequate. In 1814, at the third annual meeting of the Boston Association of Baptist churches, there was formed the Massachusetts Baptist Education Society, having for its object the preparation of a ministry more thoroughly qualified for its great work. This society, having changed its name to "The Northern Baptist Education Society," is still in active operation, having rendered a service of incalculable value to the churches.

Out of that educational movement begun in 1814 grew first the "Maine Literary and Theological Institution," planted in 1817 at Waterville, Me. It was subsequently called Waterville College, and more recently it has borne the name of Colby University, in honor of the late Gardner Colby, Esq., a successful Boston merchant, by whose donations its endowment has been greatly increased.

As a second direct result of that educational movement, there was founded, in 1825, the Newton Theological Institution, situated in Newton Centre, seven miles from Boston. This institution does not, indeed, belong exclusively to the Baptists of Boston, or even of Massachusetts. It has had generous friends in all parts of New England, who have contributed to its funds and promoted its prosperity. But it is not too much to say that by far the larger part of its endowment has been contributed, even as the heavy burdens of its foundation were borne, by its friends in Boston and its immediate vicinity. The names of four laymen are mentioned[1] as especially connected with the establishment of this school of sacred learning; namely, Ensign Lincoln, of the well remembered publishing house of Lincoln and Edmands; Nathaniel R. Cobb, a conscientious Christian merchant, who at the beginning of his business career solemnly adopted a plan of benevolence beginning with these words, "By the grace of God, I will never be worth more than $50,000;" Levi Farwell, who for nine years was steward of Harvard College; and Jonathan Batcheller, of Lynn, a man of whom it has been said that he "spent little on himself, and put much into the treasury of the Lord." Three of these friends of the institution contributed to its funds in the aggregate nearly sixty thousand dollars, at a time when large gifts were few, and the wealth of the denomination was small. Boston has furnished worthy successors of these liberal men, who have assisted in increasing the assets of the institution to $450,000. The Board of Trustees has been presided over for forty-five years by the following persons in succession: Rev. Daniel Sharp, D.D., Rev. Baron Stow, D.D.,

[1] *Historical Address* by President Alvah Hovey, D.D., at the Fiftieth Anniversary of Newton Theological Institution.

Gardner Colby, Esq., and Hon. J. Warren Merrill. The prosperity and present efficiency of this honored school of the denomination are due in no small degree to the wisdom and generosity of its representatives in Boston and vicinity.

It is not necessary to speak of the general activities of the Baptist churches in this city, or the numerous channels through which their ever increasing life has flowed. Those channels have been such as the life of spiritual religion will ever make for itself, and the forms of service have been such as are everywhere born of the genius of the gospel of Christ. The important work of Christian benevolence and home evangelization, in all its departments, has enlisted the practical sympathies of these churches. They have reached out the hand of help to the destitute and the oppressed of every name, — the unfortunate, the inebriate, the struggling pioneer of the West, the unenlightened freedman of the South, the mariner who lands at our port, and the immigrant who seeks a home on our shores. They have inculcated by precept and example those principles of righteousness on which the peace and good morals of society depend. They have earnestly proclaimed those fundamental truths of Christianity which are the basis of the highest morality as well as of immortal hope; assured that if men are made true citizens of God's spiritual kingdom, they cannot fail to be virtuous, peace-loving, law-abiding citizens under human government. In seeking to serve God devotedly, they have rendered the best service to the city and the Commonwealth. That the work of these churches has been marred by much weakness and imperfection is, alas! too true; but it is hoped that they have been sufficiently true to their holy faith to show some resemblance to the apostolic model, and to assist in promoting the public weal.

There are two enterprises which the Baptists have put in successful operation in this city, which may perhaps be called Baptist "notions." The Tremont Temple enterprise, in its present large proportions, grew out of a determination to establish a free church in Boston, — a church where "all persons, whether rich or poor, without distinction of color or condition," could be free to enjoy the public ministry of the gospel. The prime mover in the enterprise was Timothy Gilbert, a man of strong character and positive convictions, who may be said to have been born a reformer, and who so earnestly identified himself with the Antislavery movement, that he won to himself from the lips of a slave-hunter the title, "*the grandest abolitionist in Boston.*" The church was organized in 1839 under the name of the First Free Church. After worshipping in various places, the Tremont Theatre, a large building opposite the Tremont House, was purchased and fitted up as a place of worship. Mr. Gilbert found, in Rev. Nathaniel Colver, D.D., the first pastor of the church, a man of like spirit with himself, of tremendous energy, and without fear, who "snuffed the battle from afar," and generally succeeded in bringing it near. He remained as pastor twelve years. The property was burned in 1853, and immediately restored. The church finding itself unable to carry so large a property, an act of incorporation was

secured in 1857 for a society known as the Evangelical Baptist Benevolent and Missionary Society, which, composed of corporate members and delegates from the Baptist churches of the city, holds the property for the benefit of the free church worshipping in it, and is to devote whatever income may at any time be derived from it to benevolent and missionary work in the city. The building, which is centrally located, has become, in accordance with the noble design of the founder of the enterprise, "the Stranger's Sabbath Home." It has been made also the headquarters of the various denominational societies located in Boston. It was again destroyed by fire in August, 1879, and has been rebuilt during the year, and now contains one of the most complete and elegant auditories in the city.

The Baptist Social Union of Boston is an association of laymen, formed in 1864, for the purpose of a more intimate acquaintance between members of the different churches, and for the consideration of topics of common practical interest. Its meetings are held monthly, and have uniformly been sources of great enjoyment and profit. This union has done much to preserve the unity and fellowship of the churches, and to stimulate their active benevolence, and guide it in wise directions. Its growth and prosperity for the sixteen years of its existence contain the promise of permanent usefulness. Other unions, similar to this, with perhaps slight modifications, have been formed in other cities and in other denominations; but to the Baptist Social Union of Boston belongs the honor of being the parent of them all.

Such is the shadowy outline of a history which has been full of earnest toil, patient and willing sacrifice, and heroic achievement. These churches, holding firmly to the supreme authority of the Word of God, and with equal firmness to the independence of the individual church, and the freedom of the individual conscience, acknowledging allegiance to no creed of human origin however venerable, and bound together only by the gossamer threads of voluntary association, have remained throughout the century substantially one with themselves, and one with their historic faith. Not one of them has departed from the common faith, or broken with its fellows. Grateful to God for the harmony and progress of the past, they anticipate the future with unwavering faith in the truths which the fathers held, in the Christ whom the fathers honored, and in the ultimate triumph of that kingdom which is "righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost."

Henry W. Kings.

CHAPTER IX.

THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH: ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, AND OFFSHOOTS IN SUFFOLK COUNTY.

BY THE REV. DANIEL DORCHESTER, D.D.

"Taedet me populi hujusce φιλοξενοῦ, ita me urbanitate sua divexant et persequuntur. Non patiuntur me esse solum. E rure veniunt invisentes clerici; me revertentes in rus trahunt. Cogor hanc Angliam contemplari, etiam antiquâ amoeniorem; et nequeo non exclamare, O fortunata regio!" — *From a letter written in Boston, Oct.* 5, 1736, *by the Rev. Charles Wesley to his brother John, then in Savannah, Ga.*

THE War of Independence divides the history of the original Church of England communion in Boston, as in all the older portions of the country, into two strongly contrasted periods. Before that event all American Episcopalians were under the jurisdiction of an English bishop, and were considered an integral part of the National Church. Even the lay preachers sent over by John Wesley, while they carried the gospel into many localities where the Church of England had no preachers, and gathered into religious societies multitudes of converts who were of dissenting or even foreign birth, were still so loyal to their mother that, as late as the year 1773, on holding their first conference in Philadelphia, the entire number present (ten) agreed to the following rules, to wit: —

First, that each would "*Strictly avoid administering the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper;*" and, secondly, that they would "*Earnestly exhort all the people among whom they labored, — particularly in Maryland and Virginia, — to attend the Church and to receive the ordinances there.*"

The outbreak of the war was naturally more disorganizing to this communion than to any of the others. It being the duty of every rector publicly to pray for the king and the royal family, the continuance of public worship according to the Book of Common Prayer was impossible. In this state of things the majority of the Episcopal clergy esteemed it alike their duty and interest to flee the country, where they could only be objects of popular suspicion or hate, and wait the further unfoldments of Providence. The war over, and its issue irrevocably sealed by the treaty which ac-

knowledged the independence of the American States, the necessity for ecclesiastical re-organization was forced upon the communicants and ministers still attached to the Episcopal order and to the forms of the Anglican Church.

Two independent American churches were the result, to wit: the Methodist Episcopal Church, organized in 1784, and the Protestant Episcopal Church, organized in 1789. Each was constituted after the Anglican model, with a ministry including bishops, presbyters, and deacons; each adopted, with modifications, the Articles of Religion of the Church of England and the ritual contained in the Book of Common Prayer. The more patriotic and religiously-aggressive elements of the old communion, strengthened by large accessions won by the lay-ministry before and during the war, crystallized into the earlier of the two new churches; the more conservative, wealthy, and tradition-loving elements into the latter. If the modifications embodied in the recension of the Thirty-nine Articles and the Prayer-book adopted by the Methodist Episcopal Church are more in the interest of doctrinal and liturgical freedom than those secured by the Protestant Episcopal Church, the history of the time, and particularly the history of King's Chapel, Boston, and Dr. White's *Proposed Prayer-Book*, shows that the fault was in the English bishops and not in the constituents of the new organization. Both churches are the natural and filial representatives of the Anglican mother; and, taken together, undoubtedly constitute a more important factor in the religious life of the country than ever that mother did in the period of colonial dependency.

The "Holy Club" of the University of Oxford was formed in the autumn of 1729. Seven years later, on Sept. 24, 1736, one of the most distinguished of its original members, the Rev. Charles Wesley, landed in Boston. At that time Mr. Wesley was a missionary to Georgia and secretary to the governor of the colony, General Oglethorpe. Being in somewhat impaired health, he was commissioned by the governor to bear important dispatches to the home government in London. In consequence of the unseaworthy condition of the ship on which he embarked, the captain put in at the port of Boston; and thus the visit of the man who may be called the first Methodist Episcopal clergyman who ever preached in this city, was unforeseen and involuntary. Though quite ill, Mr. Wesley preached in King's Chapel and in Christ Church, received visits from various suburban clergymen, and celebrated, in a lively letter to his brother, both the remarkable hospitality of the people and the beauty of the adjacent country. He re-embarked for England October 25, the same year.

Four years later another member of the same club of Oxford Methodists, George Whitefield, a priest of the Church of England, and therefore entitled to be called a Methodist Episcopalian, appeared in Boston. The story of his sojourn has been told in the second volume of this History. Twenty thousand people heard his farewell sermon on the Common, where fifty years later, under the preaching of Jesse Lee, another Methodist Episco-

palian, the permanent planting of Methodism was effected. In his advent and in his departure he was a common sharer[1] with the Wesleys in whatever opprobrium was then attached to the name of Methodist.

From this date until his death, in 1770, this second Methodist Episcopal minister — the forerunner of the Methodist Episcopal Church — was an important element in the religious history of Boston. He visited the town again and again, as the reader has seen. His labors here, as elsewhere, in his grand itinerations, were preparing the way for those heroic successors who have made the planting and growth of the Methodist Episcopal Church a marvel to students of American church history.

In the same storms through which Whitefield was borne on his final passage to America, the Revs. Richard Boardman and Joseph Pillmore, the first preachers sent by Wesley, were tossed on their tempestuous voyage. Boardman — the first superintendent of Wesley's missionaries to our shores, a man of strong understanding and amiable spirit — came to Boston in May, 1772. A place of worship was obtained, converts made, and a society organized; but it did not long exist. The political excitements of those pre-Revolutionary years embarrassed religious movements. By inflaming the people, they supplanted religious thought and action.

In the autumn of 1784, the Rev. William Black, "an English Wesleyan preacher, eminent for talents and character," preached a few times in Boston. After a visit to the Conference in Baltimore, he returned and resumed his labors here. Denied access to the pulpits, he preached in a chamber at the North End; then in a chamber at the South End. At both places the floors settled under the crowd, and occasioned alarm. Then he preached in Dr. Stillman's (Baptist) church; then in the North Latin School-house; then in the Sandemanian Chapel; and finally, on his last Sabbath, in the New North Church of the estimable Dr. Eliot. Arrangements made for a successor failed, and the converts joined other churches.

In 1787 the Rev. Freeborn Garretson, fresh from the founding of Methodism in Halifax, N. S., passed through Boston. He found some who had been members of the society formed by Boardman fifteen years before. After preaching several times in private houses, he left, purposing to return the following year. Detained, however, by the rapidly-spreading work in the Middle States, he did not come again until 1790. A descendant from an old Maryland family, connected by marriage with the Chancellor Livingston family of New York, a slaveholder and man of affairs, on his conversion to Methodism, he emancipated his slaves for Christ's sake, and became a conspicuous leader in the itinerant hosts. Cherishing his interest in Boston, while superintendent of the rising societies on the Hudson, he visited this town, and on Sunday evening, July 4, preached in the church formerly occupied by Dr. Mather. Engaging a place for future services, he went to Providence, meeting on his way one destined to achieve the distinction of

[1] Whitefield was then in full sympathy with the Wesleys. His break with them on account of Calvinism occurred after this visit to Boston.

organizing the first permanent Methodist Episcopal churches in Boston and New England.

Ten miles from Providence the two itinerants, habited in the simplicity of their order, with those invariable symbols the now obsolete saddle-bags, unexpectedly and joyfully met. The one reports his reconnoitring tour, and hastens on to his immense district on the Hudson; and the other unfolds his plans, and advances to the metropolis of the old Puritan commonwealth.

It was beneath the famous Elm which until lately was a conspicuous object on our Common, that, at six o'clock on Sunday evening, July 11, 1790, upon a rude table, a man of powerful frame and of "serene but shrewd countenance" took his stand. Four persons approached, and curiously gazed while he sang. Kneeling, he prayed with a fervor unknown in the Puritan pulpits, attracting crowds of promenaders from the shady walks. Three thousand persons drank in his flowing thoughts, as from a pocket-Bible, "without notes," he proclaimed a free salvation. At first sententiously, then with a variety of beautiful images, then with broad discussion, then with tender pathos, he moved the thronging crowd. "It was agreed," said one who heard him, "that such a man had not visited New England since the days of Whitefield. I heard him again, and thought I could follow him to the ends of the earth." Such was the Rev. Jesse Lee's first appearance before a Boston gathering.

The peculiar effect of early Methodist preaching was not, however, wholly due either to the eloquence, or the manner, or the spiritual power of the preachers. It was largely owing to the adaptation of the religious views which they presented to existing conditions in the minds of their hearers. Said an eminent Congregational divine: —

"There was evidently an aptitude in the public mind to receive the Methodist faith and form of worship. Nor is it difficult to show how this came about. Old Orthodoxy, tinctured with Arminianism, and cooled down to a lukewarm temperature in its delivery from the desk, had become the characteristic of Sabbath-day instructions in many pulpits, as it had been prior to the Great Awakening in 1740; and nothing could have been more favorable to the success of an earnest, loud-spoken ministry. In his doctrinal teaching Jesse Lee, the pioneer of that denomination in these parts, suited such as were of Arminian tendencies; in his fervent style of address he was acceptable to many warm-hearted Calvinists tired of dull preaching. What with both of these adaptations to the wants of the people, no wonder that Methodism had a rapid growth. Something of the kind was inevitable. The wild enthusiasm of the Quakers had long since disappeared, and their numbers were diminishing. The martyr spirit which animated the first generation of Baptists had subsided with the removal of their civil disabilities, and their religious zeal suffered a proportional decline. If Jesse Lee had not come into Massachusetts, some one else, pressed in spirit, like Paul at Athens 'when he saw the city wholly given to idolatry,' would have found utterance, and would have had followers."[1]

[1] *Historical Sketch of the Congregational Churches in Massachusetts*, by the Rev. Joseph S. Clark, D.D., pp. 226, 227.

Jesse Lee was a man of uncommon colloquial gifts, with a fascinating address and ready wit. His rare physical, intellectual, and spiritual powers were united with

> "An unconquerable will,
> And courage never to submit or yield."

A scion of an old Virginia family, early trained in the Episcopal Church, a zealous convert to Wesleyanism, he went forth as an itinerant and founded societies from Florida to New Brunswick. At the age of thirty-one he was commissioned to establish on the soil of the Puritans the Methodist Episcopal Church, — the first religious body which had effected a national organization in the United States. The following year he reached Boston, and halted not until he saw this denomination established in all the Eastern States.

During the week after he preached on the Common, Lee visited Lynn, Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth, and returned to Boston. On the next Sunday, being still excluded from the churches, he preached again on the Common to 3,000 persons; during the week in private houses, and once in a vacant Baptist church; and, on the third Sunday, again on the Common to 5,000 persons. Then he returned to his widely extended field in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

On the 13th of November he was again in Boston. The weather was cold, shutting him out of his leafy temple, and the hearts of the people were colder still. Then commenced a series of labors, struggles, defeats, and reverses, which would have made a less indomitable spirit quail. This princely man, pronounced by Dr. Thomas Coke to be "one of the ablest preachers he had ever heard in Europe or America," who preached the gospel from the St. Mary's to the St. John's with a success unequalled since the days of Whitefield, and who was an acceptable chaplain to Congress for several years, received no notice from any Boston minister, nor was allowed access to any audience room. Months passed, almost two years, with occasional visits and close inquiry. Meanwhile, though unsuccessful, he was still intent. Societies were formed in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Connecticut, and Rhode Island. Lynn opened her doors and her heart, organized a church and erected a chapel; but Boston remained closed. Then preachers from Lynn, under Lee's superintendence, visited Boston, and the sterile soil began to yield fruit.

On July 13, 1792, the first Methodist class was formed in Boston, at the house of Mr. Samuel Burrill, on Sheafe Street, at the North End. Fifteen members were soon after reported to the Conference, and the Rev. Jeremiah Cosden was appointed preacher. A gentleman of fortune and educated for the bar, he left the law for the gospel, and abandoned the courts to become an itinerant. A school-house at the North End was the first place of worship; then an "upper room" in the house of Mr. John Ruddock, corner of Harris and Ann (now North) streets. Here the apostolic Asbury

preached, complaining of the incommodiousness of the place, and of the noise of the "Jack Tars and boys" outside.

In 1793 the Rev. Amos G. Thompson was the preacher; in 1794 the Rev. Christopher Spry; in 1795 the Rev. John Harper, late from the West Indies, and father of Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina.

On August 28, 1795, the corner-stone of the first Methodist Episcopal church was laid by the Rev. Jesse Lee. The house went slowly up, and was dedicated May 15, 1796, the sermon being given by the Rev. George Pickering. It was situated in Ingraham's Yard, subsequently Methodist Alley, now Hanover Avenue. This was then a very respectable locality. Dr. Eliot's New Brick Church was only two hundred feet distant, and Ann Street and other adjacent streets were occupied by the residences of people of the higher social rank. This first edifice was a small, plain building measuring thirty-six by forty-six feet, rough and unfinished within, and benches without backs served for pews. Even in this condition it was heavily encumbered with debt, for the forty members were all poor. In this state it was occupied until 1800, when through the assistance of Lee in the Middle States, and with a little help from the clergy and citizens of Boston, it was completed. But the struggle was hard; and even when finished the house was severely plain. The alley then had no side-walks. The main floor was two steps above the street, and the outside door opened directly into the aisles, and to the right and left stairs led into the galleries, one of which was occupied by males and the other by females. A stove stood in front of the altar. Opposite the pulpit were the singers' seats, — and the old church was famous for good singing. Here the society worshipped until the erection of the more spacious edifice on Bennet Street, when the old church was occupied by the Boston Port Society, until the Seaman's Bethel in the North Square was completed, in which the Rev. Edward T. Taylor exercised his wonderful ministry.

The early worshippers in the Methodist Alley Church suffered many petty annoyances. Rude disturbers of their worship were thought to have been incited to unmanly acts by others who screened themselves. At last legal protection was secured through the influence of Mr. William W. Motley, a gentleman of culture, who had become a Methodist.

The good influence of this church was widely felt at the North End. From 1796 to 1828 it was a centre of moral light and heat. The voices of all the eminent ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church were heard there. Bishops Asbury, George, and McKendree, Revs. George Pickering, John Broadhead, Daniel Ostrander, Thomas F. Sargeant, Peter Jayne, Samuel Merwin, Daniel Webb, Martin Ruter, D.D., Elijah Hedding, D.D., Enoch Mudge, Timothy Merritt, and President Wilbur Fisk, D.D., are some of the notable ones. The Rev. John Newland Maffitt preached in this house to crowded audiences, many persons climbing in at the windows to hear him. Among the laymen of the earlier period were Samuel Burrill, Thomas Green, Elijah Phinney Lewis, Uriah Tufts, Jacob Hawkins, Samuel

Mills, Abram Ingersol, James Johnson, Colonel Amos Binney, and William W. Motley.

At the end of fourteen years the membership of the church was two hundred and fifty-seven, and it was resolved (March 3, 1806) to erect another chapel in another part of the city. On the 19th of November following the Bromfield-Street Church was dedicated, the sermon being delivered by the Rev. Samuel Merwin. Its foundations contained a block of hewn stone from Plymouth Rock, which is still there. Was it a symbol of the engrafting of the Methodist bough into the stock of the old New-England order, or of the absorption of that into the larger life and growth of Methodism?

The erection of this edifice was a bold movement, and purely aggressive. Those who undertook it were only just relieved from the heavy embarrassments occasioned by the completion of the Alley church. But the new enterprise involved them more deeply. The sale of the pews was very limited; the times soon became very unfavorable: the Berlin and Milan decrees, the Embargo and Non-Intercourse acts, paralyzed commerce and industry. Boston felt the shock severely. Years of painful struggles followed. Contributions were sought all over the land. The General Conference and Annual Conferences were appealed to. The Middle States, and even Charleston, South Carolina, sent aid. The sagacious plans and large public influence of Colonel Amos Binney and Mr. John Clark contributed much to the final solution of the problem.

This crisis passed, the experimental period of Methodism in Boston was over. The next twenty years was a period of steady and healthy growth. The church extended its influence, and acquired character and respect. Colonel Amos Binney, a trustee and steward, was a merchant, and for a dozen years the United States Navy agent in Boston, and stood side by side with leading citizens; John Clark was an enterprising citizen; George Sutherland, a trustee and class-leader, was a Scotchman by birth, always radiant with sunshine, and a goldsmith by trade; Thomas Bagnall, class-leader and trustee, was a man of literary taste; Mrs. Sarah Hawes, a niece of Governor Hancock, an eminently consistent and elevated Christian, received into the church by the Rev. Elijah Hedding, deserves mention as the "Elect Lady." Besides these, Thomas Patten, a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, David Patten, father of the late Rev. David Patten, Jr., D.D., of precious memory, and William True, father of the late Rev. Charles K. True, D.D., an honored alumnus of Harvard College, are a few of many worthy names of this period, conspicuous for devotion to the church. Isaac Rich and Jacob Sleeper, gentlemen of rare excellences, belong to a later period, of ampler opportunities, which they have filled and honored with noble charities and deeds.

These two churches were favored with frequent revivals, and the membership increased from 259 in 1806 to 688 in 1830. In 1827 the church in the Alley felt the need of a larger and better edifice. A lot was purchased on Bennet Street, and a new church was dedicated Sept. 18, 1828, the Rev.

Stephen Martindale delivering the sermon. Forty-three pews were sold, and the only surviving purchaser is the venerable Micah Dyer, of the present Tremont-Street Church. With these two more sightly edifices as outward signs, the cause of Methodism moved forward under a strong impulse, and other churches were organized.

The first Methodist church in Dorchester was formed in 1817, and was due to the influence of Mr. Anthony Otheman,[1] a French Huguenot, who was one of the fruits of this denomination in Boston. In 1818 the first Methodist church was formed in Charlestown. They purchased the wooden structure on High Street, built by the Baptists and subsequently occupied by the Unitarians. In 1818 a Methodist society was organized at Chelsea Point, now Winthrop. In 1826 the May-Street, now Revere-Street, Church was organized for the colored people, and the Rev. Samuel Snowden, highly esteemed for twenty-five years by citizens of all classes, was their pastor.

Two periods of church colonizing have since marked the history of the Methodist Episcopal Church within the present limits of Suffolk County. The first was from 1834 to 1853, in which the following fourteen churches were organized: In 1834, the Church-Street, now the Peoples', Church; in 1835, after several unsuccessful attempts previously, the First Methodist Episcopal, now the Broadway, Church in South Boston; in 1837, the North Russell-Street Church; in 1839, the First Methodist Episcopal, now the Winthrop-Street, Church in Roxbury; and the First Methodist Episcopal, now the Walnut-Street, Church in Chelsea; in 1841, the Richmond-Street Church; and the First Methodist Episcopal, now the Meridian-Street, Church in East Boston; in 1842, the "Odeon" Society; in 1846, the Canton-Street, now the Tremont-Street, Church; in 1847, the Second Methodist Episcopal, now the Monument-Square, Church in Charlestown; in 1850, the Second Methodist Episcopal, now the Appleton, Church in Dorchester; in 1852, the Mount-Bellingham Church in Chelsea, and the German Church in Roxbury; and in 1853, the Bennington-Street, now the Saratoga-Street, Church in East Boston.

In the meantime new conditions affected the population at the North End. They were felt soon after 1840, and became more apparent in the next ten years, influencing unfavorably all the Protestant churches. In 1849 the Richmond-Street and the Bennet-Street churches united, and purchased the large and elegant edifice of Dr. Robbins's Unitarian Society on Hanover Street. The North Russell-Street Church held its position until 1865, when it removed to Grace Church, on Temple Street. In 1873 the Hanover-Street Church relinquished its field and united with the Grace Church, but retained its title as the First Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston.

In sixteen years — from 1853 to 1869 — only two Methodist churches were organized, — one at Jamaica Plain, in 1859, and the Dorchester-Street Church, in South Boston, in 1860.

[1] Father of the Revs. Bartholomew and Edward Otheman.

From 1869 to 1878 is the second colonizing period, in which the following ten churches were organized, most of them the fruits of the Boston Methodist City Mission and Church-Extension Society: In 1869 the Highland Church and the Ruggles-Street Church in Roxbury; in 1871, the Washington-Village Church in South Boston, and the Broadway Church in Chelsea; in 1872, the church at Allston; in 1873, the church at Roslindale; in 1874, the church at Harrison Square; in 1876, the Mount-Pleasant Church; in 1877, the Eggleston-Square Church; and in 1878, the Monroe Mission Church on Charlestown Neck.

Two African Methodist Episcopal churches — the Zion Church on North Russell Street, and the Bethel Church on Charles Street, now jointly numbering about 500 members — were organized in 1836 and 1839 respectively.

Two secessions from the Methodist Episcopal Church in Boston have occurred, — the Protestant Methodist, in 1830, and the True Wesleyan, in 1842–43; but the churches formed by the retiring bodies were small, and existed only a few years.

Among the tangible and conspicuous results of Boston Methodism, several demand mention: —

1. The first School of Theology of the Methodist Episcopal Church had its inception in Boston in 1839, was organized a little later in Concord, New Hampshire, and removed to Boston in 1867. It has graduated over four hundred young men.

2. The Boston University, with which the School of Theology united in 1871, is an outgrowth of the Methodist Episcopal Church. It was founded by Isaac Rich, Jacob Sleeper, and Lee Claflin; Mr. Rich bequeathing to it his large estate. It comprises colleges of liberal arts, music, agriculture, theology, law, and medicine, in which are over five hundred students. Under the presidency of the Rev. William F. Warren, D.D., LL.D., it has attained the highest rank. Women are admitted to all its departments, and it is eminently progressive and catholic in all its features.

3. *The Zion's Herald*, the oldest newspaper of the denomination, was founded in Boston in 1823. Its successive editors have been John R. Cotton, Barber Badger, G. W. H. Forbes, Benjamin Jones, Revs. Shipley W. Wilson, Aaron Lummus, Mr. William C. Brown, Revs. Timothy Merritt, Samuel O. Wright, Benjamin Kingsbury, Abel Stevens, LL.D., Daniel Wise, D.D., Erastus O. Haven, D.D., LL.D., Nelson E. Cobleigh, D.D., Gilbert Haven, LL.D., and Bradford K. Pierce, D.D. It has a circulation of 15,000 copies.

4. The Wesleyan Association, a corporation formed in 1831, consisting of laymen, own and publish the *Zion's Herald*. In 1870 they completed and occupied the elegant Wesleyan Building on Bromfield Street, in which are the offices of the *Zion's Herald*, the Wesleyan Hall, and the general headquarters of the denomination in New England.

5. The Methodist book-store, now in the Wesleyan Building, has existed over forty years, and has been conducted successively by Dexter S. King,

Strong & Broadhead, Wait, Pierce, & Co., Charles H. Pierce, and, since 1851, by the present efficient agent, James P. Magee, under whose administration its annual sales have increased from thirty thousand dollars in 1850 to eighty thousand dollars at the present time.

6. In 1872 Boston became an Episcopal residence, and a fine parsonage was purchased, on Rutland Street, at the South End. The Rt. Rev. Randolph S. Foster, D.D., LL.D., is the New England Bishop.

7. The Methodist Social Union, a body of laymen and ministers, meets monthly in the Wesleyan Hall, for the promotion of church life and fellowship.

8. The Boston Methodist Preachers' Meeting, a live aggressive body, for the discussion of church questions and general improvement, meets every Monday morning in the Wesleyan Hall.

9. The New-England Methodist Historical Society, whose headquarters are in the Wesleyan Building on Bromfield Street; Hon. William Claflin, President, Willard S. Allen, Librarian, and the Rev. Daniel Dorchester, D.D., Historiographer.

10. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church was here organized in the year 1869. It now covers with its branches nearly the whole country, and raises between seventy and eighty thousand dollars a year for the support of female missionaries and school work in different parts of the world. Its monthly organ, *The Heathen Woman's Friend*, edited by Mrs. William F. Warren, with a circulation of twenty thousand copies, has been from the beginning published in this city.

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES IN BOSTON, AND SUFFOLK COUNTY.

Year.	Localities and Churches.	Ministers.	Members.
1790	Boston	Jesse Lee	...
1800	Boston	Thomas F. Sargeant	72
1820	Boston	David Kilburn, Benjamin R. Hoyt	619
	Dorchester	Benjamin Hazleton, Jotham Horton	19
	Charlestown	Wilbur Fisk, D.D.	...
			638
1840	Boston, Bennet Street	James Porter, D.D.	509
	" Bromfield Street	Stephen Lovell	475
	" Church Street	Thomas C. Pierce	268
	" North Russell Street	Jefferson Hascal, D.D.	316
	" Mariner's Church	Edward T. Taylor	...
	" South Boston	Ziba B. C. Dunham	103
	Roxbury	Henry B. Skinner	103
	Dorchester	Luman Boyden	129
	Charlestown	Epaphras Kibbe	133
	Chelsea	John S. Springer	
			2,036

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES. — *Continued.*

LOCALITIES AND CHURCHES. 1860.	PASTORS.	Members.	Probationers.	Local Preachers.	CHURCH PROPERTY.				SUNDAY SCHOOLS.			
					Churches.	Value.	Parsonages.	Value.	Schools.	Officers and Teachers.	Scholars.	Volumes in Library.
BOSTON.												
First Church, Hanover Street	William C. High	432	30	2	1	$75,000	...	.....	2	58	425	800
Bromfield Street	William F. Warren, D.D., LL.D.	430	13	1	1	75,000	1	$8,000	1	35	224	1,500
Church Street	Isaac J. P. Collyer	300	30	2	1	30,000	...	.....	1	37	315	564
North Russell Street	John W. Dadmun	302	23	...	1	15,000	...	.....	1	40	283	950
Hedding Church	Henry W. Warren, D.D.	193	10	...	1	15,000	...	.....	1	26	238	1,000
Revere Street	Supplied	51	9	3	1	3,000	...	.....	1	16	64	132
Centenary Church	Ralph W. Allen	125	6	2	1	6,000	...	.....	1	30	270	600
Meridian Street	Samuel Tupper	290	60	...	1	18,000	...	.....	1	41	336	710
Bennington Street	Gershom F. Cox	151	18	...	...	.....	...	.....	1	38	290	983
Mariner's Church	Edward T. Taylor / John W. F. Barnes	.....	...	...	...	.....	...	.....	...	...	.....	.....
Total, Old Boston		2,274	199	10	8	$237,000	1	$8,000	10	321	2,445	7,239
Roxbury, Warren Street	Fales H. Newhall, D.D.	256	20	3	1	17,000	...	.....	1	43	261	700
„ Jamaica Plain	John Emory Round	19	11	...	...	.....	...	.....	1	...	25	200
„ German Church	H. Liebhout	83	31	2	1	3,500	...	.....	1	26	135	370
Dorchester, First Church	Zachariah A. Mudge	100	...	...	1	5,000	...	.....	1	25	125	550
Charlestown, High Street	George Bowler	167	6	1	1	10,000	...	.....	2	29	193	410
„ Union Church	Nathan D. George	321	35	...	1	15,000	...	.....	2	34	300	600
Total, in Present Boston		3,220	302	16	13	$287,500	1	$8,000	18	478	3,484	10,069
Chelsea, Walnut Street	Justin S. Barrows	210	26	2	1	25,000	1	2,800	2	40	300	900
Mount Bellingham Street	Willard F. Mallalieu, D.D.	151	16	...	1	21,000	...	.....	1	36	236	925
Winthrop	John S. Day	35	3	...	1	500	...	.....	1	15	99	365
Total, present limits of Suffolk County		3,616	347	18	16	$334,000	2	$10,800	22	569	4,119	12,259

STATISTICS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.—*Concluded.*

LOCALITIES AND CHURCHES. 1880.	Date of organization.	PASTORS.	Members.	Probationers.	Local Preachers.	CHURCH PROPERTY.				SUNDAY SCHOOLS.			
						Churches.	Value of Churches.	Parsonages.	Value of Pars'ges.	Schools.	Officers and Teachers.	Scholars.	Volumes in Library.
Old City District.													
First Church, Temple Street	1792	Samuel F. Upham, D.D.	476	42	15	1	$47,000	1	$12,000	1	43	350	900
Bromfield Street	1806	Amos B. Kendig	348	28	...	1	100,000	1	10,000	1	38	330	591
People's Church	1834	John W. Hamilton	250	52	6	1	70,000	1	10,000	1	45	386	950
Tremont Street	1846	William E. Huntington	256	5	2	1	150,000	1	12,000	1	34	294	1,265
Broadway	1835	Joseph H. Mansfield	370	15	4	1	65,000	...	....	1	36	408	800
Dorchester Street	1860	Nicholas T. Whitaker	194	22	...	1	20,000	...	.....	1	35	276	500
Washington Village	1871		36	10	...	1	3,500	...	.....	1	15	129	... ..
Meridian Street	1841	Lewis B. Bates	325	30	...	1	28,000	1	5,500	1	44	456	1,300
Saratoga Street	1853	Samuel L. Gracy	415	34	1	1	30,000	1	5,000	1	50	433	950
Revere Street	1826	Thomas B. Snowden	55	8	1	1	5,000	...	.....	1	6	30	...
Swedish Mission	1880	Otto Anderson	15	...	...	.	... .	..	....	1	...	...	.....
Total, Old Boston	. .	. . . . .	2,740	246	29	10	$518,500	6	$54,500	11	346	3,092	7,256
Roxbury and West Roxbury District.													
Winthrop Street	1839	Andrew McKeown, D.D	223	22	1	1	45,000	1	8,000	1	34	300	1,000
German Church	1852	Frederick W. Flocken	93	4	2	1	12,000	1	3,000	1	21	98	.....
Highland Church	1869	Frank K. Stratton	260	54	1	1	28,000	...	.....	1	26	268	470
Jamaica Plain	1859	James W. Bashford	94	14	3	1	19,000	...	.....	1	11	96	275
Roslindale	1873	Joseph H. Thompson	76	2	1	1	20,000	...	.....	1	25	190	500
Ruggles Street	1869	William H. Hatch	62	...	...	1	2,500	...	.....	1	20	160	400
Eggleston Square	1877	D. W. Couch	57	8	...	1	8,000	...	.....	1	20	175	...
Dorchester District.													
Dorchester Church	1817	Hiram D. Weston	202	9	...	1	37,000	...	.....	1	28	321	505
Appleton Church	1850	Edward W. Virgin	102	14	1	1	5,000	...	.....	1	13	75	300
Harrison Square	1874	Lyman D. Bragg	57	8	...	1	8,000	...	.....	1	25	125	265
Mount Pleasant	1876	Franklin Furber	95	5	...	1	6,000	...	.....	1	33	146	275

Brighton District.													
Allston	1872	William G. Leonard	62	7	...	1	12,000	...	.....	1	14	75	..
Charlestown District.													
Trinity Church	1818	Horace W. Bolton	366	42	1	1	65,000	...	.....	1	87	700	850
Monument Square	1847	James O. Knowles	335	28	1	1	40,000	..	.....	1	46	398	600
Monroe Mission	1877		14	6	2	...	.....	...	.....	1	11	71	300
Total, Present Boston	..		4,838	469	42	24	$862,000	8	$65,500	26	760	6,290	12,890
Chelsea.													
Walnut Street	1839	W. F. Mallalieu, D.D.	471	23	4	1	35,000	1	6,000	1	53	541	1,000
Mount Bellingham	1852	Varnum A. Cooper	306	16	...	1	30,000	1	4,000	1	40	306	800
Broadway	1871	Cyrus L. Eastman	100	11	...	...	.....	...	.....	1	14	100	381
Winthrop	1818	William A. Nottage	89	3	...	1	15,000	...	.....	1	13	340	400
Total, Suffolk County	..		5,804	522	46	27	$942,000	10	$75,500	30	880	7,577	15,471
AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCHES.													
Bethel, Charles Street	1839	William H. Hunter	294	5	3	2	$70,000	...	.....	1	25	255	350
Zion, North Russell Street	1836	R. H. Dyson	200	35	4	1	30,000	...	.....	1	16	150	500

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS.

Localities and Periods.	Communicants.	Church Property.				Sunday Schools.			
		Church Edifices.	Value of Churches.	Parsonages.	Value of Pars'ges.	Schools.	Scholars.	Officers and Teachers.	Volumes in Library.
Old Boston.									
1840 [1]	2,036	4	.....	...	.....	5	.....	.....	.....
1860	2,473	8	$237,000	1	$8,000	10	2,415	321	7,239
1880	2,986	10	518,500	6	54,500	11	3,092	346	7,256
Present Boston. [2]									
1840 [1]	2,036	6	.....	...	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
1860	3,522	13	287,500	1	8,000	18	3,484	478	10,069
1880	5,307	24	862,000	8	65,500	26	6,290	760	12,890
Suffolk County. [2]									
1840 [1]	2,036	7	.....	...	.....	10	.....	.....	.....
1860	3,963	16	334,000	2	10,800	22	4,119	569	12,259
1880	6,326	27	942,000	10	75,500	30	7,577	880	15,471

[1] Only partial statistics for 1840 can now be obtained

[2] The same territory is included for each period.

From 1840 to 1880 the population within the present limits of Suffolk County increased 200 per cent, and the communicants of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 210 per cent. From 1860 to 1880 the population increased 40 per cent, and the communicants, 60 per cent. All this gain has been realized, notwithstanding the immense foreign additions to the population during these forty years.

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MSS. "Sketches of Methodism in Boston," by Hon. Jacob Sleeper, of Boston; and "in Chelsea and Dorchester," by the Rev. Edward Otheman, of Chelsea. (Unpublished.)

CHAPTER X.

THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

BY THE REV. PHILLIPS BROOKS, D.D.,
Rector of Trinity Church.

THE Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks was a minister of the Church of England, and a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, settled at Marblehead, in Massachusetts. In the year 1778 he wrote to the society an account of "The state of the Episcopal churches in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, etc." Of the churches in Boston he wrote: "Trinity Church in Boston is still open, the prayers for the King and Royal Family, etc., being omitted. The King's Chapel is made use of as a meeting-house by a Dissenting congregation. The French have received leave from the Congress to make use of Christ Church for the purposes of their worship; but the proprietors of it, having notice of this, persuaded Mr. Parker to preach in it every Sunday in the afternoon, by which means it remains untouched. . . . In a word," he adds, "our ecclesiastical affairs wear a very gloomy aspect at present in that part of the world."

What Mr. Weeks thus wrote in 1778 was mainly true two years later, in 1780, at the point where I begin to sketch the history of the Episcopal Church in Boston for the last hundred years. In the mean time, the Rev. Stephen C. Lewis, who had been chaplain of a regiment of light dragoons in the army of General Burgoyne, had become the regular minister of Christ Church; but the congregation of the Old South were still worshipping in the King's Chapel, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker was in charge of Trinity. These were the three Episcopal parishes in Boston in the year 1780. The King's Chapel with its house of worship on Tremont Street, Christ Church in Salem Street, and Trinity Church in Summer Street. The King's Chapel had been in existence since 1689, Christ Church since 1723, and Trinity Church since 1734.

It is not difficult to see what it was that made "our ecclesiastical affairs" wear such a "gloomy aspect in this part of the world" in the days which immediately followed the Revolution. To the old Puritan dislike of Episcopacy had been added the distrust of the English Church as the church of the oppressors of the colonies. Up to the beginning of the Revolution the

Episcopal Church in Boston had been counted an intruder. It had never been the church of the people, but had largely lived upon the patronage and favor of the English governors. The outbreak of the Revolution had found the Rev. Dr. Henry Caner, rector of King's Chapel, and the Rev. Dr. William Walter, rector of Trinity. Both of these clergymen went to Halifax with the British troops when Boston was evacuated in 1776.[1] In one of the record books of King's Chapel, Dr. Caner made the following entry: —

"An unnatural rebellion of the colonies against His Majesty's government obliged the loyal part of his subjects to evacuate their dwellings and substance, and take refuge in Halifax, London, and elsewhere; by which means the public worship at King's Chapel became suspended, and is likely to remain so until it shall please God, in the course of his providence, to change the hearts of the rebels, or give success to His Majesty's arms for suppressing the rebellion. Two boxes of church plate, and a silver christening basin were left in the hands of the Rev. Dr. Breynton at Halifax, to be delivered to me or my order, agreeable to his note receipt in my hands."

At Christ Church the Rev. Dr. Mather Byles, Jr., resigned the rectorship on Easter Tuesday, 1775, meaning to go to Portsmouth in New Hampshire; but political tumults making that impossible, he remained in Boston and performed the duty of chaplain to some of the regiments until after the evacuation.[1] At Trinity alone was there any real attempt to meet the new condition of things by changes in the church's worship. The parts of the liturgy, having reference to the King and the Royal Family[1] were omitted, and this was the only sign which the Episcopal Church in Boston made of any willingness to accommodate herself to the patriotic feeling of the times; and even with her mutilated liturgy, the associations of her worship with the hated power of England still remained. No doubt the few people who gathered in Trinity Church during the Revolution were those whose sympathy with the cause of the struggling colonies was weakest and most doubtful. As one looks at her position when the war is closed, he sees clearly that before the Episcopal Church can become a powerful element in American life she has before her, first, a struggle for existence; and then another struggle, hardly less difficult, to separate herself from English influences and standards, and to throw herself heartily into the interests and hopes of the new nation.

Of how those two struggles began in the country at large, when the Revolutionary war was over and our independence was established, there is not room here to speak except very briefly. It was the sprouting of a tree which had been cut down to the very roots. The earliest sign of life was a meeting at New Brunswick in New Jersey, in 1784, when thirteen clergymen and laymen, from New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, came together to see what could be made of the fragments of the Church of England which were scattered through the now independent colonies. The same year there was a meeting held in Boston, where seven clergymen of Massachusetts and Rhode Island consulted on the condition and prospects of their

[1] [See Mr. Goddard's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

church. The next year there was a larger meeting held in Philadelphia, — what may be called the first convention of the Episcopal Church in the United States, — when delegates from seven of the thirteen States were assembled. This was on Sept. 27, 1785. Evidently the fragments of the church had life in them, and a tendency to reach toward each other and seek a corporate existence. From the beginning, too, there evidently was in many parts of the church a certain sense of opportunity, a feeling that now was the time to seek some enlargement of the church's standards, which would not probably occur again. Under this feeling, when the time for the revision of the liturgy arrived, the Athanasian Creed was dropped out of the Prayer Book. The other changes made were mostly such as the new political condition of the country called for. These changes were definitely fixed in the convention which met in Philadelphia in 1789.

But before that time another most important question had been settled. There could be no Episcopal Church in this country without bishops, and as yet there was not a bishop of the Episcopal Church in the country. In the colonial condition various efforts had been made to secure the consecration of bishops for America, but political fears and prejudices had always prevented their success; but no sooner was independence thoroughly established, than a more determined effort was begun. In 1783 the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury was sent abroad by some of the clergymen of Connecticut, to endeavor to secure consecration to the episcopate to which they had elected him. After fruitless attempts to induce the authorities of the Church of England to give him what he sought, he finally had recourse to the nonjuring Church in Scotland, and was consecrated at Aberdeen on Nov. 14, 1784. He returned at once to America and began to do a bishop's work. The first ordination of an Episcopal minister in Boston, which must have been an occasion of some interest in the Puritan city, was on March 27, 1789, when the Rev. John C. Ogden was ordained in Trinity Church by Bishop Seabury.

Meanwhile, further south, a similar attempt was being made to secure Episcopal consecration from the Church of England, and with better success. On Feb. 4, 1787, the Rev. Dr. William White, of Philadelphia, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Provoost, of New York, were consecrated bishops in the chapel of Lambeth Palace. Thus the Episcopal Church in the United States found itself fully organized for its work. On May 7, 1797, the Rev. Dr. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, was consecrated in Christ Church, Philadelphia, to be Bishop of the Diocese of Massachusetts; and the churches of Boston became of course subjects of his Episcopal care.

It must have been a striking, as it was certainly a novel scene, when Bishop Bass, on his return to Boston after his consecration, was welcomed by the Massachusetts Convention which was then in session. He was conducted in his robes from the vestry of Trinity Church to the chancel, where he was addressed in behalf of the members of the convention by the Rev. Dr. Walter, now returned from his exile in Nova Scotia, and made rector of

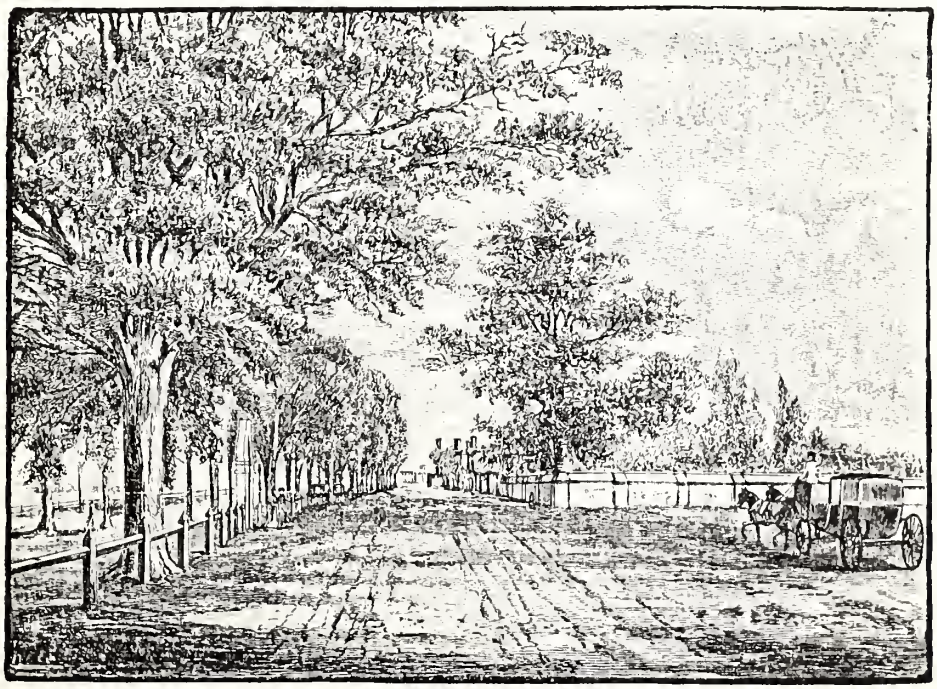
Christ Church. The bishop responded "in terms of great modesty, propriety, and affection." Sometime after, the Episcopal churches in Rhode Island, and subsequently those in New Hampshire, placed themselves under his jurisdiction.

It had not been without reluctance, and a jealous unwillingness to surrender their independence, that the churches in Massachusetts had joined their brethren in the other States to accomplish the reorganization of their church; but in the end two of the Boston churches became identified with the new body. To Dr. Parker indeed, of Trinity Church, a considerable degree of influence is to be ascribed in harmonizing difficulties, and making possible a union between the two efforts after organized life which had begun in Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Before, however, the general Constitution of the Episcopal Church was agreed upon in Philadelphia in 1789, the oldest of the three parishes in Boston had changed its faith and its associations, and begun its own separate and peculiar life. It was before the Revolutionary war was ended, and while their house of worship was still used by the congregation of the Old South, in September, 1782, that the wardens of King's Chapel — Dr. Thomas Bulfinch and Mr. James Ivers — invited Mr. James Freeman, a young man of twenty-three years of age, then living at Walpole, to officiate for them as reader for six months. He was a native of Charlestown, had received his early education at the Boston Latin School, and had graduated at Harvard College in 1777. At the Easter meeting, April 21, 1783, he was chosen pastor of the chapel. The invitation, in reply to which he accepted the pastorate, said to him: "The proprietors consent to such alterations in the service as are made by the Rev. Dr. Parker; and leave the use of the Athanasian Creed at your discretion."

The new pastor and his people soon grew warmly attached to one another; and when, in the course of the next two years, Mr. Freeman told his parishioners that his opinions had undergone such a change that he found some parts of the liturgy inconsistent with the faith which he had come to hold, and offered them an amended form of prayer for use at the chapel, the proprietors voted, Feb. 20, 1785, that it was necessary to make some alterations in some parts of the liturgy, and appointed a committee to report such alterations. On March 28 the committee were ready with their report; and on June 19 the proprietors decided by a vote of twenty to seven "that the Common Prayer, as it now stands amended, be adopted by this church, as the form of prayer to be used in future by this church and congregation." The alterations in the liturgy were for the most part such as involved the omission of the doctrine of the Trinity. They were principally those of the celebrated English divine, Dr. Samuel Clarke. The amended Prayer Book was used in the chapel until 1811, when it was again revised, and still other changes made.

Thus the oldest of the Episcopal churches had become the first of the Unitarian churches of America; and now the question was how she still

stood toward the sister churches with whom she had heretofore been in communion. Her people still counted themselves Episcopalians. They wanted to be part of the new Episcopal Church of the United States. Many of them were more or less uneasy at the lack of ordination for their minister. In 1786 Mr. Freeman applied to Bishop Seabury to be ordained; but Bishop Seabury, after asking the advice of his clergy, did not think fit to confer orders upon him on such a profession of faith as he thought proper to give, which was no more than that he believed the Scriptures. Mr. Freeman then went to see Dr. Provoost at New York. The doctor, who was not yet a bishop, gave Mr. Freeman some reason to hope that he would comply with



TREMONT STREET LOOKING NORTH.[1]

his wishes; but in the next year, when the wardens of the chapel sent a letter to Dr. Provoost, who in the meantime had received consecration, "to inquire whether ordination for the Rev. Mr. Freeman can be obtained on terms agreeable to him and to the proprietors of this church," the bishop answered that after consulting with his council of advice, he and they thought that a matter of such importance ought to be reserved for the consideration of the General Convention.

[1] [This view of Tremont Street, looking toward King's Chapel, follows a water-color presented to the Public Library in 1875. A letter from Mr. B. P. Shillaber, dated March 17, 1875, on the files of the Trustees of the Library, says it was painted by a daughter of General Knox, and belonged to the late Miss Catharine Putnam; and was painted certainly before 1806, and perhaps about 1800. The arch in the Common fence is where the present West-street gate is.

A view from the other end of the vista, showing King's Chapel, as looked at from the north, and taken about 1830, is given in Greenwood's *History of King's Chapel*, 1833. — ED.]

This ended the effort for Episcopal ordination, and on Nov. 18, 1787, after the usual Sunday evening service, the senior warden of the King's Chapel, Dr. Thomas Bulfinch, acting for the congregation, ordained Mr. Freeman to be "rector, minister, priest, pastor, teaching elder, and public teacher" of their society. Of course so bold and so unusual an act excited violent remonstrance. A protest was sent forth by certain of the original proprietors of the chapel, to which the wardens issued a reply. Another protest came from Dr. Bass of Newburyport, Dr. Parker of Trinity Church, Mr. Montague of Christ Church, and Mr. Ogden of Portsmouth in New Hampshire; but from the day of Mr. Freeman's ordination the King's Chapel ceased to be counted among the Episcopal churches of Boston.[1] There still remained some questions to be settled with regard to the bequest of Mr. William Price, the founder of the Price lectureship, of which the King's Chapel had been the original administrator. These questions lingered until 1824, when they were finally disposed of by the arrangement between the King's Chapel and Trinity Church, under which these lectures are still provided by the latter.

It was a severe blow to the church, which was with such difficulty struggling back to life, that one of the strongest of her very few parishes should thus reject her creed and abandon her fellowship. The whole transaction bears evidence of the confusion of the ecclesiastical life of those distracted days. The spirit of Unitarianism was already present in many of the Congregational churches of New England. It was because in the King's Chapel that spirit met the clear terms of a stated and required liturgy that that church was the first to set itself avowedly upon the basis of the new belief. The attachment to the liturgy was satisfied by the retention of so much of its well-known form; and the high character of Mr. Freeman, and the profound respect which his sincerity and piety and learning won in all the town, did a great deal to strengthen the establishment of the belief to which his congregation gave their assent.[2]

Christ Church and Trinity Church alone were left — two vigorous parishes — to keep alive for many years the fire of the Episcopal Church in Boston. In 1792 Dr. Walter returned to Boston and became rector of Christ Church, where he remained until his death in 1800. In the same year (1792) the Rev. John Sylvester John Gardiner became the assistant of Dr. Parker at Trinity Church. Dr. Gardiner's ministry is one of those which give strong character to the life of the Episcopal Church here during the century. Born in Wales, and in large part educated in England, he was

[1] [See Dr. Peabody's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] Twice since the chapel changed its liturgy and ordained its own minister, the service of the Episcopal Church has been held by Episcopal clergymen within its venerable walls. The first occasion was in 1858, when for two Sundays the Church of the Advent, whose building was being repaired, was kindly given the use of the chapel for its services. The second was in 1873, when, after the great fire in which Trinity Church was destroyed, the annual series of Price Lectures was, by the cordial invitation of the minister and wardens, preached in the chapel by the bishop of the diocese of Massachusetts and various Episcopal clergymen of Boston.

the true Anglican of the eighteenth century. For thirty-seven years he was the best known and most influential of the Episcopal ministers of Boston. His broad and finished scholarship, his strong and positive manhood, his genial hospitality, his fatherly affection, and his eloquence and wit made him through all those years a marked and powerful person, not merely in the church but in the town.[1]

J. S. J. GARDINER, D.D.

After the year 1790 the diocesan conventions of the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts became regular and constant. They were generally held in Boston, — their religious services mostly in Trinity Church, and their business sessions usually in Concert Hall. The business which they had to do was very small, but every year seems to show a slightly increasing strength. In 1795 the Rev. Dr. Parker and Mr. William Tudor were sent as delegates to the General Convention which was to meet in Philadelphia in the following September; so that the church in Massachusetts had now become entirely a part of the general church throughout the land. In

[1] [See a memoir of Dr. Gardiner in Quincy's *History of the Boston Athenæum*. — Ed.]

1797 a committee was sent to Samuel Adams, the Governor, to ask him not to appoint the annual Fast Day in such a way that it should fall in Easter week, in order that it may not "wound the feelings of so many of the citizens of this Commonwealth as compose the body of the Protestant Episcopalians." In various ways one traces the slow growth of the church; yet still it was a very little body. In 1800, at the meeting of the convention of the diocese, "in the library in Franklin Place," it was only five clergymen, of whom one was the bishop, and six laymen that made up the assembly.

In 1803 Bishop Bass died, after an administration which was full of good sense and piety, but which had not enough energy or positive character to give the church a strong position or to secure much promise for its future. The only other man who had stood at his post during the Revolution, — the man to whom, as his successor, Dr. Gardiner, said of him in his funeral sermon, "must doubtless be attributed the preservation of the Episcopal Church in this town," — Dr. Samuel Parker, of Trinity Church, was chosen to be the successor of Bishop Bass; but he died on Dec. 6, 1804, before he had performed any of the duties of his office, and the diocese was once more without a bishop. Indeed, in these early days it was not by any special oversight or inspiration of the bishops that the Episcopal Church was growing strong. It was by the long and faithful pastorships of the ministers of her parishes. Such a pastorship had been that of Dr. Parker. For thirty-one years Trinity Church enjoyed his care. "I well remember him," writes Dr. Lowell, of the West Church, "as a tall, well-proportioned man, with a broad, cheerful, and rubicund face, and flowing hair; of fine powers of conversation, and easy and affable in his manners. He was given to hospitality, and went about doing good." He too was a man of the eighteenth century, not of the nineteenth; but he was thoroughly the man for his own time, and the Episcopal Church in Boston will always be his debtor. In the year after Bishop Parker died, another of the long and useful pastorates of Boston began in the succession of the Rev. Asa Eaton to the rectorship of Christ Church, where he remained until 1829.

It was not until 1811 that it was found practicable to unite the Episcopal Church in Massachusetts with the same church in Rhode Island and New Hampshire, under the care of the Right Rev. Alexander Viets Griswold, who was consecrated bishop of what was called the Eastern Diocese. With Bishop Griswold a new period of the life of the Episcopal Church in Boston may be considered to begin, — a period of growth and enterprise. Up to this time the church had been struggling for life, and gradually separating itself from the English traditions which had haunted its thought and hampered its usefulness. It had been a weak and in some sense a foreign church. Now it had grown to considerable strength. Its ministers were true Americans. It prayed for the Governors and Congress of the Union with entire loyalty. It took, indeed, no active part in the speculations or the controversies of the day. Its ministers were not forward in theological

or political discussion. It rested with entire satisfaction upon its completed standards, and contributed no active help to the settlement of the theological tumults which were raging around it; but it was doing good and growing strong. It had won for itself the respect and confidence of the community; and when the first returns are made from parishes to the diocesan convention in 1812, the two Boston churches report a considerable number of communicants. Christ Church has sixty, and Trinity Church has one hundred and fifty, and on the great festivals as many as three hundred.

The second period, the period of growth and of some enterprise, may be said to extend from 1811 to 1843. The earliest addition to the number of churches, which had remained the same ever since the departure of King's Chapel, was in the foundation of St. Matthew's Church in what was then the little district of South Boston. That picturesque peninsula, which now teems with crowded life, had in 1816 a population of seven or eight hundred. In that year the services of the Episcopal Church were begun by a devoted layman, Mr. John H. Cotting; and two years later a church building was consecrated there by Bishop Griswold. The parish has passed through many vicissitudes and dangers since that day, but it has always retained its life and done good service to the multitudes who have gradually gathered around it.

In 1819 another new parish began to appear, formed principally out of Trinity Church; and on June 3, 1820, the new St. Paul's Church in Tremont Street was consecrated by Bishop Griswold, assisted by Bishop Brownell, of Connecticut. The first rector of the new parish was the Rev. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, a native of Connecticut, an ecclesiastic of sincere devotion to his church, and a scholar of excellent attainments. St. Paul's Church made a notable and permanent addition to the power of episcopacy in the city. Its Grecian temple seemed to the men who built it to be a triumph of architectural beauty and of fitness for the church's services. "The interior of St. Paul's," so it was written while the church was new, "is remarkable for its simplicity and beauty; and the materials of which the building is constructed give it an intrinsic value and an effect which have not been produced by any of the classic models that have been attempted of bricks and plaster in other cities. The erection of this church may be considered the commencement of an era of the art in Boston." On its building committee, among other well-known men, were George Sullivan, Daniel Webster, David Sears, and William Shimmin. When it was finished, it had cost $83,000. The parish leaped at once into strength; and in 1821 it reports that "it has ninety communicants, and that between six and seven hundred persons attend its services."

In 1824, when Boston had reached a population of fifty-eight thousand, the four Episcopal churches which it contained numbered in all six hundred and thirty-four communicants,—certainly not a great number, but certainly an appreciable proportion of the religious community.

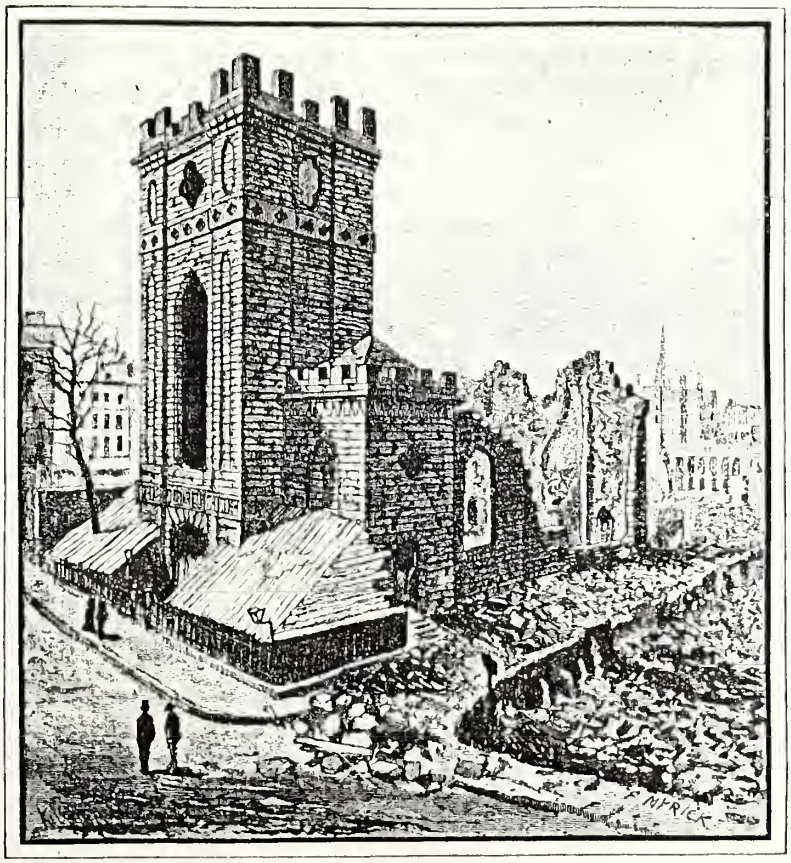
In 1827 Dr. Alonzo Potter succeeded Dr. Jarvis at St. Paul's; and he brought with him that broad, strong intellect and noble character and earnest zeal which made him all his life one of the very strongest powers in the Episcopal Church of the United States. In the same year the Rev. George W. Doane, who was afterward the successor of Dr. Gardiner at Trinity, came to be his assistant. These were both notable additions to the church's ministry in Boston. They were men of modern character; they put new life into the now well-established church. The very dryness of the tree when it was brought hither from England had perhaps made it more possible to transplant it safely, but now that its roots were in the ground it was ready for more vigorous life. In quite different ways, with very dissimilar characters and habits of thought, Dr. Potter and Dr. Doane represent not unfitly the two great tendencies toward rational breadth and toward ecclesiastical complexity, which were beginning to take possession not merely of this church but of all the churches. The Rev. John H. Hopkins, who in 1831 became the assistant of Dr. Doane at Trinity, was another of the strong characters who showed the church's greater life.

Another name of great interest in the church history of Boston appeared in 1829, when the Rev. William Croswell came from Hartford, a young deacon just ordained, to succeed Dr. Eaton at Christ Church. Dr. Eaton's ministry had been long and useful. He had established in 1815 the first Sunday-school which ever existed in this region. His parish had no doubt already begun to change with the changes of the city's population; but when Mr. Croswell came there it was still strong, and, though his most remarkable ministry was to be elsewhere than in Christ Church, his coming there marks the first advent to the city of one of the most interesting men who have ever filled its Episcopal pulpits.

The slow addition of parish after parish still went on. In 1830 Grace Church, which had been struggling with much difficulty into life, appears at last as an organized parish, and is admitted into union with the Convention. At first the new congregation worshipped in Piedmont Square, and then in Bedford Street. It was not until 1836 that its new stone church in Temple Street was finished and consecrated. In Roxbury the first movement toward the establishment of an Episcopal Church began to appear as early as 1832; and, after worshipping for a while in a building called the Female High School, the new parish finished and occupied its sober, serious stone structure on St. James Street in 1834. Its first rector was the Rev. M. A. De Wolf Howe, who is now the bishop of the diocese of Central Pennsylvania. While these new parishes were springing into life, the old parish of Trinity was building its new house of worship, which was to stand until the great fire should sweep it away in 1872. The solid, battlemented Gothic church, which for so many years stood and frowned at the corner of Summer and Hawley streets, was consecrated on Nov. 11, 1829. The next year Dr. Gardiner, for so many years the honored minister of the parish, died in

England, where he was seeking his lost health, and Dr. Doane became rector of Trinity Church in his stead.

In these years also another man appears for the first time, who is afterward to hold a peculiar place in the life of the church in Boston; to be, indeed, the representative figure in its charitable work. It is the Rev. E. M. P. Wells, who is in charge of the House of Reformation Chapel at South Boston. Indeed, now for the first time there began to be a movement of



THE RUINS OF TRINITY, 1872.

the Episcopal Church toward the masses of the poor and helpless. Up to this time it had been almost altogether the church of the rich and influential. It had prided itself upon the respectability of its membership; but in 1837 St. Paul's, which had now passed into the earnest and fruitful ministry of the Rev. John S. Stone, had a mission-school of between sixty and eighty scholars on Boston Neck, and there was a Free Church in the Eleventh Ward-Room in Tremont Street, and Mr. Wells had his work at South Boston. The movements were not very strong nor very enduring, but they showed a new spirit, and were the promises of better things to come.

In 1840 there were the beginnings of two new parishes. The church at Jamaica Plain was as yet only a mission of St. James's in Roxbury, and was under the charge of the rector of that church till 1845, when it secured a minister of its own. In Charlestown a few Episcopalians met in the Congregational Church, and organized a parish under the charge of the Rev. Nathaniel T. Bent. The corner-stone of their building was laid in 1841, and the building was finished the next year. Both of these parishes were named St. John's.

Thus in 1843 there were in what is now Boston seven Episcopal parishes. In that year Bishop Griswold died. When he was chosen bishop, in 1811, there were only two parishes; and, besides this increase in the number of organized churches, there had begun to be, as we have seen, some movement of missionary life. These thirty-two years had been a period of growth and quiet enterprise. There had been no marked stir of active thought; men had believed and taught much as their fathers had before them. There had been no disputes or controversies about faith or worship; but all the time a fuller and fuller life was entering into the whole church. The evangelical spirit, which was the controlling power of the Church of England, ruled the parishes here, and inspired the system which under the churchmanship of the eighteenth century had been so dead. Of all this time the type and representative is Bishop Griswold. He stands, indeed, at the head of the active history of the church in Massachusetts to give it, as it were, its true key-note, — somewhat as Bishop White stands at the start of the Episcopal Church in the United States at large; or, we may say, perhaps, as Washington stands at the beginning of the history of the nation. He had the quiet energy which the times needed, a deep and simple piety, a spirit of conciliation which was yet full of sturdy conscientiousness, a free but reverent treatment of church methods, a quiet humor, and abundance of "moderation, good sense, and careful equipoise." He had much of the repose and peace of the old Anglicanism, and yet was a true American. He had patience and hope and courage, sweetness and reasonableness in that happy conjunction which will make his memory, as the years go by, to be treasured as something sacred and saintly by the growing church.

The third period in the history of the Episcopal Church in Boston, reaching from 1843 to about 1861, is not so peaceful as the last. Before Bishop Griswold died the signs of coming disagreement had appeared; and even before it was felt in this country, a new and aggressive school of church life had taken definite shape in England. This is not the place to write the history of that great movement which within less than fifty years has so changed the life of the English Church. In 1833 the first of the so-named *Tracts for the Times* was issued at Oxford, and from then until 1841 the constant succession of treatises, devoted to the development of what became known as Tractarian or Puseyite ideas, kept alive a per-

petual tumult in the Church of England. Led by such men as Dr. Pusey and John Henry Newman, the school attracted many of the ablest and most devoted of young Englishmen. The points which its theology magnified were the apostolical succession of the ministry, baptismal regeneration, the eucharistic sacrifice, and church tradition as a rule of faith. Connected with its doctrinal beliefs, there came an increased attention to church ceremonies and an effort to surround the celebration of divine worship with mystery and splendor.

This great movement, — this Catholic Revival, as its earnest disciples love to call it, — was most natural. It was the protest and self-assertion of a partly neglected side of religious life; it was a reaction against some of the dominant forms of religious thought which had become narrow and exclusive; it was the effort of the church to complete the whole sphere of her life; it was the expression of certain perpetual and ineradicable tendencies of the human soul. No wonder, therefore, that it was powerful. It made most enthusiastic devotees; it organized new forms of life; it created a new literature; it found its way into the halls of legislation; it changed the aspect of whole regions of education. No wonder, also, that in a place so free-minded and devout as Boston each one of the permanent tendencies of religious thought and expression should sooner or later seek for admission. Partly in echo, therefore, of what was going on in England, and partly as the simultaneous result of the same causes which had produced the movement there, it was not many years before the same school arose in the Episcopal Church in America; and it showed itself first in Boston in the organization of the Church of the Advent. The first services of this new parish were held in an upper room at No. 13 Merrimac Street, on Dec. 1, 1844. Shortly after, the congregation moved to a hall at the corner of Lowell and Causeway streets, and on Nov. 28, 1847, it took possession of a church in Green Street, where it remained until 1864. Its rector was Dr. William Croswell, a man of most attractive character and beautiful purity of life. We have seen him already as minister of Christ Church from 1829 to 1840. After his resignation of that parish he became rector of St. Peter's Church, Auburn, New York, whence he returned to Boston to undertake the new work of the Church of the Advent. The feature made most prominent by its founders with regard to the new parish was that the church was free. This, combined with its more frequent services, its daily public recitation of morning and evening prayer, an increased attention to the details of worship, the lights on its stone altar, and its use of altar-cloths, were the visible signs which distinguished it from the other parishes in town.

By this time the poor and friendless population of Boston had grown very large, and the minister and laity of the Church of the Advent, in common with those of the other parishes in the city, devoted much time and attention to their visitation and relief.

Bishop Griswold before his death had feared the influence of the new

school of churchmanship, and had written a tract with the view of meeting what he thought to be its dangers; but the duty of dealing with the new state of things in Boston fell mostly to the lot of his successor. In the year 1842 the Rev. Dr. Manton Eastburn, rector of the Church of the Ascension in New York, had become rector of Trinity Church in Boston, and had been consecrated assistant-bishop of Massachusetts. That interesting ceremony took place in Trinity Church on Dec. 29, 1842. On Bishop Griswold's death, in 1843, Bishop Eastburn succeeded him; and in his Convention address of 1844 we find him already lifting up his voice against "certain views which, having made their appearance at various periods since the Reformation, and passed away, have been again brought forward in our time." These remonstrances are repeated almost yearly for the rest of the bishop's life. On Dec. 2, 1845, Bishop Eastburn issued a pastoral letter to the clergy of his diocese, in which he recounts his disapprobation of "various offensive innovations upon the ancient usage of our church," which he had witnessed on the occasion of a recent episcopal visit to the Church of the Advent. On Nov. 24, 1846, he writes to Dr. Croswell that he cannot visit the parish officially again until the offensive arrangements of the church are altered. These utterances of the bishop led to a long discussion and correspondence which lasted for the next ten years. On Nov. 9, 1851, Dr. Croswell died very suddenly, and Bishop Eastburn's discussion was continued with his successor, the Right Rev. Horatio Southgate. It was not until Dec. 14, 1856, that the parish received again the visitation of its bishop; and in his report to the diocesan convention in 1857 Bishop Eastburn explains the change in his action by saying that "the General Convention having passed, during its session in October last, a new canon on episcopal visitations, I appointed the above mentioned day, shortly after the close of its sittings, for a visit to the Church of the Advent, for the purpose of administering confirmation."

This closed the open conflict between the bishop and the parish. In 1864 the Church of the Advent moved from Green Street to its present building in Bowdoin Street, where it was served, after Bishop Southgate's departure in 1858, by the Rev. Dr. Bolles. Upon his resignation in 1870 the parish passed into the ministry of members of an English society of mission priests, known as the Brotherhood of St. John the Evangelist, and in 1872 the Rev. Charles C. Grafton, a member of that society, became its rector. In 1878 it began the erection of a new church in Brimmer Street, which is not yet completed. The peculiarities of faith and worship of this parish have always made it a prominent and interesting object in the church life of Boston.

But during these years of conflict the healthy life and growth of the church were going on. In 1842 began the long and powerful rectorship of the Rev. Dr. Alexander H. Vinton at St. Paul's Church. For seventeen years his ministry there gave noble dignity to the life of the church in Boston, and was the source of vast good to many souls. His work may be con-

sidered as having done more than that of any other man who ever preached in Boston, to bring the Episcopal Church into the understanding, the sympathy, and the respect of the people. His vigorous mind and great acquirements and commanding character and earnest eloquence made him a most influential power in the city and the church. He was met as he first came to St. Paul's by a deep religious interest which was only the promise of the profound spiritual life which will always make the years of his ministry here memorable and sacred. He remained in Boston until 1858, when he removed to Philadelphia; but later in life, in 1869, he returned to his old home, and was rector of Emmanuel Church till December, 1877. As these pages are being written he has just passed away, leaving a memory which will be a perpetual treasure to the church. He died in Philadelphia on April 26, 1881.

In 1843 the growth of the city southward toward the Neck was marked by the organization of the new Church of the Messiah in Florence Street, which, under the ministry of the Rev. George M. Randall, sprang at once to useful life. The parish worshipped for a while in a hall at the corner of Washington and Common streets. The corner-stone of the new Church was laid Nov. 10, 1847, and the church was consecrated Aug. 29, 1848. In 1843 the mission work of the Rev. E. M. P. Wells, which afterward became so well known, and which was never wholly abandoned till his death, began at what was called Trinity Hall in Summer Street. About the same time the Rev. J. P. Robinson began a mission for sailors in Ann Street, which for many years excited the interest and elicited the generosity of the Episcopalians of Boston, and which still survives in what is called the Free Church of St. Mary, for sailors, in Richmond Street. In 1846 an individual act of Christian generosity provided the building of St. Stephen's Chapel in Purchase Street, the gift of Mr. William Appleton, where Dr. Wells labored in loving and humble sympathy and companionship with the poor until, on the terrible night of Nov. 9, 1872, the great fire swept his church and house away. He was a remarkable man, with a genius for charity, and a childlike love for God.

Meanwhile a parish was slowly growing into life in the populous district of East Boston. St. John's Church was organized there in 1845. After many disappointments and disasters it finished and occupied its house of worship in 1852. In 1849 St. Mary's Church in Dorchester was added to the number of suburban churches. In 1851 St. Mark's Church at the South End finds its first mention in the record of the acceptance of its rectorship by the Rev. P. H. Greenleaf, who had just resigned the charge of St. John's Church in Charlestown. The next year this new church bought for itself a church building which it afterward removed to Newton Street, and in which it is still worshipping. In 1856 the Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Lambert began his ministry in Charlestown, and the Rev. William R. Babcock came to Jamaica Plain. In 1860 the Rev. Dr. William R. Nicholson became rector of St. Paul's Church, and the Rev. George S. Converse of St. James's.

These were years full of life, a life which, if it sometimes became restless and controversial, flowed for the most part in a steady stream of zealous and ever-widening work. The traditions which had bound the church almost exclusively to the rich and cultivated were cast aside. It had accepted its mission to all classes and conditions of men. The number of communicants increased. In 1847 there were about two thousand in the churches of what then was Boston, and men whom the city knew and felt and honored were preaching in the Episcopal pulpits.

With the year 1860 begins the latest period of our history. A new Boston was growing up on the Back Bay; the country was just entering on the great struggle with rebellion and slavery; and the fixed lines of theological thought were being largely broken through. All of these changes were felt in the fortunes of the Episcopal Church in Boston. On March 17, 1860, a meeting of those who were desirous of forming a new Episcopal church, west of the Public Garden, was held at the residence of Mr. William R. Lawrence, 98 Beacon Street. The result of this meeting, and the others to which it led, was the organization of Emmanuel Church, and the erection of its house of worship in Newbury Street, which was consecrated April 24, 1862. The parish held its services, before its church building was finished, in the Mechanics' Hall, at the corner of Bedford and Chauncy streets. Of this parish the first rector was the Rev. Dr. Frederick D. Huntington, who had long been honorably known in Boston, first as the minister of the South Congregational Church, in the Unitarian denomination, and afterward as the Plummer Professor of Christian Morals and Preacher to the University at Cambridge. It was in view of his leaving his Unitarian associations, and seeking orders in the Episcopal Church, and in expectation of his becoming its rector, that the parish of Emmanuel Church was organized. Dr. Huntington was ordained Deacon in Trinity Church, on Wednesday Sept. 12, 1860, Bishop Burgess, of Maine, preaching the sermon. On the next Sunday he took charge of his new congregation, and his ministry from that time until he was made Bishop of the diocese of Central New York, in 1869, was one of the most powerful influences which the Episcopal Church has ever exercised in Boston. Under his care Emmanuel Church became at once a strong parish, and soon put forth its strength in missionary work. It founded in 1863 a mission chapel in the ninth ward, from which came by and by the Chapel of the Good Shepherd, which now, with its pleasant building in Cortes Street, is an independent and useful parish church.

In 1860 St. Matthew's Church in South Boston, which had for twenty-two years enjoyed the wise and gracious ministry of the Rev. Dr. Joseph H. Clinch, was left without a rector by his resignation; and in 1861 the Rev. Dr. J. I. T. Coolidge was chosen to supply his place. Dr. Coolidge, like Dr. Huntington, had been a Unitarian minister, and had only a short time before received ordination in the Episcopal Church.

In 1861 the war broke out, and for the next four years the country was in the struggle with Rebellion. It is good to find that from the Bishop's chair there came no hesitating utterances of loyalty. In his Convention address in 1861 Bishop Eastburn denounces the "nefarious rebellion." In 1862 he congratulates the Convention on the "success with which thus far a gracious Providence has crowned the armies of the Union in their conflict with the perpetrators of rebellion." In 1863 he rejoices over the loyal utterances of the late General Convention, and particularly over the pastoral letter of the bishops: "A masterly document it is, representing this stupendous insurrection as a criminal violation of God's law, and strengthening its positions by reference not only to the Bible, but to the pungent old homily of our church against rebellion." In 1864 his Convention address bespeaks sympathy for "the wounded thousands among our soldiers and among the legions of our misguided enemies;" and at last, in 1865, he rejoices over the sight of "a most wicked rebellion at last defeated, its military power broken, and the dawn appearing of what we trust will ere long be a bright day of Union restored, of the renewal of the arts of peace, and of the blotting out of human bondage from every portion of the national territory." Such words are full of the positiveness which belonged to Bishop Eastburn's character, and which made him for so many years a powerful element in the diocese over which he presided and in the city where he lived. He held to his convictions with most unquestioning faithfulness, and strove with all his might to impress them on his congregation and on the church. His long ministry at Trinity Church will always be remembered; and when he resigned his rectorship in 1868 he carried with him the love of many and the respect of all. He was assisted at Trinity Church by several men who have been among the most eminent clergymen of the Episcopal Church. The Rev. John L. Watson, the Rev. Dr. Thomas M. Clark, now Bishop of the Diocese of Rhode Island, the Rev. Dr. John Cotton Smith, the Rev. Dr. Alexander G. Mercer, and the Rev. Dr. Henry C. Potter were successively associated with Bishop Eastburn as assistant ministers on the Greene foundation. After the bishop's resignation of the rectorship of Trinity Church, the Rev. Phillips Brooks became its minister in 1869.

Various missionary enterprises and efforts for the extension of the church occurred during the war, and in the years immediately following its close. In 1861 St. James's Church, Roxbury, established a mission chapel on Tremont Street, which, under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Converse, became a few years later an independent parish, named St. John's. In 1877 St. James's Church, now under the ministry of the Rev. Percy Browne, again manifested its energetic life by the establishment of another mission chapel, in Cottage Street in Dorchester, which is called St. Anne's Chapel. In 1867 St. Mary's Church in Dorchester began a mission in Milton Lower Mills, which has grown into a distinct parish, bearing the name of All Saints'. In 1875, after Dr. Vinton had succeeded Dr. Huntington as rec-

tor of Emmanuel Church, his assistant, the Rev. B. B. Killikelly founded a mission at the West End of Boston, which, bearing the name of the Free Chapel of the Evangelists, is now under the care of Trinity Church. In 1875 a mission at City Point was organized by the Rev. John Wright, rector of St. Matthew's Church. In 1873 a new mission grew up in the part of South Boston called Washington Village, which is known as Grace Chapel, under the charge of the Board of City Missions.

All these are signs of life and energy. Only once has a parish ceased to be. In 1862 the Rev. Dr. Charles Mason, rector of Grace Church, died. He has left a record of the greatest purity of life and faithfulness in work. After his death the parish of Grace Church became so feeble that at last its life departed. Its final report is made in 1865, when it records that the building in Temple Street had been sold to the Methodist Episcopal Society of North Russell Street. Grace Church had been in existence almost forty years.

These last years also have seen great changes in the personal leadership of the parishes and of the church. Bishop Eastburn died Sept. 12, 1872, after an episcopate of thirty years; and his successor, the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Henry Paddock, was consecrated in Grace Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., on Sept. 17, 1873. After Dr. Randall was made bishop of Colorado in 1865, the Rev. Pelham Williams became rector of the Church of the Messiah, and he was succeeded in 1877 by the Rev. Henry F. Allen. In 1877 Dr. Vinton gave up the rectorship of Emmanuel Church, and in 1878 the Rev. Leighton Parks became his successor. The Rev. Henry Burroughs became the rector of the venerable Christ Church in 1868, and the Rev. William Wilberforce Newton succeeded the Rev. Treadwell Walden as rector of St. Paul's Church in 1877.

Very gradually, and by imperceptible degrees, the parishes of Boston have changed their character during this hundred years which we have been surveying. Their churches have ceased to be mere places of worship for the little groups which had combined to build them, preserving carefully the chartered privileges of their parishioners. They have aspired to become religious homes for the community, and centres of religious work for the help of all kinds of suffering and need. Many of the churches are free, opening their pews without discrimination to all who choose to come. Those which are not technically free are eager to welcome the people. In places which the influence of the parish churches cannot reach, local chapels have been freely built. It would be interesting to trace the causes which have both drawn and driven the churches of all denominations to this effort after larger fellowship with the people. In the case of the Episcopal Church it is specially significant, as indicating that she is no longer a stranger in the land.

Besides the parish life of the Episcopal Church in Boston, and the institutions which have grown up under distinctively parochial control, the general educational and charitable institutions of the church should not be left

unmentioned. For many years the project of establishing a Divinity School of the Protestant Episcopal Church at Boston, or somewhere in its immediate neighborhood, had been from time to time recurring. Once or twice small beginnings had been made, but they had never come to any permanent result. In 1867 a very generous gift of Mr. Benjamin Tyler Reed secured what had so long been wanted; and the Episcopal Divinity School of Cambridge was founded on a strong basis which insures its perpetuity. Since that time other liberal gifts have increased its equipment, and it is now one of the best provided theological schools in the country. Though not properly a part of Harvard University, it shares many of its privileges and draws many advantages from its neighborhood.

The Church Home for Orphans and Destitute Children, which is now situated at South Boston, was founded in 1855, by the Rev. Charles Mason, who was then rector of Grace Church. St. Luke's Home for Convalescents, which has its house in the Highlands, was established originally as a parish charity of the Church of the Messiah, during the ministry of the Rev. Dr. Pelham Williams, but it is now an institution of the church at large, and its affairs are administered by a board, of which the bishop is the head.

The great fire of Nov. 9 and 10, 1872, destroyed two of the Episcopal churches of Boston, — Trinity Church in Summer Street, and St. Stephen's Chapel in Purchase Street. St. Stephen's has not yet been rebuilt. Trinity had already begun the preparations for a new church before the fire; and the new buildings[1] on Huntington Avenue were consecrated on Friday, Feb. 9, 1877, by Bishop Paddock, the consecration sermon being preached by the Rev. Dr. Vinton, then rector of Emmanuel Church. Between the time of the fire and the consecration of the new church the services of Trinity Church were held in the Hall of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boylston Street.

These are the principal events which have marked the history of the Episcopal Church in Boston during this last period of the century. There are within the present city limits twenty-two churches and chapels, with five thousand six hundred and seventy-five communicants, and four thousand two hundred and forty-nine scholars in their Sunday-schools.

And these last twenty years have been full of life and movement in theological thought. The Tractarian revival of 1845 has passed into its more distinctively ritualistic stage; and the broader theology, which also had its masters in England, in such men as Dr. Arnold and the Rev. Frederick D. Maurice, has likewise had its clear and powerful effect upon the Episcopal Church in Boston. A lofty belief in man's spiritual possibilities, a large hope for man's eternal destinies, a desire for the careful and critical study of the Bible, and an earnest insistence upon the com-

[1] [A view of the new Trinity is given in the chapter on "Architecture in Boston," in Vol. IV. — Ed.].

prehensive character of the Church of Christ, — these are the characteristics of much of the most zealous pulpit teaching and parish life of these later days.

The Episcopalian of a century ago, whatever might be his surprise at the outward progress which his church has made in Boston, would be still more surprised, if he should come among us now, at the variety in ways of worship, the freedom in the search for truth, and the earnestness of the desire to reach all men and help them, which are the hope and promise for the future of the Episcopal Church in Boston.

Phillips Brooks

CHAPTER XI.

THE UNITARIANS IN BOSTON.

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THE earliest intimation of dissent in Boston from the normal Calvinistic creed of the Congregational churches is in connection with the settlement of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, as pastor of the West Church, in 1747. He was regarded as heretical at that time; in the council that ordained him there was no Boston minister, and he never became a member of the Boston Association of Ministers. As a man of genius, energy, and influence, he had hardly his equal among the clergy. He was among the pioneers of the American Revolution, and numbered among his most intimate friends those of his fellow-townsmen who afterward bore the most active part in the conflict with Great Britain. The son of a missionary to the Indians, he distinguished himself by a controversy on the disposal of the funds of the English Society for Propagating the Gospel, which he contended had been bestowed for the evangelization of the Indians and the exigencies of poor colonists, and, as he maintained, wrongfully perverted to the support of Episcopal churches in old and established communities. Among the antagonists thus brought into the field was no less a personage than Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Mayhew made open profession of his departure from the received standard of Orthodoxy both in the pulpit and from the press, and of course must have had a congregation largely, if not fully, in sympathy with his avowed religious belief. He died in 1766.[1]

As we have few landmarks of religious history in the ensuing season of political and military agitation, and as he was the only Boston Unitarian minister who did not survive the War of Independence, we will assume A.D. 1780 as the starting point for our historical outline, and will thus attempt to give record to the fortunes of Unitarianism for a century.

In 1780 nearly all the Congregational pulpits in and around Boston were filled by Unitarians.[2] This condition of things may be accounted for on

[1] [See Dr. McKenzie's chapter in Vol. II., where will be found a likeness of Mayhew.—ED.]

[2] They were commonly called Arminians at the above-named date. The distinctive name of Unitarian did not come into general use till early in the present century, though the specific dogma designated by that name had long been openly preached and professed.

several grounds. The Whitefieldian movement,[1] with its extravagance, fanaticism, and intolerance, had been followed by a strong reaction, especially among persons of education and refinement. Equally had the more passive, yet more rigid, type of Orthodoxy encountered a growing repugnancy wherever it was not received with implicit and unquestioning faith. Nor had the Revolutionary War and the new political interests and relations been void of influence on religious belief and profession. The same spirit that had spurned civil rule from abroad was not slow to detect or suspect the coercive element in creeds and confessions of faith. A more liberal political *régime*, if not logically, yet not unnaturally, postulated a broader theological platform. Then, too, among the English Unitarians were some of the most prominent and active friends of the colonies during their conflict with the mother country. Meanwhile, in the disturbed condition of secular affairs, those who would else have been the guardians of reputed Orthodoxy had relaxed their vigilance. The clergy of the Revolution, to whom the country owes eternal gratitude, did not, as has sometimes been alleged, preach politics instead of religion; but in their strenuous endeavor to hallow patriotism by sermon, prayer, psalm, and hymn, those of them who held the traditional faith of their fathers laid less emphatic stress upon it, and were more tolerant of departure from it, than they would have been at an earlier or a later period.

Under these conditions and influences had grown up a generation of clergy and of laymen, who had not so much drifted from the old moorings as forsaken them from deliberate conviction, and on what seemed to them sufficient reason. I can find no proof that concealment — sometimes charged upon the clergy of that day — was practised by them. The question as to their theological belief can be answered in every instance by extracts from their printed sermons, and by direct testimony as to their undoubted utterances. The true state of the case is that their opinions were not generally regarded as heretical. They professed to agree with Samuel Clarke and his numerous sympathizers in the English Church, and were not without some apparent countenance in the writings of such Dissenters as Watts and Doddridge. Indeed, they seem to have regarded themselves, in what was termed their "high Arianism," as differing in hardly more than an infinitesimal degree from their Trinitarian brethren, forgetting that between the Infinite Being and the greatest of the finite — which they deemed Christ to be — the distance is immeasurable. When there ensued a revival of the earlier theology, in the new-born zeal and fervor it seemed impossible that such lax doctrinal views could ever have been tolerated alongside of the Trinitarian faith, and hence the theory that they must have been held in secret. Yet if in secret, how could the fact be well known and thoroughly substantiated at the present day?

The liberal clergy of that period seem to have had little zeal, and the spirit of propagandism, whether as to their own belief or as to the common

[1] [See Vol. II., ch. vi. — Ed.]

Christianity, was wholly wanting. But they were devout men, of pure and exemplary lives, and diligent in their parochial and social duties. Christian ethics formed the chief staple of their preaching, but not without the constant and loving recognition of Jesus Christ as an infallible Teacher and an all-sufficient Saviour. It may be doubted whether there existed at that time any reasonable ground on which a sharp dividing line could have been drawn through the clergy of Boston and its vicinity. There were few, if any, whose Orthodoxy would half a century later have been recognized as sound, while the liberal clergy were much more nearly in sympathy with moderate Calvinists than with Unitarians of the Priestley school.

As regards the religious condition of these churches it would be equally difficult and unfair to apply the tests of our time. There was very little of religious activity within the several parishes. There were few or no meetings for social devotion or mutual instruction among the laity, nor was there any arrangement or accommodation for other than the public services. "Night meetings," as they were called, were held in general disesteem as of doubtful moral tendency; and it is not many years since the death of a clergyman of eminent piety, and not given to boasting, who to the very last deemed it a title to commendation that he had never in his life been at a "night meeting." The Sunday-school had not begun to be, and the only approach to it was an annual or semi-annual "catechising,"—an occasion on which, the children of the parish being gathered in front of the pulpit, the minister asked questions from the catechism in use which were answered by the boldest or brightest of the flock, and closed the service by a short address and a prayer. Thus, to the two Sunday services there was very little of week-day supplement. But both those services were attended with unfailing regularity by all of every age who had not good reason for absence; and the oldest Boston clergyman now living, who was pastor of a congregation second to none in wealth and fashion, says that during the greater part of his ministry occasional sermons, and those which were regarded as of superior interest, were uniformly preached in the afternoon, as the number of persons necessarily absent was smaller than in the morning. There were also preparatory-lectures (so-called),—religious services with sermons,—on some afternoon of the week preceding the celebration of the Lord's Supper. These were well attended, but for the most part by women. The Thursday (morning) lecture, at the First Church, still retained some vestiges of its old importance,[1] as may be seen in the fact that among the printed sermons of the time, on subjects which most commanded the public attention, a great number were first delivered at that lecture.

The number of communicants in those churches was not small, though it included but few young persons. The rite of infant baptism was generally observed, parents who were not communicants claiming this privilege for their children in some of the churches under what was called, by an unintended yet virtual irony, the "half-way covenant,"[2] while in others no

[1] [See Vol. I. p. 515, and II. p. 190.—Ed.] [2] [See Vol. I. p. 194.—Ed.]

profession or obligation of this kind was required. The form of admission to the full communion of the church was assent to a (so-called) covenant, embracing an avowal of Christian belief and a promise to live in accordance with such belief. The several forms of covenant — identical in their import — were most of them preserved intact from the foundation of the respective churches, and contained no specification of dogmas; because, when they were first used, there was no suspicion or anticipation of dissent from traditional Orthodoxy.

As to the more private manifestation of religious faith and feeling, there was a much more distinct recognition of things sacred than now exists in general society. Daily family worship was a prevalent custom. There were few families in which there was not for the younger members a stated time on Sunday afternoon or evening for religious reading, recitation, or instruction. Sunday was observed, not indeed with Puritanical severity, but by refraining from secular labor and business, from needless travelling, and from public and social recreations; while there were not a few who themselves practised Sunday austerities and abstinences which they did not seek to impose upon others. At the same time, the moral standard among the members of these Boston congregations was at least as high as it has ever been in any community. Rigid honesty and incorrupt integrity characterized the merchants and office-holders. Defalcation and embezzlement were almost unknown; fraudulent bankruptcy was hardly dreamed of; and a breach of contract exposed the offender to open shame. As regards intemperance, there was probably less of hard drinking in the good society of Boston than in the same condition of life anywhere else; most of the leading men in Church and State are known to have been strictly sober and self-restraining in their habits; and it was among the ministers and laymen of the Unitarian churches in and about Boston that the earliest temperance society in the world had its origin, its principal officers, and its most efficient members.

As to all local charities Boston, though very far behind its present position, was a century ago in advance of its time. There was little enterprise, indeed, in seeking objects or inventing modes of charitable relief; but there was never wanting a general readiness to meet all known cases of poverty and suffering with prompt succor and faithful care.

In fine, it is but just to say, that, while Boston showed a wider departure from conventional orthodoxy of belief than any other community or vicinage in the United States, it was at least on a level with the best in the observances, sanctities, and moralities of the Christian life.

The precise extent of Unitarianism in the Congregational churches of Boston it is very difficult to determine, on account of the slight stress laid on differences that came in subsequent generations to be considered as of vital importance. Probably the Old South Church consisted for the most part of Trinitarians and moderate Calvinists, though there is reason to believe that their minister, Dr. Eckley, denied the supreme deity of

Christ. On the other hand, the Brattle-Square Church — foremost among the Boston churches in point of liberal views and professions — had for its minister, in 1780, Dr. Colman, undoubtedly a Trinitarian; and his immediate successor, Dr. Thacher, was always reckoned among the Calvinistic clergy. There remains no token to show that Mr. Wight, of the Hollis-Street Church, may not have been a Calvinist; yet there is ample reason to believe that his congregation was of the more liberal type. There was a small Presbyterian church in Long Lane, afterward Federal Street, consisting originally for the most part of persons of Scottish birth or parentage, who were extreme Calvinists;[1] but in 1787 the Presbyterian had been exchanged for the Congregational form of church government, and a Unitarian minister was then inducted into the pastoral office.

In the towns that have now become a part of Boston, it is believed that the church in Charlestown was the only one which, by a majority, adhered to the earlier faith of New England; and even here, in 1788, a Unitarian minister was the agent in securing for the church the services of that redoubtable champion of Orthodoxy, Rev. Dr. Morse, and preached his ordination sermon. Rev. Dr. Gordon, the historian, well known to have been a Calvinist, was pastor of the church at Jamaica Plain in 1780; but his society, while admiring him for his patriotic devotion to his adopted country, and loving him for his rare excellence, had but little sympathy with him in his theological opinions.

The First Church had for its senior pastor in 1780 Rev. Charles Chauncy, D.D., a descendant of the second President of Harvard College, a man of eminent ability and learning, and holding by a truly venerable character no less than by years the foremost place among his brethren.[2] He was conspicuous as the earnest antagonist of the dogma of eternal punishment, which, however it may have been called in question by individual thinkers, was generally regarded as an essential doctrine of the Gospel. With him was associated Rev. John Clarke, D.D., who possessed graces of style and an æsthetic culture to which his distinguished senior could lay but slender claim, and who while still in the meridian of life, though with a fully established reputation as a preacher and a minister, was struck down in his pulpit by a fatal attack of apoplexy.

In the Second Church the pulpit of the Mathers was occupied by Rev. John Lathrop, D.D.,[3] who, without remarkable powers, filled a singularly large place in the community, rendered important service as an officer or a leading member of numerous public institutions, was trusted, honored, and beloved as a man of faultless excellence, and after a ministry of half a century left a name second to none in the reverence of his own and the memory of succeeding generations.

Rev. John Eliot, D.D., was at that time pastor of the New North Church. He was well known in connection with historical researches and labors, and

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 225.—Ed.] [2] [A portrait of Dr. Chauncy is given in ch. vi. of Vol. II.—Ed.]
[3] [His portrait is given in Drake's *Boston*, p. 311. — Ed.]

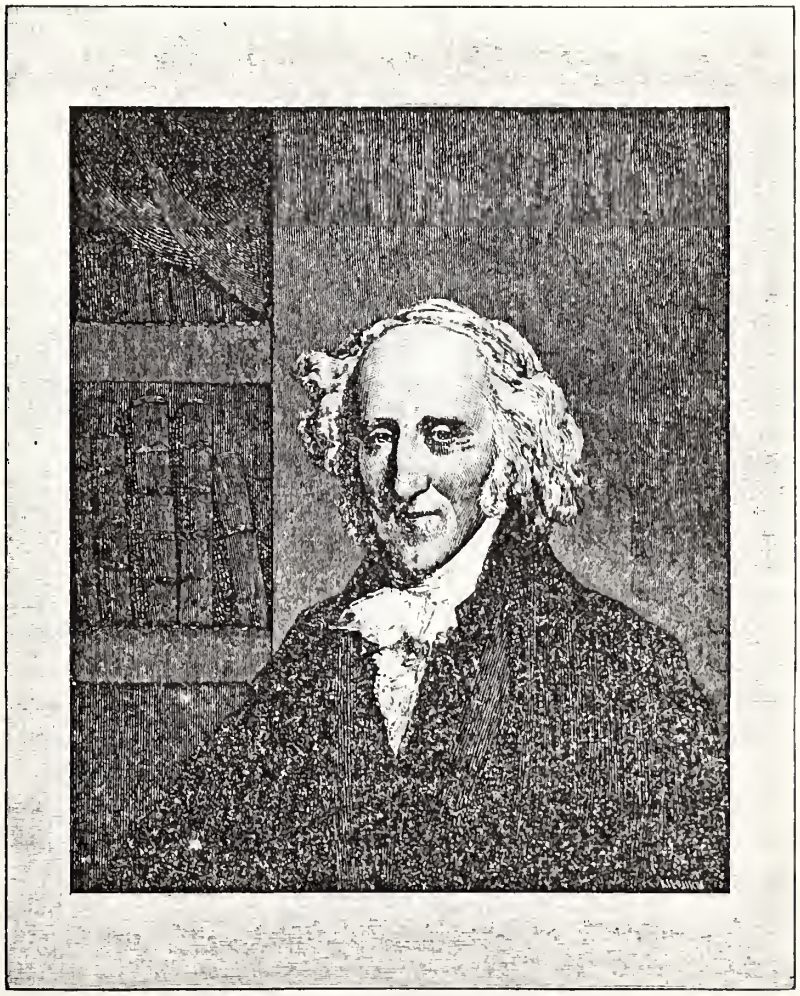
at the same time had in his special calling a reputation for superior attainments as a scholar and ability as a writer, while his social gifts and the qualities of his character made his presence always welcome, whether in literary circles or in the homes of his parishioners.

The New South Church, which had been vacant from 1775, was filled in 1782 by the ordination of Rev. Oliver Everett, who, after a brief ministry, was succeeded by Rev. Mr. — afterward President — Kirkland.

In the West Church Dr. Mayhew had been succeeded by Rev. Simeon Howard, D.D., of whom the record runs that "his parishioners loved him as a brother and honored him as a father; his brethren in the ministry always met him with a grateful and cordial welcome; and the community at large reverenced him for his simplicity, integrity, and benevolence." It seems to have been well known from the time of his ordination that he was a Unitarian; and it is a token of the change that had meanwhile come over the theology of the Boston churches, that, while it was usual for ministers to apply for admission into the Boston Association, which he had omitted to do on account of the heretical reputation of his church, in 1784 the Association took the initiative, and appointed a committee to confer with him as to membership of that body.

In 1782 began a series of proceedings which brought Unitarianism prominently before the public. King's Chapel, the oldest Episcopal church in New England, had been left without a pastor by the flight of its royalist rector at the time of the evacuation of Boston; and the Old South congregation had held their services there, pending the repairs of their own house of worship, which had been used as a riding-school by the British troops. When this arrangement was about to terminate, the wardens of King's Chapel invited Mr. (afterward Dr.) James Freeman to become their minister. On resuming their stated worship, the majority of the proprietors found themselves no longer in the state of religious belief which the liturgy presupposes. They resolved, therefore, so to alter the established form of prayer as to exclude the recognition of the Trinity and the supreme deity of Christ. In aid of this enterprise Mr. Freeman preached a series of doctrinal sermons, which emphatically designated his own position and that of his church. The society still desiring to retain its connection with the Episcopal Church, Mr. Freeman applied for ordination to Bishop Seabury, of Connecticut, and then to Bishop Provoost, of New York, — to the latter not without reasonable hope of success; for American Episcopacy was still so far inorganic as to admit into its administration what would now seem the grossest irregularities. On the failure of these applications recourse was had to the doctrine of the Cambridge Platform, that the greater right of election, which resides in the members of the church, includes the lesser right of ordination. The validity of this ordination was assailed in the papers of the day; but it was warmly defended by Rev. Mr. (afterward Dr.) Belknap, who had just been installed as the first Congregational pastor of the church in Long Lane (Federal Street).

Dr. Belknap, not long afterward, performed a very important service for the non-Trinitarian churches in publishing a collection of psalms and hymns, which early came into general use, and has been superseded only within the memory of many now living. This volume is of interest as an index of the religious belief and feeling of the churches that welcomed its advent. It is full of tenderly devout and almost adoring reverence for



REV. JAMES FREEMAN, D.D.[1]

Christ, and recognizes his exalted rank and his sacrificial death, but omits or alters such portions of the hymns selected as confer on him the titles exclusively appropriate to God, and such as imply a plurality of divine persons. In the preparation and introduction of such a book as this we

[1] [This cut follows a portrait by Gilbert Stuart, belonging to Mrs. W. E. Prince, of Newport, to whom the editor is indebted for permission to copy it. Dr. Freeman was born in 1759, and died in 1835. He was the grandfather of the Rev. James Freeman Clarke, D.D. — Ed.]

have a clear refutation of the old charge of concealment; for no form of profession could be more public than the exclusion of wonted themes of sacred song from the stated services of the church.

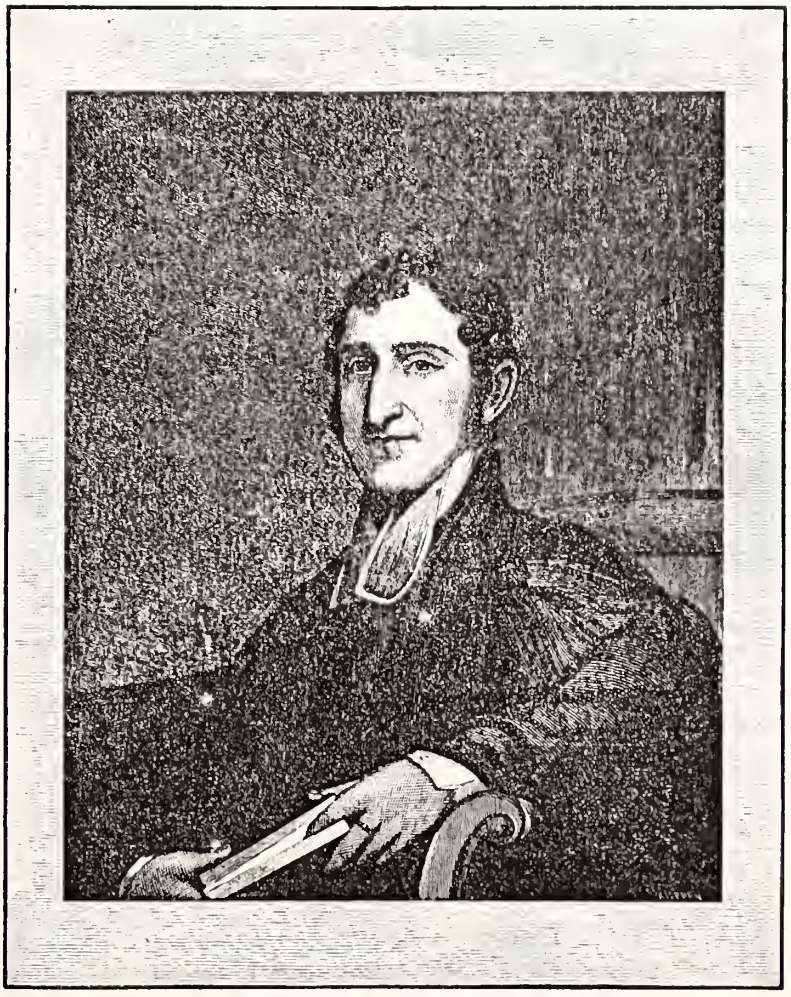
During the last two decades of the last century, ecclesiastical quiet in the Congregational churches seems to have been wholly undisturbed. The differences of opinion were not ignored, but condoned. Ministers of both parties exchanged pulpits freely, sat together on church councils, and united in ordination and other public services. The first tokens, or rather premonitions, of a rupture occurred in 1808, in a controversy occasioned by the choice of Rev. Henry Ware, Sr., a well-known Unitarian, as Hollis Professor of Divinity at Harvard College. There can be but little doubt that this event either induced or hastened the foundation of the Andover Theological Seminary, and the establishment of the Park-Street Church, — the former destined to furnish earnest antagonists of Boston Unitarianism; the latter specially designed to check its ascendancy and to counteract its influence.

In 1811 we find the first symptoms of objection to the wonted system of pulpit exchanges, which was not, however, generally discontinued till 1819. In 1815 appeared in Boston, as was supposed at the instance of Dr. Morse, a reprint of an English pamphlet comprising a history of American Unitarianism, from documents and information furnished by Dr. Freeman and others, and published by Rev. Mr. Belsham. This was designed as a note of alarm, and was reviewed in the *Panoplist*, with the purpose of identifying the Unitarianism of Boston with that of Belsham, Priestley, and other English divines of the same extreme type. This identity was denied by the Rev. William E. Channing in a letter addressed to the Rev. Samuel C. Thacher, which led to a sharp controversy between Mr. Channing and the Rev. Dr. Worcester, of Salem. Mr. Channing was undoubtedly in the right as to the main intent of his first pamphlet; for, with possibly a single exception, the liberal clergy of Boston had as little sympathy as their Orthodox neighbors with the humanitarianism and materialism of their English brethren. But from this time the line between the two parties was distinctly drawn; and on both sides the controversy became vivid and earnest, and, though generally courteous, occasionally assumed a bitterness which may be ascribed to the time rather than to the combatants, for the best men of that day carried into their political contests an intensity of acrimony and of personal abuse, such as now finds tolerance only and hardly in the least reputable quarters.

Meanwhile, important changes had taken place in the Boston pulpit. Dr. Channing's power as a preacher had raised the Federal-Street Church to a commanding position and influence. He was first remarked chiefly for the unction and fervor of his sermons on the claims, duties, and prerogatives of the spiritual life, and was reluctantly drawn into controversy, which with him was a supposed necessity, — never a choice. While no man of his time wielded a keener pen, his polemic writings were but an interlude in a life spent for the most part on that higher plane on which good men of

all parties throw aside their arms, and with which his memory is now so intimately associated.

Mr. Buckminster, of the Brattle-Square Church, though decided and outspoken in his opinions, did not engage in controversy. He, if we may trust the recollections of those who were wont to hear him, was the Chrysostom of America. In countenance, voice, and gesture he had all the best



REV. JOSEPH S. BUCKMINSTER.[1]

gifts of an orator; and these were hallowed by profound religious feeling, and enriched by faultless rhetoric and a glowing imagination, which have not since been transcended, if equalled, in the Boston pulpit.

Buckminster was succeeded by Edward Everett, whose youthful, brilliant ministry gave promise of a not unequal fame, and whose subsequent career affords ample ground for regret that his first profession had not enjoyed in

[1] [This portrait follows a likeness by Stuart, owned by the late George W. Lyman, Esq. — Ed.]

after years the usufruct of the eloquence, learning, and ripened wisdom which have left their record in so many departments of literature and of public service. During his brief pastorate, — which lasted but little more than a year, — while he won high reputation as a preacher, he found time to write a defence of Christianity, in answer to an assault on the Christian religion and its records by George B. English. This is among the most able treatises on the Christian evidences which have appeared during the present century; and it has almost faded from the memory of man, simply because it was so close a hand-to-hand conflict that it could hardly survive, in the interest of the reading public, the book which it annihilated and tore in pieces, and of which the fragments remain like flies embedded in amber.

Everett was succeeded by the Rev. John G. Palfrey, D.D., whose ministry of nearly twenty years was characterized by ability — though on a different plane — by no means inferior to that of the men whose place he filled, and who until recently survived in feeble age, with mind undimmed, and in the full enjoyment of an undoubting Christian faith and a sight-like hope of immortality.

Among his coevals in the ministry we have space to name only Nathaniel L. Frothingham, D.D., a scholar, a poet of no mean gifts, and the master of a prose diction of rare and faultless elegance; Henry Ware, Jr., D.D., whose devotional fervor made his personal intercourse and his whole life a perpetual preaching of the gospel; Francis W. P. Greenwood, D.D., who has hardly been surpassed in the consecration of intensely vivid and lofty imaginative powers to the highest themes, and who made an invaluable contribution to the service of the sanctuary in the hymnal which held for many years deservedly the foremost place in the Unitarian churches; Alexander Young, D.D., a sound theologian, assiduous in the duties of his calling, and devoting his leisure to the fruitful study of literary antiquities and of American history; and Ezra S. Gannett, D.D., whose body, early crippled by paralysis, sustained for many years an unsurpassed amount of exhausting professional labor, and whose eloquent discourse, beneficent activity, and burning zeal, equally in behalf of his own views of truth and of every cause of human well-being, were as fresh and vigorous at three-score and ten as in the flush of youth.

Meanwhile, a change, which yet was hardly a change, had taken place in the creed of these younger Unitarians. Dr. Channing was an Arian (so-called), certainly during his active ministry, probably through life; so was Dr. Francis Parkman. But the pre-existence of Christ ceased to be generally maintained. Yet the Boston clergy of that day were not humanitarians in the common acceptation of that word. Christ held in their reverence a place far above humanity. He was a being so inspired and empowered by God, that the highest titles and attributes, not essentially divine, were his of right. He was sinless, infallible, ever present with his Church, the dispenser of all spiritual gifts, the judge of men. In fine, he was the central object of religious trust, love, and aspiration; and this, not by virtue of aught appei-

taining to his humanity, but by the power, wisdom, and love of God, incarnated in him as in no other being in the universe.

Under this dispensation, after the lull of the Trinitarian controversy, for a decade or more the Liberal churches enjoyed rest, peace among themselves, growing esteem from their fellow-Christians, and all the tokens of an established and even increasing prosperity. During this period and the few preceding years the number of new Unitarian churches was larger, we think, than that of those built by any other denomination, and there was hardly one of the churches — old or new — that was not generously sustained and respectably well filled.

In 1825 was formed the American Unitarian Association, which has always had its headquarters and held its meetings in Boston. This Association has supported a publishing and a missionary agency, has been recognized in and out of the denomination as its special organization for propagandism, and now possesses permanent trust-funds amounting to about two hundred thousand dollars, and derives from the churches an annual income ranging from one fourth to half that amount.

In 1826 the Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, D.D., who had been for a quarter of a century minister of Chelsea, began his labors among the poor and the religiously destitute in Boston, and under his auspices a permanent "ministry at large" was established. There had been, indeed, previously much missionary labor among the poorer classes, and the Boston Sunday-schools of all denominations were from the first to a very large extent missionary schools; but it is believed that the enterprise of Dr. Tuckerman was the earliest organized effort in that direction. Its success and its permanent establishment as an institution were due in great measure to its founder's strenuous perseverance, his self-sacrifice, his apostolic fervor of spirit, and the power of his influence. The association that has this work in charge is termed the Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, and consists of delegates from all the Unitarian churches in what used to be Boston, — Roxbury and Charlestown retaining the methods of charitable work in use at the time of their annexation. The Fraternity has generally supported from three to five missionaries, and assumes the charge of three chapels, besides rendering important aid in other ways to the religious instruction of the poor.

Early in the fourth decade of the century there arose in the Unitarian churches in and around Boston an earnest discussion growing out of the type of philosophy which bore the somewhat vague name of Transcendentalism. Ralph Waldo Emerson, it was understood, resigned his pastorate, not for lack of faith or reverence, but because the forms of the Church were inadequate to express his intuitions of spiritual truth. The Rev. George Ripley, who remained several years longer in the ministry, held the foremost place as the expounder and champion of the new theology, which may, perhaps, best be characterized as hyper-spiritualism; and Professor Andrews Norton was regarded as its chief antagonist.[1] The controversy was fully as much philosophi-

[1] [See Mr. Ripley's kind characterization of Professor Norton in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

cal as religious; and, so far as it found its way into the churches, it related less to the doctrines of the New Testament than to the proof of their validity. It may be that both parties were equally in the wrong, — the one in laying on external evidence a greater stress than in the nature of the case it can bear; the other, in ignoring all testimony to spiritual truth except that of individual consciousness, and thus by inevitable implication rendering objective truth inconceivable. The peculiar type of speculation represented in these movements seemed to have a very brief currency; yet it had a large and permanent influence in and beyond the denomination in which it first came to light, in both broadening and deepening the philosophy of religion, and in diffusing more just views of the relative importance, on the one hand, of fundamental truths, and on the other of the facts that authenticate them, and the dogmas that are their more or less approximate expression.

In 1841 Theodore Parker, in an ordination sermon at South Boston, started a controversy of deeper significance. He expressly denied the authenticity of all that is supernatural in the Gospel narrative; while he represented Jesus Christ as pre-eminently the Providential man, the greatest of all teachers of spiritual and ethical doctrine and duty, and maintained the literal truth of the text which he had taken, — "My words shall not pass away." His sermon was received at the outset with general alarm and disapproval. He was asked to withdraw from the Association of Ministers to which he belonged, and, though he declined to do this, his relations of clerical intercourse and pulpit exchange were thenceforward confined to very few of its members. His following, however, rapidly increased. He soon became minister of a new congregation, which, including transient hearers, was probably the largest in Boston; and he was recognized by those who had no sympathy with his negations as a man of fervent piety, of a thoroughly upright purpose, and of self-sacrificing philanthropy. His opinions have now undoubtedly not a few adherents among both the clergy and the laity, and are represented — in some cases, it may be, exaggerated — in what may be termed the "left wing" of the denomination in Boston and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, there has been on the part of the "right wing" a growing affinity to the more liberal of the Trinitarian Congregationalists, in the tendency to regard Christ's humanity as divine in a sense supreme and sole; so that the probably spurious reading of the long-disputed passage in St. Paul's Epistle to Timothy, "God manifest in the flesh," would be adopted equally on either side as the most appropriate designation of Christ's true place in the faith of his Church and in the spiritual universe.

Of the Unitarian clergymen now living we, of course, cannot speak; and of their coevals who have passed away, while there are, as we believe, none of whom we might not make honorable mention, our limits will permit us to name but two, both of whom were distinguished equally by the conspicuous positions which they filled, and by the large place which they held in the

confidence, respect, and affection of the whole community. Ephraim Peabody, D.D., for ten years minister of King's Chapel, while able and intensely impressive as a preacher, was pre-eminently "a man of the beatitudes;" and the lapse of a quarter of a century since his death cannot have made his memory dim or less precious in the minds of the many who hardly have known, or expect to know in this world, his like. George Putnam, D.D., for nearly fifty years pastor of the First Church in Roxbury, had few equals in his profession in vigor of intellect, in directness and force of logical statement and rhetorical appeal, and in the command of an audience of the highest culture and receptivity. At the same time, those who knew him best saw in him a reserved power which, if fully put forth, would have insured for him, in any profession or department, a far-diffused and long-enduring fame.

The Unitarian churches in Boston, though numerous, and several of them in a very prosperous condition, occupy at the present time a much less prominent place than they held a century ago. They then embraced the larger part of the men eminent for ability, worth, and beneficence, and most of the principal merchants, lawyers, and physicians. Of these they have now their fair proportion, probably not more. Their growth has undoubtedly been checked, and their integrity impaired, by the successive controversies to which reference has been made, and also by the absence of an authoritative standard of doctrine, and the wide divergence of opinion among the leading ministers and members. Whether such a standard is in itself desirable, or whether greater unanimity of belief is attainable without a sacrifice of independent thought, it is not the province of history to determine or consider.

The Unitarian denomination has been ably represented in the periodical literature of Boston from the early years of the present century. *The Monthly Anthology*, a literary and theological magazine, was begun in 1804, and had among its contributors Buckminster, Norton, and almost all the younger scholars and divines of Boston and Cambridge. This, after eight years of brilliant reputation, was succeeded for two years by the *General Repository and Review*, under similar auspices, but with a wider scope. In 1813 the Rev. Noah Worcester began the editorship of the *Christian Disciple*, which in 1824 was virtually merged in the *Christian Examiner*. This last had for its editors at different times Doctors Palfrey, Walker, Greenwood, Lamson, Gannett, Putnam, G. E. Ellis, Hedge, and Hale, and was for several years under the sole charge of the Rev. William Ware, better known as the author of *Zenobia* and *Probus*. For the forty-five years of its existence it was distinguished for its literary merit as well as for its learned and skilled discussion of theological subjects. Its place has been taken, and in part filled, by the *Unitarian Review*, which — more popular in character — contains many articles of large and permanent interest, and in which Dr. Ezra Abbot's monograph on the genuineness of the fourth Gospel — by far the most learned and thorough discussion of this subject which has

appeared on either side of the Atlantic — was first printed in successive numbers. Other monthlies have had a shorter life, some of them dying, not prematurely, though early; and some, well worthy of a longer existence, had the material means of support been afforded.

The principal newspaper, — the organ of the denomination, if, indeed, it has an organ, — the *Christian Register*, has reached its sixtieth year, and has had at various times the editorial services of men of distinguished reputation.

From the Boston press have been issued not a few specifically Unitarian works in exposition or defence of the doctrines of the denomination, as well as very many volumes of sermons and essays by its leading clergymen. It is enough to say of these that they have, in general, equally indicated and cherished a high order of literary taste, attainment, and culture.

UNITARIAN CHURCHES IN BOSTON, AND THEIR MINISTERS.

The ministers to whose names † is affixed are not known to have been Unitarians; those to whose names ‡ is affixed are known not to have been Unitarians. The first date annexed to the names of the ministers is that of ordination or installation; the second that of dismissal or death. The date joined to the designation of the church is that of its foundation.

First Church, 1630.

Charles Chauncy	1727—1787
John Clarke	1778—1798
William Emerson	1799—1811
John L. Abbot	1813—1814
Nathaniel L. Frothingham	1815—1850
Rufus Ellis	1853—

Second Church,[1] 1650.

John Lathrop	1768—1816
Henry Ware, Jr.	1817—1830
Ralph W. Emerson	1829—1832
Chandler Robbins	1833—1875
Robert Laird Collier	1876—1878
Edward A. Horton	1880—

King's Chapel, 1689.

James Freeman	1782—1835
Samuel Cary	1809—1815
Francis W. P. Greenwood	1824—1843
Ephraim Peabody	1846—1856
Henry W. Foote	1861—

Church in Brattle Square, 1699.

Samuel Cooper ‡	1746—1783
Peter Thacher ‡	1705—1802
Joseph S. Buckminster	1805—1812
Edward Everett	1814—1815
John G. Palfrey	1818—1830
Samuel K. Lothrop	1834–1876[2]

New North Church, 1714.

John Eliot	1779—1813
Francis Parkman	1813—1849
Amos Smith	1842—1848
Joshua Young	1849—1852
Arthur B. Fuller	1853—1858
Robert C. Waterston[3]	1859—1861
William R. Alger	1863[4]—

New South Church, 1719.

Moses Everett	1782—1792
John T. Kirkland	1794—1810
Samuel C. Thacher	1811—1818
Francis W. P. Greenwood	1818—1821
Alexander Young	1825—1851
Orville Dewey	1858—1861
William P. Tilden	1862 [5]—

Federal-Street Church, 1727.

Jeremy Belknap	1787—1798
John S. Popkin †	1799—1802
Wm. E. Channing	1803—1842
Ezra S. Gannett	1824—1871
John F. W. Ware	1872—

Hollis-Street Church, 1732.

Ebenezer Wight †	1778—1788
Samuel West	1789—1808
Horace Holley	1809—1818
John Pierpont	1819—1845
David Fosdick	1846—1847
Thomas S. King	1848—1860
George L. Chaney	1862—1877
Henry B Carpenter	1879—

[1] In 1854 this church took possession of the church edifice belonging to the Church of the Saviour, which was merged in the Second Church.

[2] Religious services discontinued in 1876.

[3] Not installed.

[4] At this time the New North united with the Bulfinch-Street Church, retaining its name.

[5] In 1866 this church was merged in the New South Free Church, of which Mr. Tilden became and remains pastor.

West Church, 1737.

Jonathan Mayhew	1747—1766
Simeon Howard	1767—1804
Charles Lowell	1806—1861
Cyrus A. Bartol	1837—

Bulfinch-Street Church,[1] 1822.

Paul Dean	1823—1840
Frederic T Gray	1839—1853
William R. Alger[2]	1855—

Twelfth Congregational Church, 1825.

Samuel Barrett	1825—1861
Joseph Lovering	1860–1861[3]

Thirteenth Congregational Church, 1825.

George Ripley	1826—1841
Jas. I. T. Coolidge	1842–1858[4]

South Congregational Church, 1827.

Mellish I. Motte	1828—1842
Frederic D. Huntington	1842—1855
Edward E. Hale	1856—

Church of the Disciples, 1841.[5]

James F. Clarke	1841—

Church of the Saviour,[6] 1845.

Robert C. Waterston	1845—1852

Indiana-Street Congregational Church,[7] 1845.

Thomas B. Fox	1845—1855

Church of the Unity, 1857.

Geo. H. Hepworth	1858—1869
Martin K. Schermerhorn	1870—1874
Minot J. Savage	1875—

Church of the Redeemer, 1864.

Caleb D. Bradlee	1864—1872

Hawes-Place Church, 1819.

Zechariah Wood‡	1819—1822
Lemuel Capen[8]	1827—1839
Chas. C. Shackford	1841—1843
George W. Lippitt	1844—1851
Thomas Dawes	1854—1861
James T. Hewes	1862—1864
Frederic Hinckley	1865—1867
George A. Thayer	1869—1873
Herman Bisbee	1874—1879
John F. Dutton	1880—

Second Hawes Church, 1845.

Moses G. Thomas	1846—1848
Edmund Squire	1852–1853[9]
George A. Thayer	1873—

Church in Washington Village, 1857.

Edmund Squire	1857—1861
A. S Ryder	1861—1868
James Sallaway	1868—

Second Congregational Church in East Boston, 1845.

Leonard J. Livermore	1847—1851
Warren H. Cudworth	1852 —

First Church in Roxbury, 1630.

Eliphalet Porter	1782—1833
George Putnam	1830—1876
John G. Brooks	1875—

Mount Pleasant Church (Roxbury), 1846.

William R. Alger	1847—1854
Alfred P. Putnam	1855—1864
Charles J. Bowen	1865—1870
Carlos C. Carpenter	1870—1879
William H. Lyon[10]	1880—

First Church in West Roxbury, 1712.

Thomas Abbot†	1773—1783
John Bradford	1785—1825
John Flagg	1825—1831
George Whitney	1831—1836
Theodore Parker	1837—1846
Dexter Clapp	1848—1851
Edmund B. Willson	1852—1859
T. B. Forbush	1863—1868
Augustus M. Haskell	1870—

First Church in Jamaica Plain, 1770.

William Gordon‡	1772—1786
Thomas Gray	1793—1847
George Whitney	1836—1842
Joseph H. Allen	1843—1847
Grindall Reynolds	1848 1858
Jas. W. Thompson	1859—1881
Charles F. Dole	1876—

First Church in Dorchester, 1630.

Moses Everett	1774—1793
Thaddeus M. Harris	1793—1836
Nathaniel Hall	1835 - 1875
Samuel J. Barrows	1876—1881

Third Church in Dorchester, 1813.

Edward Richmond	1817—1842
Francis Cunningham	1834—1842
Richard Pike	1843—1863
Thos. J. Mumford	1864—1871
Henry G. Spaulding	1873—1877
George M. Bodge	1879—

Church in Harrison Square, 1848.

Francis C. Williams	1849—1850
Samuel Johnson	1850—1851
Stephen G. Bulfinch	1852—1863
Joseph B. Marvin	1865—1866
Frederic Hinckley	1867—1869
Henry C. Badger	1871—1874
Nathaniel Seaver	1875—1876
Caleb D. Bradlee	1876—

[1] Originally a Universalist church. Mr. Dean changed his ecclesiastical relations several years before Mr. Gray's settlement.

[2] This church migrated with its pastor to the Music Hall, where it had a brief period of prosperity, then sank into decline and dissolution.

[3] Dissolved in 1863.

[4] Dissolved shortly after Mr. Coolidge's dismission.

[5] United with Indiana-Street Church in 1855.

[6] United with the Second Church in 1854.

[7] United with the Church of the Disciples in 1855.

[8] Mr. Capen began supplying the pulpit in 1823.

[9] Suspended from 1855 to 1873.

[10] Not installed till 1881.

CHURCH OF THE UNITY (NEPONSET), 1859.

Frederic W. Holland	1859—1862
Saml. W. McDaniel	1864—1866
Hasket D. Catlin	1867—1870
Albert C. Nickerson	1871—1879
Charles B. Elder	1880—

FIRST CHURCH IN BRIGHTON, 1783.

John Foster	1784—1829
Daniel Austin	1828—1838
Abner D. Jones	1839—1842
Frederic A. Whitney	1843—1857
Charles Noyes	1860—1863
Saml. W. McDaniel	1867—1869
Thomas Timmins	1870—1871
Edward I Galvin	1872—1876
William Brunton	1877—

HARVARD CHURCH (CHARLESTOWN), 1816.

Thomas Prentiss	1817–1817
James Walker	1818—1839
George E. Ellis	1840—1869
Charles E. Grinnell	1869—1873
Pitt Dillingham	1876—

HARVARD CHAPEL (CHARLESTOWN), 1846.

Nathaniel S. Folsom	1846—1849
Oliver C. Everett	1850—1869
Charles F. Barnard	1869—1878

BULFINCH-STREET CHAPEL,[1] 1826.

Joseph Tuckerman	1826—1840
Frederic T. Gray	1834—1839
Robert C. Waterston	1839—1845
Andrew Bigelow	1845—1846
Samuel H. Winkley	1846—

WARREN-STREET CHAPEL, 1834.

Charles F. Barnard	1834—1866
Wm. G. Babcock	1865—

SUFFOLK-STREET CHAPEL, 1839.

John T. Sargent	1837—1844
Samuel B. Cruft[2]	1846—1861

HANOVER-STREET CHAPEL, 1854.

W. G. Scandlin	1854—1858
Edwin J. Gerry	1858—

CONCORD-STREET CHAPEL, 1864.

J. E. Risley ‡	1864—1865
Wm. E. Copeland[3]	1864—1866

Andrew Preston Peabody.

[1] Established by Dr. Tuckerman. The society has worshipped in chapels successively in Friend, Pitts, and Bulfinch streets.

[2] The church merged in the New South Free Church.

[3] The church merged in the New South Free Church.

CHAPTER XII.

THE CENTURY OF UNIVERSALISM.

BY THE REV. A. A. MINER, D.D.,

Pastor of the Columbus-Avenue Universalist Church.

PREVIOUS to the opening of the history of organized Universalism in Boston in 1785, the subject of human destiny had awakened an especial interest. Half a century earlier there had arisen here and there a star of promise, and the query was anxiously pondered, whether God had not something better in store for his children than was commonly believed? The type of Christianity then prevalent in all its features was strongly Calvinistic. The mere suggestion that these doctrines might not be true, though condemned by the bigoted, was received by others with profound though often silent, satisfaction.

Symptoms of dissent appeared at no very great intervals of time from three widely different sources. The Arminian drift of thought rejected the dogmas of election and reprobation, and culminated in the organization of the now wide-spread Methodist Episcopal Church. The revolution in theological opinion herein involved was relatively slight. To the Socinian spirit the doctrine of the Trinity was especially obnoxious, — and the Unitarian Church is the result. Deeper and broader than both these was a revulsion from the whole catalogue of doctrines so logically knit together, moulded by the assumption of the infinite wrath of God, and resulting in the endless and unmitigated woe of the vast majority of mankind in all ages of the world. Substituting for that wrath the infinite love of God, burning as a purifying fire toward even the most sinful, it not only breathed a new spirit into the science of theology in general, but specially replaced the doctrine of endless punishment with the glad hopes of universal salvation. Out of these hopes have sprung the Universalist churches.

Among the foregleams of this faith, and the earliest of them in this country, was the preaching of Dr. George de Benneville, who was born in London, of French refugees. Persecuted in England, he went to France, where, in addition to imprisonment for his heresy, he came near suffering the penalty of death. Emigrating to the United States in 1741, he settled in Berks County, Pennsylvania, practising as a physician and preaching

the Word without fee or reward.[1] Two other distinguished preachers of Universalism, widely removed from each other, arose at about the same time in our country, — namely, the Rev. Richard Clarke, of Charleston, South Carolina, and Dr. Jonathan Mayhew, minister of the West Church in Boston. Of the latter the author of *The Modern History of Universalism* says: —

"He was distinguished by great force and acuteness of mind, and for the originality and independence of his investigations. His writings gained him great credit in Europe, and procured him a diploma of D.D. from the University of Aberdeen. From 1747 to 1766 he held the office above-mentioned, and shone as a bright star in the constellation of the American clergy of that age." [2]

Within four years of the close of Dr. Mayhew's ministry John Murray landed at Good Luck, New Jersey. Mr. Murray was born Dec. 10, 1741, in the town of Alton, Hampshire County, England, forty-eight miles west-southwest of London. His youth was marked by many extraordinary incidents. His religious experiences involved many vicissitudes. His father was an Episcopalian, his mother a Presbyterian. His own sympathies were early and deeply enlisted in Mr. Wesley, and so continued until by more mature thought he became a disciple of James Relly.[3] Having become a husband and father, he was called to the severest affliction in the death of both wife and child, which, followed by various other calamities, led him to seek the solitudes of the New World.[4]

Landing at Good Luck, September, 1770, Mr. Murray was both surprised and disturbed to be forbidden the solitude he sought. No sooner did his ship appear off shore than one Potter assumed that it contained the preacher he had long been waiting for. A series of providential incidents induced him to preach in the church that his new friend Potter had built.[5] Though

[1] *Modern Hist. of Universalism*, pp. 305–310.

[2] *Modern Hist. of Universalism*, pp. 312–315. [See also Dr. Peabody's and Dr. Goddard's chapters in this volume. — Ed.]

[3] The Rev. James Relly, an Englishman, and author of a work entitled *Relly's Union*, believed in the Trinity, in the ruin of man through Adam, and his redemption through Christ. He believed that the redemption was as absolute and universal as the ruin. But he distinguished between redemption and salvation. The redemption in Christ, by a decree of God who orders all things, was at once universal and complete; but salvation, resulting from a knowledge of that redemption, is not yet universal, but is destined to become so. Those who are saved here will join Christ in the air at his second coming, and will not be called to judgment. The spirits of those who die unsaved will wander in disquietude till Christ's coming, when they will be brought to judgment, and their sins will be separated from them. Thereupon the Book of Life, in which are written the names of the whole human race, will be opened, and they will be declared the denizens of the Kingdom of God. Then salvation also will have become universal.

In this fanciful gospel scheme, a marked variation of the Calvinistic type, Mr. Murray is supposed to have closely followed Relly. *Murray's Life and Letters, edition*, 1816.

[4] *Life of John Murray*, edition of 1869, chs. i.–iv.

[5] "As Murray went on shore for food, Potter refused to sell him fish, but made him welcome to whatever he wanted. He declined to make an appointment for preaching, as he must sail the moment the wind should change. This refusal, on the same ground, was repeated day after day. Finally, Potter insisted that the wind would not change until Murray should have delivered his message. A conditional appointment was made; Murray preached in Potter's church, the wind changed, and the ship immediately set sail." — *Life of John Murray*, ch. v.

he had been a preacher of Rellyism in his native country, it was his deliberate purpose to permit his voice to be heard in public no more. But "while man appoints, God disappoints." No sooner had he once spoken to the people on these shores than his services were in pressing demand. Possessed of marked abilities, a vivid imagination, a warm heart and ready wit, he was everywhere heard with intensest pleasure. Having spent nearly two years in New York, Philadelphia, and the principal towns around and between those cities, Mr. Murray, in the fall of 1772, visited New England, preaching in various towns in Connecticut, and in both Providence and Newport, Rhode Island.[1] His contemplated visit to Boston was prevented by the approach of winter, which he spent in revisiting the scenes of his previous labors, and journeying as far south even as Maryland. In the autumn of 1773 he returned to New England, rejected an invitation to abide in Newport, preached in East Greenwich and Providence, arriving in Boston October 26 of the same year. This was his first visit to the metropolis of New England. His already great fame had preceded him. His first discourse in Boston was delivered in the hall of the Manufactory House, — a large building opposite the site on which Park-Street Church now stands.[2] Among his earliest acquaintances here was Thomas Handasyde Peck, who rendered him great assistance and opened his dwelling-house for public worship. Mr. Murray became still more widely known by journeying to Newburyport and as far as Portsmouth, New Hampshire, preaching in various pulpits in both these places. On returning to Boston he again preached in the Manufactory House, in Faneuil Hall, and in the meeting-house of the Rev. Mr. Croswell, of whom Mr. Peck, just mentioned, was a chief supporter. This house was situated on School Street, on the lot next east of

[1] "On his way to Newport on horseback, Mr. Murray held a characteristic conversation. He fell in with one Rev. Mr. Hopkins, of Newport, who, in reply to a remark of Mr. Murray, said: 'If such be your views, you know nothing at all of gospel.' — 'You could not so absolutely determine this matter if you yourself were not acquainted with the meaning of the term "gospel." Tell me then, sir, if you please, what is gospel?' — 'Why, sir, this is gospel: "He that believeth shall be saved; and he that believeth not shall be damned."' — 'Indeed, sir, I had thought the literal, simple meaning of the term "gospel" was *glad tidings*. Which part of the passage you have cited is gospel, — that which announces *salvation*, or that which announces *damnation?*' — 'Well, then, if you please, this is gospel: "He that believeth shall be saved."' — 'Believeth what, sir?' — 'That.' — 'What, sir?' — 'That, I tell you.' — 'What, sir?' — 'That, I tell you, "He that believeth shall be saved."' — '*Believeth what*, sir? What is he to believe?' — 'Why, that, I tell you.' — 'I wished, sir, to treat this investigation seriously, but as you seem disposed to be rather ludicrous, we will, if you please, dismiss the subject.' — 'No, sir, I do not mean to be ludicrous; I am very serious.' — 'Well, sir, if so, then I beg leave to ask, What is it I am to believe, the believing of which will save me?' — 'That Jesus Christ made it possible for sinners to be saved.' — 'By what means?' — 'By believing.' — 'Believing what?' — 'That.' — 'What?' — 'That Jesus Christ made it possible for sinners to be saved.' — 'By what means is it possible that sinners may be saved?' — 'By believing, I tell you.' — 'But the devils! will their believing save them?' — 'No, sir.' — 'Suppose I believe that Jesus Christ made it possible to save sinners, will that save me?' — 'No, sir.' — 'Then, sir, let me ask, What am I to believe, the believing of which will save me?' — 'Why, sir, you must believe the gospel, that Jesus made it possible for sinners to be saved.' — 'But by what means?' — 'By believing.' — 'Believing what?' — '*That*, I tell you.'" — *Life of John Murray*, pp. 247-48.

[2] *Life of John Murray*, p. 284. [See also Vol. II. of this History, pp. xxvi. and 511. — Ed.]

the School-Street block, on which the meeting-house of the Second Universalist Society recently stood.[1] Subsequently he again journeyed south, and in the spring of 1774 turned his face northward, reaching Boston again in September of that year. During the autumn he preached at the Manufactory House, in the dwelling-house of his friend, Mr. Peck, and at Faneuil

John Murray

Hall. Such crowds attended upon his ministry as led many of the proprietors of Mr. Croswell's meeting-house to solicit him to minister therein. The house was opened to him against the wishes of Mr. Croswell, who violently opposed him, and on subsequent occasions endeavored to prevent him from entering the pulpit. Mr. Murray was even assailed with vituperation by Mr. Croswell and others, to whom he replied with such calmness and Chris-

[1] *Life of John Murray*, p. 291.

tian dignity as most favorably to affect the public mind. So riotous, however, were his opponents that on a subsequent occasion, on entering the pulpit, —

"He found that the cushions had been sprinkled with a noxious drug, the strong effluvia from which almost prevented his speaking. In the midst of the service many stones were violently thrown through the windows, and much alarm was excited. . . . Lifting one of these, weighing about a pound and a half, and waving it in view of the people, he remarked, 'This argument is solid and weighty, but it is neither rational nor convincing.' Though earnestly besought to leave the pulpit, as his life was in danger, he steadfastly refused, declaring himself immortal while any duty remained to him on earth. In this scene culminated the riotous opposition to Universalism in Boston." [1]

Visiting Gloucester on November 3, he preached several times at the request of the deacons and elders of the principal parish; but opposition was at length raised against him from the pastor and others. So violent did this opposition become, partly on account of his Universalism, partly because he was an Englishman, that attempts were made to drive him from the town. His friends, however, proved as devoted as his enemies were virulent.

The War of the Revolution opened. Mr. Murray, in May, 1775, was appointed chaplain to the Rhode Island brigade. The other chaplains of the army united in petitioning General Washington for his removal, and were answered in the General Orders of the next day, Sept, 17, 1775, appointing the Rev. John Murray chaplain to the three Rhode Island regiments, and commanding that he be respected accordingly. Mr. Murray, very unwisely as General Washington thought, returned the commission forwarded to him, earnestly requesting permission to continue in the army as a volunteer.[2]

On leaving the army he returned to his friends in Gloucester, who organized a society in January, 1779. Shortly after this a controversy arose of great importance in respect to the maintenance of Universalist societies in any part of the Commonwealth. It involved the right of the people to appropriate their contributions for public worship to such religious teachers as they might choose, being delivered at the same time from the payment of taxes to the old parishes. The subject was hotly contested. Goods and chattels were seized by an officer for parish taxes, and sold at public auction. Legal steps were then instituted to recover the moneys thus distrained. The result was long doubtful. The trial was begun in 1783, and continued with various fortune till 1786. The decision was favorable to Mr. Murray, in whose name the suit was brought, and to his friends, who were the real plaintiffs in the case. The judge, holding for some time an adverse view, became clearly in favor of the broadest religious liberty; and the jury, after an all-night session, returned a verdict for the plaintiff. This decision opened

[1] *Life of John Murray*, ch. vi. [2] *Life of John Murray*, p. 317.

the way for the establishment of Universalist parishes, free from all legal disabilities.[1]

Before speaking of the organization of churches in Boston, to which the foregoing was but so many preparatory steps, I must call attention to an incident connected with the First Church, of which the Rev. Rufus Ellis, D.D., is now pastor. Dr. Charles Chauncy, its pastor at the time of the above-mentioned struggles, then nearly eighty years of age, had thirty years before undertaken a critical study of the Scriptures, particularly of St. Paul's Epistles, with such helps as he could command from either side of the Atlantic. To his surprise he found Universalism to be the doctrine therein taught. The result of these studies was a manuscript work entitled *The Salvation of All Men*, about the publication of which he for a long time hesitated. In 1782, a pamphlet upon the subject, commonly attributed to him, appeared anonymously in Boston and aroused violent prejudice, calling forth pointed attacks from various quarters, among which those of Dr. Samuel Mather, of Boston, and Dr. Gordon, of Roxbury, were conspicuous. Thereupon Dr. Chauncy sent his principal work to London,[2] where it appeared anonymously in 1784. To this work, tedious in many of its details, though on the whole able, the younger President Edwards, in 1790, published a vigorous but undiscriminating reply.[3]

Meantime the First Universalist Church in Boston had been organized. The public heart, so deeply stirred in various ways, was ready to embody in visible form its protest against long-standing barbarisms. On Dec. 25, 1785, a meeting-house on the corner of Hanover and North Bennet streets was purchased by Shippie Townsend, James Prentiss, Jonathan Stoddard, John Page, and Josiah Snelling, for the small society of Universalists gathered under the labors of Mr. Murray, largely aided by the Rev. Adam Streeter. This was the church in which the Rev. Samuel Mather, already mentioned as an opponent of Mr. Murray, had ministered down to the time of his death. It was erected in 1741, — the year in which Mr. Murray was born, — and was enlarged by its new proprietors in 1792; repaired and further enlarged in 1806, during which the society worshipped in Faneuil Hall; again repaired and to some extent remodelled in 1824 and 1828, and demolished in 1838, preparatory to the erection of the present brick edifice on the same spot, dedicated Jan. 1, 1839. The last service in it was held June 24, 1838, the Rev. Sebastian Streeter discoursing to an audience filling the house to repletion, from Ps. lxxvii. 11: "I will remember the works of the Lord; surely I will remember thy wonders of old."[4]

This little band of sturdy believers, happily sheltered in their new Sunday home, was ministered to regularly by the Rev. George Richards, though

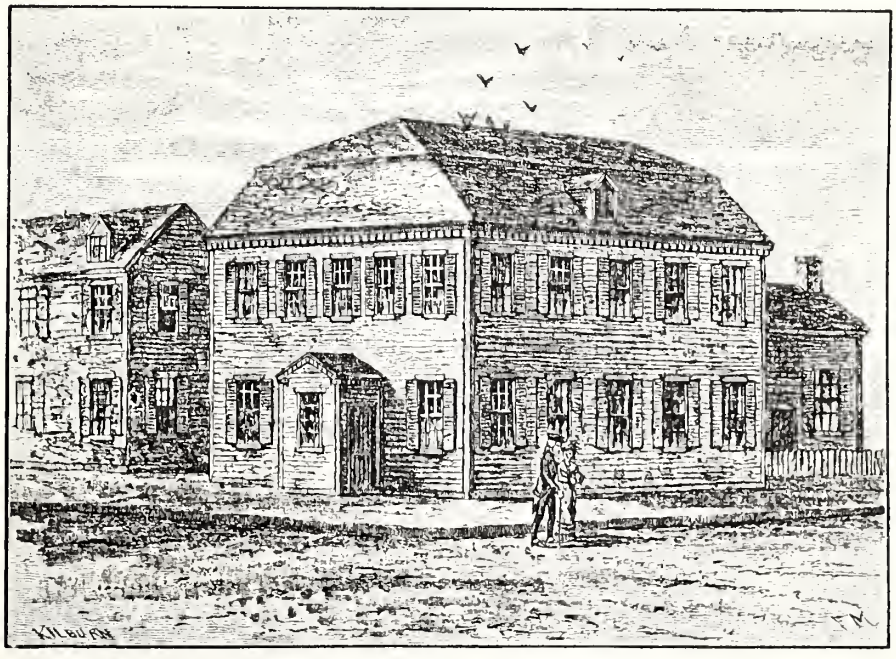
[1] *Life of John Murray*, pp. 324–36.

[2] [One reason was that no printing office in Boston had the Greek or other necessary type. See *Belknap Papers*, i. 172. — Ed.]

[3] *Modern History of Universalism*, edition of 1830, pp. 347–51.

[4] Most of these and kindred facts in the sketch of parishes are gathered directly or indirectly from parish records, — quite too meagre in incident, — and need not be specially referred to. Those here stated will be found in the *Life of John Murray*, p. 339.

various other preachers, among whom Mr. Murray was conspicuous, were occasionally heard. Though settled at Gloucester Mr. Murray continued his travels far and near, cheering believers, confirming the doubting, comforting the sorrowing, and extending the blessings of the kingdom. Seven or eight years were thus spent, when the Boston society called Mr. Murray to be its pastor. He was installed Oct. 24, 1793, by Deacon Oliver W. Lane, as the record states, "in a very appropriate and affecting manner." This proved to be a most happy and useful pastorate, continuing uninterrupted during twenty-two years, till the death of Mr. Murray, Sept. 3, 1815. In the later



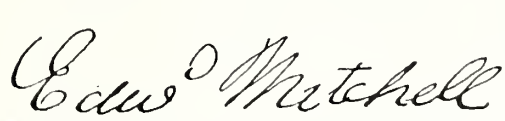
THE FIRST UNIVERSALIST MEETING-HOUSE.

period of his life, weighed down by almost insupportable infirmities, he was carried into the pulpit in the arms of his devoted friends, and, seated in his easy chair, delivered his messages of grace.

Few men have possessed such powers of persuasion as did he. To quick sensibilities, strong, pure, and enduring domestic affections, a breadth and fulness of Christian love that nothing could either repress or limit, were joined great penetration, an intuitive knowledge of human nature, and the most exuberant cheerfulness. Such qualities command the confidence of men, awaken their affections, and purify their hearts. Such qualities enabled him, when but a young man, to throw himself into the midst of a London mob during the Wilkes troubles, hush the clamor, soothe the rioters, and save many valuable lives, besides much property. A nobleman seizing him by the hand impressively said, "Young man, I thank you. I am ignorant of your name; but I bear testimony to your wonderful

abilities. By your exertions much blood and treasure have this night been saved."[1]

So great were the infirmities of Mr. Murray that for some years before his death an assistant was employed. The Rev. Edward Mitchell, of New York, became colleague, Sept. 12, 1810, and filled that office till Oct. 6, 1811. He was succeeded by the Rev. Paul Dean, — an eloquent and ambitious man whom we shall again have occasion to mention, — October, 1813, who became sole pastor after the death of Mr. Murray, continuing till April 6, 1823. May 13, 1824, the Rev. Sebastian Streeter, of saintly memory, entered upon his charge of the parish. This proved far the longest and most fruitful of all the pastorates which the church enjoyed. For nearly thirty years he went in and out before them as their sole pastor, — a truly apostolic presence. Often did his eloquent ministrations deeply touch the hearts of parents as they brought their babes to the altar for christening; of the mourning, as bending over their dead he unveiled to them the life immortal; and of the glad assemblages gathered to witness the solemn interchange of marriage vows. Of these last alone more than thirty-five hundred couples received his patriarchal benediction. Among the means of usefulness in this church the Friday-evening prayer-meeting ever held a conspicuous place.



In Mr. Streeter's advancing age it became necessary to relieve him of some of the more active duties of the pastorate. The Rev. Sumner Ellis was installed as colleague, Nov. 11, 1851, and resigned the office, Dec. 25, 1853. He was succeeded by the Rev. Noah M. Gaylord, who was installed March 14, 1855, and continued, excepting a brief interval, to minister until his resignation, Oct. 28, 1860. Both these young men brought excellent talents to the service of the church. Mr. Ellis, then quite young, has since risen to a position of influence, whence with voice and pen he greatly promotes the kingdom of Christ. Mr. Gaylord, after a term of service in the army, died in the full vigor of manhood.

The lack of outward prosperity in the church during their connection with it is attributable to causes quite beyond their control. The old North End, once the principal part of the city and the seat of all its great interests, had come to be occupied chiefly by a foreign-born population, from whose presence the former residents had in large numbers retired. This social revolution greatly affected the Protestant churches in general of that locality, and the First Universalist Church was no exception. For a year following Mr. Gaylord's resignation the church was closed. At length, however, services were resumed in the lecture-room, Nov. 3, 1861, which were so largely attended that on December 29 they were transferred to the

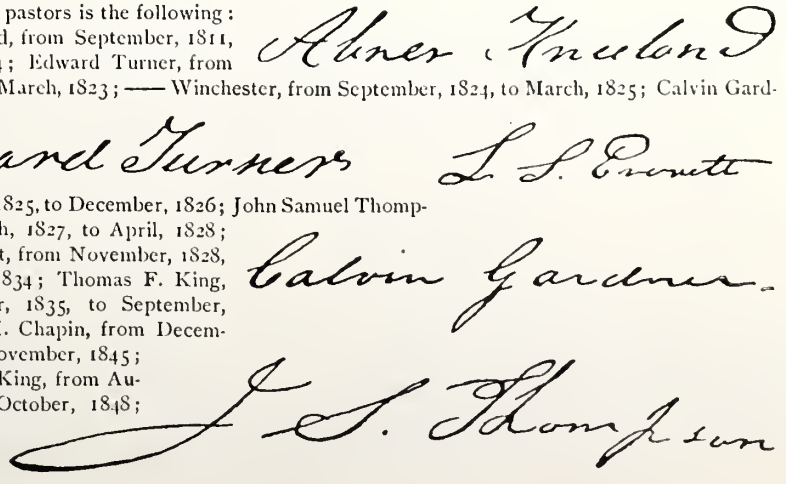
[1] *Life of John Murray*, p. 381.

auditorium. The ministry of the Rev. Thomas W. Silloway, under whom this success was achieved, closed May 29, 1864, when the parish yielded to the inevitable. Its entire history covered a period of about seventy-nine years, which was mainly prosperous. The only other exception was an episode connected with the ministry of Mr. Dean, which we shall have occasion hereafter to notice. Mr. Murray's ministry continued about twenty-two years, Mr. Streeter's forty years, and the others a little over an average of four years each. Mr. Streeter died, June 2, 1867, at the age of eighty-four years.

During Mr. Mitchell's ministry with the First Church as colleague an act of incorporation, bearing date Feb. 27, 1811, was secured for a Universalist parish in Charlestown. The first meeting was held at the Town Hall, March 14, 1811. The officers chosen were Moses Hall, chairman; Thomas J. Goodwin, clerk; Samuel Thompson, treasurer; Benjamin Adams, collector; who with the following gentlemen constituted the standing committee, — namely, John Kettell, John Tapley, Timothy Thompson, Otis Clapp, Henry Van Voorhis, Isaac Smith, Josiah Harris, Andrew Roulstone, and Barnabas Edmands. The contract for a church edifice previously made by the leading friends of the movement was assumed by the society; and the Rev. Abner Kneeland of Langdon, New Hampshire, was invited to the pastorate, at ten dollars a week, with the rent of a dwelling-house and the expense of removing his family. The dedication took place Sept. 5, 1811, the sermon being given by the Rev. Edward Mitchell, of Boston. In the afternoon of the same day Mr. Kneeland was installed, — the Rev. Hosea Ballou, of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, preaching the sermon, the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, "delivering the Scriptures" and giving the charge, and the Rev. Edward Turner, of Salem, extending the fellowship of the churches. The day closed with a social entertainment to the Council and invited guests.

The church had a long line, with rare exceptions, of most worthy men.[1]

[1] The list of pastors is the following: Abner Kneeland, from September, 1811, to January, 1814; Edward Turner, from March, 1814, to March, 1823; —— Winchester, from September, 1824, to March, 1825; Calvin Gardner, from June, 1825, to December, 1826; John Samuel Thompson, from March, 1827, to April, 1828; Linus S. Everett, from November, 1828, to December, 1834; Thomas F. King, from December, 1835, to September, 1839; Edwin H. Chapin, from December, 1840, to November, 1845; Thomas Starr King, from August, 1846, to October, 1848; Robert Townly,



Mr. Kneeland proved unstable in the faith, and soon fell away into Deism and at length into Atheism; Mr. Thompson proved too eccentric for wide usefulness; Messrs. Turner, Gardner, Everett, the elder King, the eloquent Chapin, the brilliant younger King, the quaint Scotchman Laurie, with his faithful successors, were all men of weight, ability, and great usefulness. The church to which they ministered early took high rank among the Universalist churches of the land, and has steadily held it to the present hour. Throughout the seventy years of its history it has numbered many men of high social standing, of large business abilities, of prominent political positions and influence, and of eminence in moral worth and Christian character. With no diminution of religious interest, the church, under the lead of its present able pastor, gives promise of a future as rich in the fruits of the Spirit as has been its honorable past.

Mr. Murray's Universalism, it has already been remarked, was of the Rellyan or Calvinistic type. It differed from pure Calvinism chiefly in making the Atonement universal, and therefore, according to Calvinistic principles, universally effective. Christ was the head of every man, and redemption, though not salvation, was an accomplished fact. Five or six years after his settlement in Boston, an incident occurred which was destined to have a most important influence upon the fortunes of Universalism in general. Mr. Murray made a journey to the South as far as Philadelphia. During his absence the Rev. Hosea Ballou was engaged to supply his pulpit ten Sundays. Mr. Ballou was then a young man under thirty years of age. Born in Richmond, New Hampshire, April 30, 1771, educated or brought up in the Baptist church with which he early united, and led through his great love of spiritual things to an earnest study of the holy Scriptures, he entered into the joy of the Universalist's hope in 1789, when but eighteen years of age. But the philosophy of that hope, as then currently held, was far from being satisfactory to his penetrating mind.[1] Both the doctrine of the Trinity and the then current doctrine of the Atonement soon came under examination, resulting in their rejection by him as early as 1795. He believed that Christ was a special messenger from God, his only begotten Son, and hence subordinate to the Father. His death was not an infliction of penalty due to fallen man, but a voluntary sacrifice of himself in testimony of infinite love, intended to secure an *at-one-ment* between God and man,—a reconciliation of man to God. It is probable that the fanciful views of

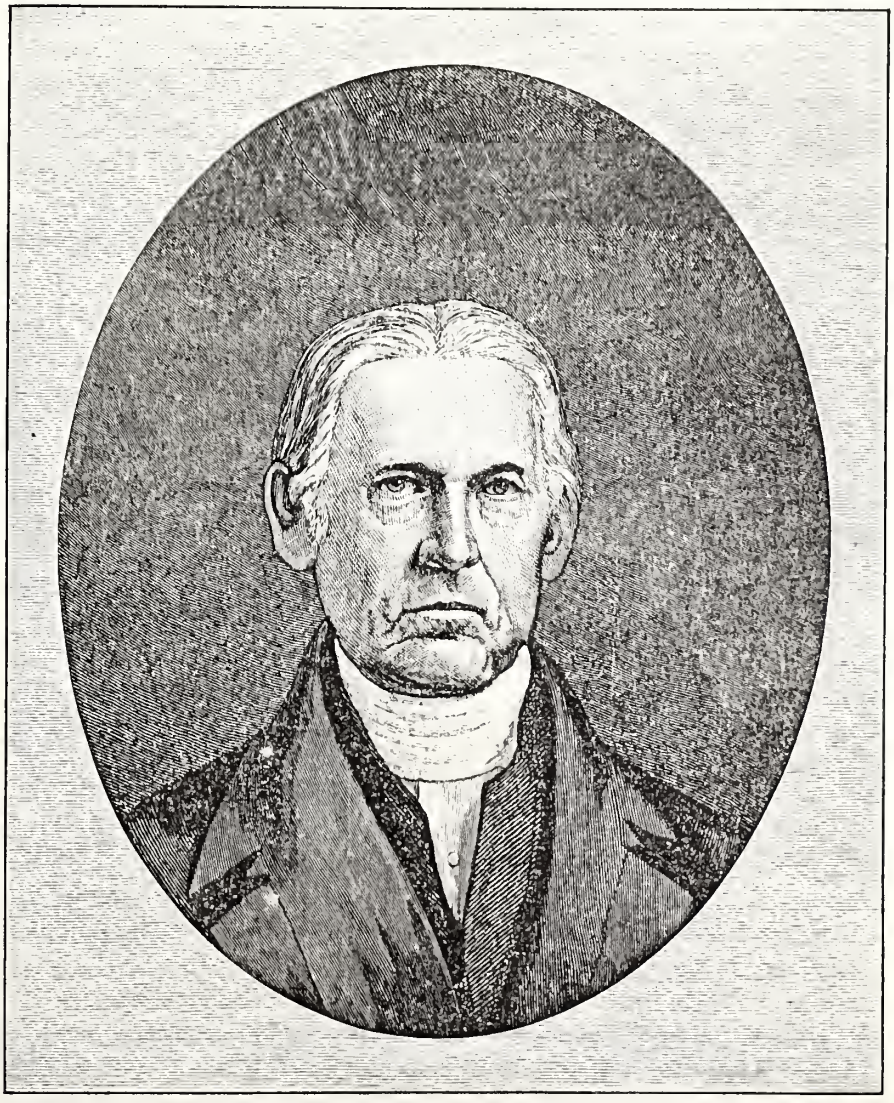
from June, 1849, to June, 1852; Alexander G. E. H. Chapin.

Laurie, from November, 1853, to July, 1863; Thomas F. King

Oscar F. Safford, from May, 1865, to July, 1870; William T. Stowe, from May, 1871, to February, 1878; and Charles Follen Lee, the present pastor, was settled Jan. 7, 1879. T. S. King

[1] Mrs. Murray concedes that at the time of her husband's death his peculiar faith was held only by the Rev. John Tyler, Episcopal minister in Norwich, Conn., and the Rev. Edward Mitchell, of the city of New York. *Life of John Murray*, Introduction, p. xiii.

Mr. Murray in regard to the judgment, in which he followed Relly, were never accepted by Mr. Ballou. He had not as yet, however, come to recognize the continually recurring judgments of God as involved in the current retributions of life, of which at a later period he was fully convinced. He



Hosea Ballou

regarded the whole work of man's salvation as fore-ordained through appropriate means. Believing God to be impartial in his parental love, he was convinced that the decree of human salvation could not be other than universal.

No sooner did his mind become clear upon the subjects of the Trinity and the Atonement, than he hastened openly to avow his new convictions. If there were others sympathizing with these views he was unaware of it, since they made no appeal to the public. In this progress of his mind Mr. Ballou was entirely destitute of human helps, resolving these problems from the Scriptures alone. Meantime, he had been excommunicated from the Baptist church, and ordained to the Universalist ministry.[1] Unsolicited, and without previous notice to Mr. Ballou, at the session of the General Convention in Oxford, 1794, the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, at the conclusion of a sermon of great power and warmth, turned to Mr. Ballou, who was in the pulpit with him, and with a few appropriate remarks thrust the Bible against his breast, saying to the Rev. Joab Young, "Brother Young, charge him." The charge was given, and the ordination was complete.

Such was the young man who in 1798 or 1799 supplied Mr. Murray's desk for ten consecutive weeks. His remarkable familiarity with the Word of God, his wonderful powers of reasoning, his profound insight into the human heart, and his inexhaustible store of illustrations level to the common mind gave him a power over an assembly rarely equalled. He had a large hearing in Boston. The public mind was greatly moved. On the last day of his ministration he gave a very frank and clear explanation of his new views touching Christ and the Atonement. By the suggestion of Mrs. Murray, who was present, one Mr. Balch announced from the gallery that what they had just heard was not the doctrine usually preached in that pulpit; whereupon Mr. Ballou, in great calmness, called upon the audience to take notice of what the brother had said.

The seed thus sown could not but bear fruit. To Mr. Murray, with his Rellyism, Mr. Ballou's doctrines gave great pain. He deemed him to be thinking and speaking with unwarrantable boldness. On the other hand, the people were eager to hear more from a speaker at once so original, so persuasive, so convincing. Overtures were made to him to bring him to Boston; but he could not be induced to take a step which might in any degree result in the injury of Mr. Murray. The wishes of the people, however, were by no means ephemeral. Many things conspired to keep those desires alive. The people were not satisfied with the philosophy of Christianity as commonly presented to them. Mr. Ballou was the most original thinker with whom they had become acquainted. Though far removed from them he was frequently heard from, and always in a way to intensify their desire to have him in their midst. He was a member of the General Convention in 1803 at Winchester, New Hampshire, when the Confession of Faith,[2] drawn by Walter Ferris, was adopted with such marked

[1] Whittemore's *Life of Ballou*, vol. i., *in extenso*.

[2] It consisted of the three following articles:

1. "We believe that the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments contain a revelation of the character of God, and of the duty, interest, and final destination of mankind.

2. "We believe that there is one God, whose nature is love; revealed in one Lord Jesus Christ, by one Holy Spirit of grace, who will finally restore the whole family of mankind to holiness and happiness.

3. "We believe that holiness and true happiness are inseparably connected; and that be-

unanimity. In 1804 his work entitled *Notes on the Parables of the New Testament* was published, and commanded such wide attention as to pass through five or more editions. The first edition was printed at Randolph, Vermont; subsequent ones in Boston.

The work, however, destined to enhance his reputation in a far higher degree as a Christian reasoner and interpreter of Christianity was published the following year, 1805. Like the preceding work it was printed at Randolph, Vermont, — the author being pastor of the united societies of Barnard, Woodstock, Hartland, Bethel, and Bridgewater. It was entitled, *A Treatise on Atonement, in which the Finite Nature of Sin is Argued, its Cause and Consequences as such; the Necessity and Nature of Atonement, and its Glorious Consequences, in the Final Reconciliation of All Men to Holiness and Happiness.* This work was extensively circulated and attentively read in almost every Universalist family in the land. For scores of years after its publication the author continued to receive letters of grateful acknowledgment for the hopes it had begotten of a world's salvation. The work has never been displaced. The views it presents are substantially the views of the Universalist Church to-day, to which also the thought of Christendom seems rapidly tending. Notwithstanding its direct antagonism to the doctrine of Mr. Murray, it was received among Boston Universalists with great favor, and increased the impatience with which they awaited the author's settlement among them.

More than a decade of years must pass, however, before this desire could be fulfilled. At length the way was opened. On Dec. 13, 1816, the Governor signed an act incorporating the Second Society of Universalists in the town of Boston. The first meeting of the Society was held Jan. 25, 1817. From the first it was the purpose of the gentlemen united in this movement to call Mr. Ballou to the pastorate. Having ministered some years in Vermont and in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, he was now at Salem, Massachusetts, with a much-loved parish which had suffered greatly from the general depression in business then experienced. It was understood that, Mr. Murray of the First Church having deceased, Mr. Ballou was not now averse to heeding the wishes of his Boston friends. During the summer of 1817 a meeting-house was erected in School Street, nearly opposite the City Hall, on the site of the present School-Street block.[1] In October of that year it was dedicated, the Rev. Thomas Jones, of Gloucester, preaching the sermon from John iv. 23. Mr. Ballou was absent in Vermont, fulfilling an appointment previously made. The Rev. David Pickering offered the

lievers ought to be careful to maintain order and practise good works; for these things are good and profitable unto men."

[1] This site in part is the precise spot on which the old French church formerly stood, and in the pulpit of which Mr. Murray was stoned in 1774. Built about 1715–20, it was sold to the New Congregational Society, Mr. Croswell pastor, in 1748. On Mr. Croswell's death, in 1785, it is supposed his parish became extinct. In 1788 a Roman Catholic congregation, gathered three or four years before, obtained this house, and worshipped in it until they built the church in Franklin Street, which was dedicated in 1803. The old meeting-house in School Street was then taken down, and the land was subsequently sold to the Second Universalist Society. Whittemore's *Life of Ballou*, ii. 10.

introductory prayer, and the Rev. Edward Turner, of Charlestown, the dedicatory prayer. The Rev. Paul Dean, — at this time the sole pastor of the First Church, — who was supposed not to look with much favor upon this new movement, sat in the desk, but took no part, on account, it was said, of ill health. The unanimous call of the society having been accepted by Mr. Ballou, the installation took place December 25, the same year. The Rev. Paul Dean preached the sermon from Acts xx. 24, and gave the right hand of fellowship. The installing prayer and the charge were by the Rev. Edward Turner; and the Rev. Joshua Flagg, who had succeeded Mr. Ballou at Salem, offered the concluding prayer. These services of dedication and installation revealed a profound interest in the new movement, and showed that high expectation had taken possession of the public mind. Such men as John Brazier, David Townsend, Edmund Wright, Daniel E. Powars, Lemuel Packard, Jr., Levi Melcher, and John Trull, to name no more, were a guarantee of the high character, solid strength, and immediate success of the new society.

The high anticipations from Mr. Ballou's ministry were more than realized. Such had been his peculiar exercise of mind that he had grown accustomed to a much broader field of discussion than was common among his brethren. His advanced positions in Biblical interpretation drew upon him attacks from all quarters, which he repelled with a master hand.[1] His preaching became necessarily controversial. Many of his sermons, singly and in volumes, were published and widely distributed. Letters and pamphlets of attack and reply appeared in rapid succession and through a series of years. Majestic in person, calm in spirit, quick in penetration, and affluent in a broad Christian common-sense, he often surprised his opponents and awakened the keenest interest in his hearers by rending away at a single

[1] His responses were of the keenest sort. An aged lady expressing surprise at his views, added: "The good book says, —

'In Adam's fall we sinned all,'"

to which he replied: "Yes, and the same good book says, —

'The cat doth play, and after slay.'"

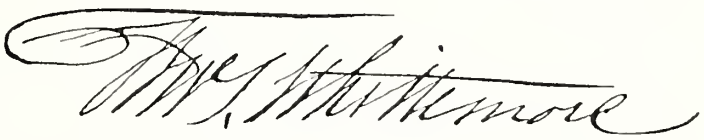
On his way of a Saturday evening to a town in Essex County, while waiting for a private conveyance from the railway-station, he stepped into a cottage where he found a good woman washing her floor. She cordially welcomed him, and entered at once into conversation. On learning that her guest was Mr. Ballou, the Universalist preacher, she expressed surprise, and inquired if he "really believed that all men would be saved?" — "Yes, I hope so." — "What!" said she, "is it possible that sinners can be saved *just as they are?*" — "My good woman," said he, "are you going to wash up your floor *just as it is?*" — "Ah!" said she, "I see; I never thought that saving sinners was just making them morally clean."

At a time when Dr. Lyman Beecher was conducting a revival in his church on Bowdoin Street, and much comment had been made in respect to his visiting servant girls in the kitchens, and urging them to his meetings, he met Mr. Ballou, and told him that "he dreamed that he died and went to heaven; and looking carefully about him, he failed to see a single Universalist there." — "I suppose," said Mr. Ballou "you only went into the kitchen."

On one occasion, being introduced to a venerable lady, she asked: "Are you Mr. Ballou, the Universalist preacher?" On being answered affirmatively, she further inquired: "Do you preach the gospel of the New Testament?" He replied that he "tried to preach it." — "But," said she, "do you preach as the Saviour preached?" — "I try to," was the reply. "Do you preach, 'Woe unto you Scribes, Pharisees, hypocrites'?" — "Ah, no!" said he, "those people do not attend my meeting."

stroke, as it were, the veils of sophistry woven by error, and exposing that error in its own naked deformity.

In 1819 Mr. Henry Bowen, a young man having just published a volume of *Lecture Sermons* from the pen of Mr. Ballou, established the *Universalist Magazine*, with Mr. Ballou as its editor. Within three years of that time the Rev. Thomas Whittemore — a boot-maker's apprentice in State Street when the publication began — became associate editor. Thenceforth Mr. Whittemore continued his editorial labors, amid whatever professional and other burdens resting upon him, throughout his whole life.[1] This *Magazine* was the first Universalist newspaper published in this country, and supposed to be the first in the world.



Such was its inspiring influence that in 1824 there had sprung into being no less than a dozen similar newspapers within the limits of New England and the State of New York. At the end of nine years it was transferred to the hands of the Rev. Russell Streeter, of Watertown, and Thomas Whittemore, of Cambridgeport, and continued under the title of *The Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*.

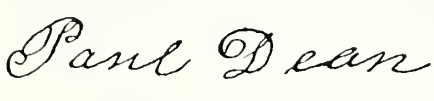
Among the numerous controversies into which Mr. Ballou was drawn, those pertaining to the doctrine of future punishment were conspicuous. While not at this time denying that doctrine, he had come to believe that the Scriptures do not teach it. The full light of eternity, he believed, would banish all love of sinning and win all souls to God, thus saving them, not *in* their sins, but *from* their sins.[2] The secret opposition which the pastor of the First Church — the Rev. Paul Dean — felt to the Second-Church movement became open and avowed in connection with this subject. The

[1] Though Mr. Whittemore, afterward Dr. Whittemore, was never the pastor of a church in Boston, he rendered the cause in the city and throughout the country most eminent service both as a preacher and as an editor and author. His works, among which may be mentioned his *Notes on the Parables*, *Plain Guide to Universalism*, *Life of Hosea Ballou* in four volumes, *Modern History of Universalism*, *Commentary on the Revelation*, etc., were all written in a popular style, and exerted a wide influence. A man of large administrative ability, democratic in feeling and genial in spirit, he was emphatically a man of the people. He died in Cambridge, March 21, 1861, aged sixty-one years.

[2] Few men have been the subjects of such bitter calumny as Mr. Ballou. The doctrines of "death and glory," "salvation in sin," "God looking upon saint and sinner with equal approbation," and the like were almost universally imputed to him by the pulpits of his and even later time. The truth is, Mr. Ballou believed this to be the only world of temptation and of transgression; that God here, by outward and inward laws, by means visible and invisible, justly and adequately recompenses both the evil and the good; that peace can be found only in righteousness, and that when God shall appear men will become like him, for they will see him as he is. Thus those who leave this world unpurified will be saved by moral means as really as those who are saved in the flesh, — exposing him, therefore, no more to the stigma of teaching "death and glory" than does the welcoming of the penitent murderer from the scaffold to heaven expose the teachers who assailed Mr. Ballou to the same stigma. He believed firmly in historic Christianity, in the subordination of Christ to the Father, in the manifestation of the Father's universal love through Christ, in the miracles he wrought, and in the ultimate efficiency of his mission in the salvation of all souls. And these are the views of the Universalist Church to this day.

controversy was long and bitter. The sympathies of the Universalist public were largely with Mr. Ballou. The First Church shared this feeling.

Mr. Dean, having withdrawn from it, April 6, 1823, became pastor of a Third Universalist Church, which was located in Bulfinch Street, whither a portion of the First Society followed him. The dedication of the meeting-house and the installation of the pastor occurred on the same day, — May 7, 1823. Several brethren, among whom Mr. Dean held a conspicuous place, put forth an "appeal" and "declaration," protesting publicly against the views of Mr. Ballou, who, in conjunction with Hosea Ballou, 2d (his grand-nephew), and Thomas Whittemore, made a most effective reply. Mr.



Dean, at his own request, was dismissed from fellowship with the Universalist body. Several of the gentlemen felt the force of the reply, and were reconciled. A year later, in 1824, Mr. Dean earnestly sought to be again received into fellowship. Some brethren strongly opposed thereto were persuaded by Mr. Ballou to accede to the request. They yielded with reluctance, and the sequel justified their hesitation. The restorationist schism continued for some years, but the influence of Mr. Ballou remained unimpaired. It was quite otherwise with Mr. Dean. After the lapse of a few years the Rev. Frederick T. Gray, Unitarian, was called to the associate pastorate of the Bulfinch-Street Church, from which Mr. Dean, for a consideration, a little later retired, and the church ceased to be even nominally Universalist.[1]

[1] "During the heat of the controversy between Mr. Ballou and Mr. Dean many interesting incidents took place. Returning on one occasion from Nantucket, where he had spent some days, on reaching New Bedford Mr. Ballou found himself in the stage-coach beside a stranger, who introduced conversation with him. 'Are you from Nantucket, sir?' — 'I am,' replied Mr. Ballou. — 'Is there any news at the island?' — 'I heard none,' said Mr. Ballou. 'There might be much news and I not hear of it.' — 'Ah! well, they say old Ballou is down there preaching; did you hear anything about him?' — 'He has been preaching there, sir.' — 'Large congregations, I suppose; did you hear him, sir?' — 'I did, several times.' — 'Well, I don't like him; he's coarse in his preaching; he don't believe in any future punishment; he holds that all men will go to heaven when they die, just as they leave this world; I don't like him. There 's Mr. Dean, — I think he's a very fine man, a gentleman; I should like to hear him preach.' — 'Did you ever hear Mr. Ballou preach?' said Mr. Ballou, very calmly. — 'No! no, sir, I never heard him preach; I have no desire to hear him preach; but I should be gratified at an opportunity to hear Mr. Dean. Did you ever hear Mr. Dean, sir?' — 'Yes, sir, several times.' — 'Well, he 's a fine man, sir, — a gentleman; but Ballou I do not like at all; he preaches a horrid doctrine.' — 'And what does he preach, sir, that is horrid?' — 'Oh, he holds that all men will go to heaven at once when they die.' — 'Well, sir, suppose they do; is that *horrid?* Is it not very desirable that all men shall become holy and happy?' — 'Ah, sir, but he holds that men will go to heaven *in their sins*.' — 'But, sir, you have confessed that you never heard him preach; how do you know he preaches in that manner?' — 'Oh, I have heard so, a thousand times.' — 'But you may have been misinformed, my friend. I am quite confident Mr. Ballou holds no such doctrine. If you were to put the question to him, I think he himself would say he held no such doctrine.' — 'I am surprised. Well, what does he hold to, then?' — 'I think if he were *here*, he would say he did not believe what you have attributed to him, — that men are to go to heaven *in their sins*. . . . He probably would say he held that men are to be saved *from* their sins.' — 'Well, you seem to know. Will you let me ask where you live?' — 'I live in Boston, sir.' — 'Do you attend a Universalist church?' — 'I do, sir.' — 'What church do you attend, sir?' — 'I attend Mr. Ballou's, sir.' — 'Are you intimately acquainted with Mr. Ballou, sir.' — 'My name is Hosea Ballou, my friend.' The stranger's confusion may be better imagined than described." — Whittemore's *Life of Ballou*, ii. 247, 248.

A powerful impulse was given to the cause of Universalism during the controversies above referred to by the writings of the Rev. Walter Balfour, a man of remarkable originality and power. Before leaving Scotland, his native country, he became acquainted with the late Rev. John Codman, D.D., long pastor of a church in Dorchester. Reaching New York in 1806, proceeding thence to Albany in company with the late Rev. Daniel Sharp, D.D., whose life-long friendship he enjoyed, he settled in Charlestown in 1807. As a member of the school-board in 1825 he advocated the establishment of an English High and Latin school. The measure failed, as did also the attempt to secure his re-election. Twenty-two years later the suggestion was acted upon, and the school established.[1] In connection with the Rev. Dr. Morse, whose pulpit he often supplied, he organized the first Bible-class established in Charlestown. In 1808 he was appointed to the chaplaincy of the prison, which position he conscientiously resigned on account of his change of views touching infant baptism.[2] Converted to Universalism by Professor Stuart's argument for the universal worship of Christ, Mr. Balfour, in 1824, published his *Inquiry into the Scriptural Import of the Words Sheol, Hades, Tartarus, and Gehenna: all translated "Hell" in the Common English Version.* In 1826 appeared his *Second Inquiry*, designed to show that the terms "Satan," "Devil," etc., were not used in the Bible to designate a specific being. These volumes were followed in 1828 by Balfour's *Essays;* in 1834, by Balfour's *Reply to the Rev. Bernard Whitman;* and in the same year by Ballou's *Examination of the Doctrine of Future Retribution.* Notwithstanding these works were not wholly accordant with each other in doctrine, they were most important contributions to the elucidation of Christian truth, and exerted a very wide influence.

While preachers of the gospel were multiplied, and one work after another was sent forth from the press, the School-Street Church continued to be the Mecca of the Universalist Zion. Mr. Ballou was listened to by visitors and business men from all parts of the country, and the seeds of truth were thus scattered far and wide. The men who started with him in the Christian race were falling under the weight of years; but those who still survived were noble specimens of Christian manhood.

When at length it became necessary to select a colleague for Mr. Ballou, new dangers opened in the pathway of the society. Two candidates, the Revs. T. C. Adam and H. B. Soule, were heard for several months each, neither of whom received the requisite two-thirds vote of the parish. On his retirement from the candidacy, one of them, the Rev. T. C. Adam, followed by a portion of the society, opened meetings in a chapel in Chardon Street. So apparent was his unworthiness that he soon withdrew. Having organized a society and enjoyed the brief ministrations of several clergy-

[1] Letter of his son, D. M. Balfour. [2] *Mass. State Prison*, by Gideon Haynes, p. 19.

men, the chief supporters abandoned the movement, many of them returning to the School-Street Church, and the enterprise soon failed altogether. Finally the School-Street parish called the Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D., of Charlestown, to the associate pastorate. The installation took place Jan. 28, 1846, Mr. Ballou preaching the sermon. After two years of marked prosperity under the ministrations of this eloquent divine, the parish very reluctantly accepted his resignation, and he removed to New York city. He was immediately succeeded by the Rev. A. A. Miner, of Lowell, both gentlemen entering on their new pastorates May 1, 1848. Mr. Miner was installed May 31, Dr. Chapin preaching the sermon, and Mr. Ballou offering the installing prayer.

The relations of both of these juniors with their senior were marked by the most affectionate cordiality and profound respect.[1] On the death of Mr. Ballou, — which occurred June 7, 1852, — Mr. Miner became sole pastor, which relation he still holds. The office of President of Tufts College having become vacant by the death of Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D., May 27, 1861, Mr. Miner was elected his successor, it being understood that his pastorate would not be relinquished, though his parish generously excused him from most of the pastoral labor. His inaugural address was delivered July 9, 1862. During the twelve and a half years of his Presidency more than seven hundred thousand dollars were added to the funds of the College, mostly by Boston men, and more than half of it by members of his parish. Jan. 2, 1867, the Rev. Rowland Connor was installed as colleague pastor, Dr. Miner preaching the sermon. Mr. Connor held that office about five months. Dismissed because of his rejection of the authority of Christ, he had quite a following to Mechanics Hall, where he soon conspicuously failed, most of his adherents returning to the parish. June 3, 1868, the Rev. Henry I. Cushman was installed as colleague, Dr. Miner again preaching the sermon. During the nearly seven years of his most faithful service Mr. Cushman won for himself the marked esteem both of his senior and of the society. In 1851 the parish remodelled its church in School Street, at a cost of about twenty thousand dollars; and in 1872 there was erected in its place, for business purposes, a building now known as the School-Street Block, the fee of which, after several changes in the circumstances of the tenure, is in the parish. Its fine new stone church on Columbus Avenue, corner of Clarendon Street, was built the same season, at a cost of about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and dedicated Dec. 5, 1872, the

[1] Since the above text was written, Dr. Chapin has closed his earthly labors, terminating one of the two senior Universalist pastorates. He died in New York, Dec. 26, 1880. His funeral was a remarkable occasion. Denominational barriers were utterly broken down. Drs. Pullman and Capen, Universalists, the Rev. Robert Collyer, Unitarian, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Congregationalist, and the Rev. Dr. Armitage, Baptist, joined in paying the highest honors to his memory. In the Columbus-Avenue Universalist Church, Boston, memorial services were held on Sunday, January 9, in the presence of an immense throng, in which the Rev. Messrs. Safford and Lee, Drs. Sawyer, Adams, and Miner, the Governor of the Commonwealth, John D. Long, and the Mayor of the city, F. O. Prince, bore most affectionate testimony to Dr. Chapin's Christian character, matchless eloquence, and ministerial fidelity.

dedicatory address being delivered by Dr. Miner, and the prayer being offered by Mr. Cushman.

The first Universalist sermon preached in Roxbury was by the Rev. Elhanan Winchester, in 1798, in the parish church, by invitation of the pastor. Nov. 29, 1818, the Rev. Hosea Ballou preached in the Town Hall.

COLUMBUS-AVENUE CHURCH.

The first Universalist society in Roxbury was organized March 2, 1820. Forty-three men good and true petitioned for the charter. Samuel Parker was chosen moderator of the first meeting, and Luther Newell clerk. The spacious and imposing edifice in which the society still worships was erected on a portion of the Dudley estate, and on the precise site of the mansion

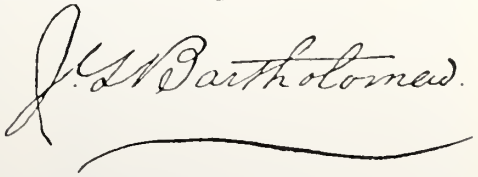
occupied by the Governors Dudley. The old family well in the cellar still remains. This site, costing one thousand dollars, is said now to be worth one hundred thousand dollars. Messrs. William Hannaford, Edward Turner, Lewis Morse, Jacob Allen, Warren Marsh, Joseph Stratton, and Elisha Wheeler were chosen a committee, May 15, and charged with the responsibility of building. September 14, a parish meeting urged the committee to finish the house as soon as possible. It was dedicated Jan. 4, 1821, the Rev. Hosea Ballou preaching the sermon.[1] The Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, was the first pastor, and was installed July 26, 1821, the Rev. Paul Dean preaching the sermon, and Mr. Ballou, of Boston, giving the charge. The present pastor, speaking of the first incumbent, says: "For the solidity, the spirituality, the even prosperity of this parish through all these years we are largely indebted to his eminently careful, faithful, and judicious leadership in the beginning of its history."[2] On Jan. 4, 1822, a church, consisting of twenty-two most worthy members, was publicly recognized. Mr. Ballou resigned the pastorate April 28, 1838; and at the semi-centennial anniversary of the church all the original twenty-two members, as also its pastor, had "entered into the promised inheritance." There have been few if any men in the Universalist ministry in Boston or elsewhere, throughout the entire history of the church, who for solid learning, moral and Christian worth, great personal weight, and permanent influence in moulding our whole body into fair proportions, and stimulating it to an increased activity in the cause of education, are worthy of higher honor or deeper gratitude than is the Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D. Most fitting was it that the closing years of his useful life should be spent in the duties of the Presidency of Tufts College, in which office he died May 27, 1861, aged sixty-four years.[3]

The Universalist Society of South Boston is the fifth of the churches organized in that part of the city. The population in 1830 was barely three thousand. The access from Boston proper was extremely unpleasant. The Federal-Street bridge had been built two years before. On the last of April, 1830, Elijah Harris, Joseph Harris, Jr., Dr. Ebenezer Stevens, Samuel Burnham, William Andrews, and Isaiah Josselyn (who alone survives) met at the house of one Mr. Holmes, corner of Fourth Street and Dorchester

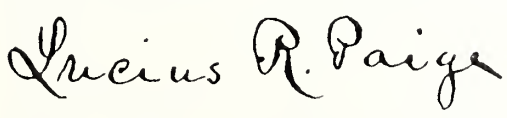
[1] *Semi-Centennial Memorial*, p. 8.

[2] Ibid., p. 14.

[3] The pastorate of the Roxbury parish has been filled by other most worthy men in the following order: The Rev. Asher Moore, from January, 1839, to January, 1840; the Rev. Cyrus H. Fay, from January, 1841, to March, 1849; the Rev. William H. Ryder, from 1849, to January, 1859; the Rev. J. G. Bartholomew, from July, 1860, to January, 1866; and the Rev. A. J. Patterson, from September, 1866, to the present time. Through all these years the parish has enjoyed uninterrupted prosperity, and vindicated its Christian aims by large sacrifices both in its own immediate field of labor and in the interests of the general Church. The clergymen who have led in this work, several of whom have also won laurels in other fields, will ever be cherished in affectionate remembrance.



Avenue, and associated themselves as the Fourth Universalist Society of Boston.[1] The Rev. Benjamin Whittemore, of Troy, New York, son-in-law of the Rev. Hosea Ballou, and a young man of great promise, who in later years became a Doctor of Divinity, and who still survives in a ripe old age, preached in a hall opposite Mr. Holmes's house. May 9, 1830, having accepted an invitation to become pastor of the new society, he entered upon the duties of that office July 18 of the same year. On May 30, 1831, an accession to the parish was received of fifty-one men, of whom two only now survive.[2] Worship was continued in Harding's Hall until the completion of the church edifice on Broadway, corner of B Street, which was dedicated April 10, 1833, the Rev. Hosea Ballou preaching the sermon, and the pastor offering the dedicatory prayer. The long-deferred installation of the pastor took place on the afternoon of the same day, — the Revs. Thomas Whittemore, Hosea Ballou, Hosea Ballou, 2d, Sebastian Streeter, Matthew Hale Smith, and Lucius R. Paige,[3] rendering the various services. After thirteen years of most faithful and efficient ministration, the able and much-loved pastor, in April, 1843, resigned his pastorate, and was succeeded the following autumn by the Rev. T. D. Cook. During his pastorate several thousands of dollars were expended in alterations in the meeting-house to gain suitable accommodations for the Sunday School, which has ever been an important auxiliary of the church.[4]



The Fifth Universalist Society, now Shawmut, was organized Jan. 10, 1836, and has been among the most influential in the city. The Rev. Otis A. Skinner, a man of pure life, of marked ability, fine presence, and peculiar suavity of manner, was installed as pastor Jan. 26, 1837, and resigned May 1, 1846. The Rev. J. S. Dennis was pastor from January, 1847, to August, 1848, when Mr. Skinner served a second term, from January, 1849, to April,

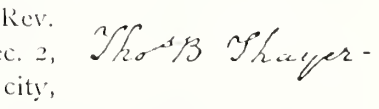
[1] *The Christian Leader*, July 15, 1880.

[2] *Semi-Centennial Discourse*, by the Rev. J. J. Lewis.

[3] The Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., has rendered great service to the Universalist Church both as a preacher and author. His *Selections from Eminent Commentators*, 1833, and his *Commentary* on the entire New Testament, except the Revelation of St. John, of which the first volume was published in 1849, are especially valuable. He has also become widely known by his *History of Cambridge*, and by the conspicuous positions he has most worthily filled.

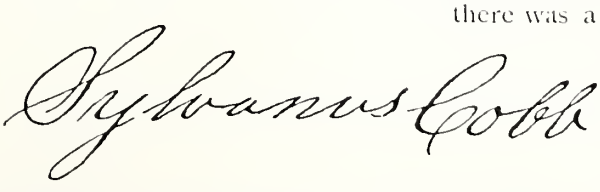
[4] Mr. Cook, having resigned in 1851, was succeeded by the Rev. Calvin Damon, who ministered till 1855. The Rev. W. W. Dean was pastor from 1855 to 1860; the Rev. J. S. Cantwell, from 1860 to 1862; the Rev. I. C. Knowlton, from 1863 to 1865; when, after an interim of two years, the present pastor, the Rev. J. J. Lewis, took up the work in September, 1867. Meantime, the outbreak of our civil war had disturbed the harmony of the parish, leading to the abandonment of the church in 1864 for Lyceum Hall, which was occupied till the dedication of the present beautiful and commodious church on the heights of Broadway about 1870. To the sterling character of the entire line of pastors must in no small measure be attributed the unexampled self-sacrifice, considering its quite limited resources, through which the parish two or three years ago removed its entire debt of nearly $20,000, giving it a better outlook than it has ever before enjoyed.

1857. During this period he rendered our general church the very great service of raising the funds — about one hundred thousand dollars, including a land gift — for the founding of Tufts College, named from Mr. Charles Tufts, the donor of the land. Mr. Skinner died in Illinois, Sept. 18, 1861. The Rev. T. B. Thayer, D.D., was installed pastor, Dec. 2, 1857, the Rev. Dr. Chapin, of New York city, preaching the sermon. The parish was first free of debt, March 5, 1860.[1]



In April, 1863, the Church of the Paternity united with the Fifth Society, with which its relations had always been cordial, forming the Shawmut Universalist Society. During the first two or three years of its history the Fifth Society worshipped in Boylston Hall. Its church edifice on Warren Street, now the Jewish Synagogue on Warrenton Street, was dedicated Jan. 30, 1839, and occupied by the Fifth Society until the union as above, when possession was taken of the Shawmut Church on Shawmut Avenue, near Brookline Street. This church was purchased of the Congregational society, of which the Rev. Dr. Webb is pastor, and was re-dedicated, April 20, 1864.[2]

On Noddle's Island, now East Boston, previous to 1830, there was but a single residence.[3] In 1840, so rapid had been the growth of the island, there was a small Universalist society worshipping in the old bath-house, where Winthrop Block now stands, and enjoying the ministrations of various clergymen. The Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, afterwards Dr. Cobb, was pastor from 1841 to 1844, during which time a house of worship was erected on the corner of Webster and Orleans streets. After two years of unsuccessful ministration by the Rev. Alexander Hitchborn, Mr. Cobb again stepped



[1] Several families from this parish and others living at the South End organized the Canton-Street Society, and worshipped in a chapel on Shawmut Avenue, corner of Canton Street. It was succeeded in the same field by the Church of the Paternity, organized March, 1859, and ministered to by the Rev. E. C. Bolles, afterward made Doctor of Philosophy, from November, 1859, to January, 1861. Its meetings were held in Concord-Street Chapel. Both these efforts were feeble, and commanded but a feeble following.

[2] On the same day the Rev. Sumner Ellis was installed associate pastor, which office he resigned in October, 1865. The sole pastorate again devolved upon the Rev. Dr. Thayer. In consequence of the broken state of his health, resulting from an accident which befel him some years previous, he resigned the pastorate, April 1, 1867, and gave himself more fully to the editorship of *The Universalist Quarterly and General Review*, upon which he had entered in 1864, succeeding the Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D., and which he still conducts with marked ability and to universal acceptance. He was succeeded in the charge of the parish by the Rev. L. L. Briggs, from November, 1867, to November, 1876; by the Rev. J. K. Mason, a graduate of Tufts Divinity School, from November, 1876, to June, 1880; and by the Rev. Henry Blanchard, the present pastor, a graduate of Tufts College, who entered upon his duties June 1, 1880.

[3] *Semi-Centennial Discourse*, by the Rev. J. J. Lewis.

forward to rescue the parish from its embarrassment, and ministered to it from 1846 to 1848.[1] Meantime the church was abandoned, and worship held in Ritchie Hall, in Jones's Hall, in the Webster-Street church again, in Reed's Hall, and in Sumner Hall, until the erection of the present commodious edifice, which was dedicated in December, 1866.[2]

The Universalists of Chelsea established public worship in Guild's Hall in 1842, under the leadership of the Rev. A. P. Cleverly. At the end of two years they removed to Gerrish Hall, where they continued from 1844 to 1850. Mr. Cleverly having terminated his ministry in November, 1844, the Rev. Dr. Cobb preached for them about six months. A society was organized April 21, 1845. The Rev. Eben Francis held the office of pastor from April 30, 1845, to July 2, 1848. In December of the same year the Rev. Charles H. Leonard[3] entered upon the pastorate, and filled the office for nearly twenty-one years, resigning in September, 1869.[4]

In 1858 the Rev. Sumner Ellis was employed by the Universalists of Brighton, now Ward Twenty-five, to preach in Union Hall; others were occasionally heard. After two years' ministration a parish was organized Jan. 12, 1860, and a chapel erected, which was dedicated Aug. 7, 1861.[5]

[1] Dr. Cobb, who died Oct. 31, 1866, at sixty-eight years of age, was a man of massive proportions, both physical and intellectual. Founding the *Christian Freeman and Family Visitor*, a religious and reformatory newspaper, in 1839, at Waltham, he removed it to Boston in 1841, and continued both its proprietor and editor until its union with the *Trumpet and Universalist Magazine*, in 1862, under the title of *The Trumpet and Christian Freeman, a Universalist Magazine*. In 1864 the name was changed to *The Universalist*. In 1870 *The Christian Repository*, Montpelier, Vermont, was joined with it; and in 1878, *The Christian Leader*, and the united papers took the latter name.

[2] In 1849 the Rev. Emmons Partridge became pastor, and was followed by the Rev. C. H. Webster, who closed his labors about 1853. The Rev. A. St. John Chambré, afterward Dr. Chambré, filled the pastorate during 1854 and 1855; the Revs. J. S. Barry, author of a *History of Massachusetts*, in three volumes, and J. W. Talbot, till 1860. In 1863 the Rev. C. J. White, a graduate of Tufts College, became pastor, and the parish entered upon that career of prosperity which gave it a new church in 1866, and has continued, with little vicissitude, to the present time. To the great regret of the entire society, Mr. White resigned in December, 1870, and was succeeded by the Rev. G. H. Vibbert from 1871 to 1873; by the Rev. Selden Gilbert, from 1874 to 1878, when began the labors of the present pastor, the Rev. J. G. Adams, D.D. The numbers, resources, and solidity of the parish at present promise a future whose brightness will sharply contrast with the adversities of its earlier years.

[3] Mr. Leonard was elected in 1869 Goddard Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in Tufts Divinity School, which office he still holds.

[4] These were years of great prosperity for the parish. It proceeded at once to the erection of a church on Chestnut Street, which was dedicated May 15, 1850; and such was the rapid growth of the parish, that this church was replaced by a larger and more commodious one on the same site, which was dedicated July 10, 1862. The Rev. William G. Tousey, B.D.,* was pastor from April, 1870, to July, 1871; and the Rev. I. M. Atwood,† from April, 1872, to November of the same year. The present pastor, the Rev. A. J. Canfield, was settled May 1, 1873, and is listened to regularly by large audiences.

[5] The Rev. James Eastwood was pastor from July, 1861, to July, 1864; the Rev. T. W. Silloway, from July, 1864, to July, 1867; the Rev. J. W. Keyes, from May, 1868, to September, 1869; the Revs. J. Edgar Johnson and W. A. Start, a few months each; the Rev. J. V. Wilson, from April, 1872, to April, 1874; the Rev. J. G. Adams, D.D., from October, 1876, to August, 1878. The present pastor, the Rev. B. F. Eaton, began his ministry with the parish October, 1878.

* Mr. Tousey, in 1871, was called to the Professorship of Psychology and Natural Theology in Tufts Divinity School.

† Mr. Atwood, in 1879, succeeded the late Rev. Ebenezer Fisher, D.D., as the head of the Divinity School connected with the St. Lawrence University, and subsequently received the degree of Doctor of Divinity.

The Universalist Society of Jamaica Plain, now Ward Twenty-three, was organized May 18, 1871. Its meeting-house, situated on Centre Street, corner of Greenough Avenue, was purchased of the Congregational Society the same month.[1]

The Grove Hall Universalist Parish was organized June 23, 1877. It was not a branch of, or off-shoot from, any other church, but an independent movement growing out of a Sunday-school organized about a year earlier under the direction of the Boston Sunday-School Union. In the summer of 1877 a church was erected which, including the site, cost ten thousand dollars. It was dedicated the following December.[2]

The Dorchester Universalist parish, known as St. John's Church, was the outgrowth of occasional preaching in Lyceum Hall on Meeting-house Hill, and in the Old High-School house. Professor C. H. Leonard began ministering in the latter place February, 1874. The parish was organized when possession was taken of the new chapel, Sept. 12, 1875, and Professor Leonard continued its non-resident pastor till February, 1880. The present pastor, the Rev. J. H. Weeks, a graduate both of Tufts College and Divinity School, entered upon his work Feb. 8 of the same year.

It will be seen that the movement of the business centres during the hundred years of the history of the Universalist Church, the mobility of the population, and the necessarily empirical character of many of the efforts incident to the founding of a new body of Christians have been the occasion of many vicissitudes. But it is gratifying to note that the number of parishes in Suffolk County, greater than at any former period, and strengthened by the usual auxiliaries of Christian work, the cost and commodiousness of the church edifices, the number, devotedness, and resources of the worshippers, and their increasing interest in the cause of education and of church extension are so many pledges of a future position and influence of the Universalist body in a high degree gratifying.

To the agencies thus far noticed must be added the Universalist Publishing-house, formerly located at 37 Cornhill, now at 16 Bromfield Street, Boston. The several publishing interests, thitherto in private hands, were purchased by a few devoted friends of the Church in 1862, and the profits thenceforward consecrated to the general up-building of the Universalist cause. Success attending the enterprise, an act of incorporation was secured in May, 1872. Its capital at the present time is forty-five thousand dollars,

[1] Public worship had been held for about six months in James's Hall, conducted by various clergymen under the auspices of the Massachusetts Convention. Professor Charles H. Leonard supplied the desk for about two years. The Rev. William H. Dearborn was settled as pastor in November, 1873, and ministered till November, 1875. For about three and a half years the pulpit was supplied mostly by the Rev. B. K. Russ. The present pastor, the Rev. B F. Eaton, took up the work, in connection with that of the Brighton parish, May 1, 1879.

[2] The pulpit was supplied for several months by the Rev. Dr. Thayer. In May, 1878, the Rev. F. A. Dillingham, then a student in the Divinity School connected with Tufts College, accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate, and was ordained and installed August 29, 1878, closing his labors April 1, 1881. All the departments of the parish and church are healthy and harmonious; and as the neighborhood is growing rapidly in population, and families of various antecedents heartily unite in the movement, the future is hopeful.

including sixteen thousand dollars of trust funds, the income of which is devoted to the reducing of the price of its publications for wider circulation. Among its issues are *The Christian Leader*, *The Myrtle*, *The Universalist Quarterly*, *Sunday-School Helper*, and *Universalist Register*. Besides these periodicals, it has owned the stereotype plates of one hundred and forty volumes, many of which are still in constant demand. Among them, besides those already mentioned in this chapter, are the following valuable works: The *Crown of Thorns; Discourses on the Lord's Prayer; Hours of Communion*, — by the Rev. E. H. Chapin, D.D. *Ancient History of Universalism; Counsel and Encouragement*, — by the Rev. Hosea Ballou, 2d, D.D. *Modern History of Universalism; Notes and Illustrations on the Parables of the New Testament; Life of Rev. Hosea Ballou; Commentary on the Revelation of St. John*, — by the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, D.D. *A Compend of Christian Divinity; The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with notes, etc.*, — by the Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D.D. *Theology of Universalism; Over the River, or Pleasant Walks into the Valley of Shadows and Beyond; Origin and History of the Doctrine of Endless Punishment*, — by the Rev. T. B. Thayer, D.D. *Endless Punishment*, in the very words of its advocates, by the Rev. Thomas J. Sawyer, D.D., Packard Professor of Theology in Tufts Divinity School. *The Universalism of the Lord's Prayer; Memoir of the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, D.D.; Practical Hints to Universalists*, — by the Rev. John G. Adams, D.D. *The Old Forts Taken*, by the Rev. A. A. Miner, D.D. *The Latest Word of Universalism*, being thirteen essays by thirteen clergymen; *Memoir of the Rev. Ebenezer Fisher, D.D.*, President of the Theological School connected with the St. Lawrence University, Canton, New York, — by the Rev. George H. Emerson, D.D., editor of the *Christian Leader*. *Illustrations of the Divine Government*, by T. Southwood Smith, M.D. *The Philosophy of Universalism; Exposition and Defence of Universalism; Sermons for the Times and People; The Doctrine of Endless Misery Examined and Refuted; Rudiments of Theological and Moral Science*, — by the Rev. I. D. Williamson, D.D. *At Our Best*, by the Rev. Sumner Ellis, D.D. *Our New Departure; Universalism in Life and Doctrine*, — by the Rev. Elbridge Gerry Brooks, D.D. *The Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, by the Rev. Ebenezer Fisher, D.D. *Ely and Thomas's Discussion* (a series of letters between the Rev. Styles Ely, D.D., and the Rev. Abel C. Thomas); *Letters on the Moral and Religious Duties of Parents*, — by the Rev. Otis A. Skinner, D.D. *The Balance, or Moral Arguments for Universalism*, by the Rev. A. D. Mayo; and *The Antiquity of Man*, by the Rev. J. P. Maclean. To these must be added *Memoirs* of the Rev. Henry Bacon and of the Rev. Sylvanus Cobb, D.D., with an autobiography of the first forty-one years of the life of the latter; various hymn-books and liturgies, as well as juvenile publications and Sunday-school text-books and books for Sunday-school libraries.

The general interests of the Universalist Church have been greatly advanced also by numerous publications from other sources. Some of the

more important of these are: *Heaven our Home*, by the Rev. G. W. Quimby, D.D., editor of the *Gospel Banner*, Augusta, Maine. *A Cloud of Witnesses; Bible Threatenings; Aion-Aionios; Bible Proofs of Universal Salvation; The Bible Hell*, — by the Rev. J. W. Hanson, D.D., editor of the *Star and Covenant*, Chicago, Ill. *A Century of Universalism*, by the Rev. Abel C. Thomas; and the *Biblical Review*, a new and improved commentary on the Bible, in a form for reading as well as for reference, by the Rev. W. E. Manley, D.D. A glance at this list shows that the practical obligations of Christianity have been by no means overlooked.

Among the publishers of Universalist literature in Boston who preceded the establishment of the present publishing-house, besides Mr. Henry Bowen already named, mention should be made of Mr. Bela Marsh, who was engaged in the business half a century ago; Mr. B. B. Muzzey, at 29 Cornhill, who died in 1857; the Rev. Thomas Whittemore, D.D., at 37 Cornhill, who died in 1861, and who was succeeded by the Rev. J. M. Usher; and Mr. Abel Tompkins, at 40 Cornhill, who died about twenty years since. The general business of the present house is annually increasing under the judicious management of the agent, Mr. Charles Caverly.

Such in outline is the history of Universalism in Boston. The first church in the country was organized in Gloucester in 1779; but Boston may justly claim to have been the more immediate centre of influence down to the present time. At the end of the first century now reached Boston contains ten parishes; and what may be called Business Boston, extending twenty miles from the city in all directions, contains more than forty, with a number of others just outside that limit. The nearly eight hundred clergymen in the country, and about one thousand parishes, embracing forty-three thousand families, thirty-eight thousand church members, and fifty-eight thousand members of Sunday-schools, with more than eight hundred church edifices and parish property exceeding $6,250,000 net, are distributed among twenty-three State Conventions, and are all represented in one General Convention, whose funds exceed $135,000. The Woman Centenary Association has raised and expended in missionary work, during the eleven years of its history, more than $100,000. Eleven periodicals are published in the interests of the Church; and the half-dozen academies, four colleges, and two divinity schools possess an aggregate endowment of about $2,000,000.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE NEW JERUSALEM CHURCH IN BOSTON.

BY THE REV. JAMES REED,

Pastor of the First New Jerusalem Church.

"THE Boston Society of the New Jerusalem," established in 1818, was the first organization formed in New England of believers in the doctrines taught by Emanuel Swedenborg. The original number of its members was but twelve, and its growth, for many years after its formation, was far from rapid. In 1828 the names of sixty-three persons had been entered on its rolls. In 1838 this number had swelled to one hundred and eighty-eight; and from that time to the present (1880) the average annual increase has been a little more than twenty-three. Eleven hundred and fifty-nine persons have been received into the society during the sixty-two years of its existence. Many of these have been removed by death, or transferred to other societies of the New Church; so that the present number is not much above six hundred.

From the foregoing statistics it will be seen that this society, judged by the ordinary standards, has had its full measure of prosperity. It may be added that all, or nearly all, the other New-Church societies in Massachusetts — some twenty in number — have been largely recruited from its membership.

The present house of worship in Bowdoin Street, near Beacon Street, was built and occupied in 1845. Prior to this time the meetings of the church were held in halls hired for the purpose. The only other society within the city limits is in Roxbury. It was established in 1870, under the charge of the Rev. Abiel Silver, but lately deceased, assisted by the Rev. D. V. Bowen, and has a handsome and substantial edifice on the corner of St. James and Regent streets. There are also societies in Brookline, Newton, and Waltham.

The first pastor of the Boston Society was the Rev. Thomas Worcester, D.D., a graduate of Harvard College in 1818, and one of the twelve original members of the society, which, as has been said, was instituted the same year. His father was the Rev. Noah Worcester, D.D., a well-known writer and clergyman, and a man of marked ability and influence. Thomas Worcester's interest in the writings of Swedenborg began while he was in

college, and he lost no time in communicating to his friends and classmates a knowledge of the new doctrines. Several of them became members of the society at the time of its formation or afterward, among whom may be mentioned John H. Wilkins, Caleb and Sampson Reed, T. B. Hayward, and Warren Goddard. Many other Harvard graduates, including the brothers Theophilus and William Parsons, have been connected with the church during the course of its existence.

Dr. Worcester was a man of strong and decided character, and took a leading position among those with whom he was associated, not only in his own society, but in the church at large. He also served a term of six years in the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, and received the honorary degree of D.D. from that institution. He died in August, 1878, at the age of eighty-three. His pastoral charge of the church in Boston was terminated in 1867, having embraced a period of almost fifty years. He was succeeded by the Rev. James Reed, a son of his classmate and life-long friend Sampson Reed, and a graduate of Harvard in the year 1855. Mr. Reed is at the present time the pastor of the society. For the last seven years of Dr. Worcester's pastorate he served as his assistant.

So far as is known, attention was first called in Boston to Swedenborg and his writings by one James Glen, in or about the year 1784. He appears to have visited the city for the purpose of lecturing on this subject. Not much is known of the results of his efforts; but it is believed that some interest was awakened, which became more apparent at a later period.

In 1794, and again in 1796, the Rev. William Hill, of England, came to this country with the avowed object of disseminating the doctrines of the New Church. For a considerable time he resided in Massachusetts, in the vicinity of Boston. He is said to have had great hopes of Harvard University, and is known to have presented some of Swedenborg's works to the library. The immediate result of his efforts could hardly have met his expectations, as the number of his converts was very small; but the books which he distributed here and there produced effects more tangible and lasting. Of those deposited in Harvard College library Dr. Worcester tells an amusing story in a communication made by him to the Boston church some years ago. He says: —

"Upon my return to the college, after I had begun to read Swedenborg, I went to the library the second time to see if I could find any of his works. The librarian looked into the catalogue again, and found the alcove and shelves where they ought to have been, but they were not there. Then we began a thorough search. We looked through the whole library, in place and out of place, but could not find them. Then we began to think of other rooms. At that time the library was in the second story of the west end of Harvard Hall. In the east end was a large room called the 'Philosophical Room.' And between this room and the library was a small room, which for the want of a proper name was called the 'Museum.' It was filled with rubbish, old curiosities, cast off, superseded, and obsolete philosophical apparatus, and so forth, all covered with dust. We could see no reason for hunting here, except that

we had hunted everywhere else, without finding what we wanted. There was a long table in the room. Upon it and under it were piles of useless articles, and beyond it were shelves against the wall, where various things were stored away. On the under shelf, as far out of sight as possible, I saw some books. I told the librarian, and he went round and worked his way until he got at them, and found that the large books were volumes of the 'Arcana Coelestia.' There were also several other works of Swedenborg, all of them covered with dust. I immediately got an order from President Kirkland, giving me authority to take the books and keep them in my room; and this I did for the rest of my college life." [1]

The incident here narrated illustrates the estimate which was placed on Swedenborg's writings at that time. Those who embraced the new doctrines and became members of the church did so at the risk of much personal sacrifice. Some of Dr. Worcester's college associates were unable, after their graduation, to obtain positions as teachers on account of their Swedenborgian belief; and others found themselves, for the same reason, almost cut off from their former social connections. Mr. Henry G. Foster, one of the earliest members of the Boston Society, writes in 1857 concerning the state of things at or about the year 1818, that "those who made any efforts to impart the truths they had received were in general soon led to relinquish the attempt by the incredulity or disdain with which they were repelled;" that "they were acknowledged, by the condescending liberality of their contemporaries, to be good people, though weak to a degree little short of fatuity;" and he adds: "The change which has taken place during the last half century is nearly unimaginable to the present generation." [2]

While this last observation of Mr. Foster is undoubtedly true, it must yet be admitted that the growth of the New Church as a visible organization has been slow. Although there is probably no religious body which holds its peculiar tenets with a deeper conviction of their truth and value than those who are known as Swedenborgians, they cannot claim to have received at any time large accessions from the community around them. But they feel nevertheless that the doctrines they profess exert a constant and ever increasing influence on the thought of the age, and contain the vital principles which must finally prevail over the minds of men, whether their own immediate efforts to propagate them meet with success or failure.

These reflections lead me to speak more particularly of the claim which Swedenborg makes, not for himself personally, but for the truth which is revealed in his writings.

All who are familiar with his biography know that he was, in his own day and generation, a distinguished philosopher and scientist, and an influential member of the Swedish Diet. It was not until he was over fifty years of age that he became a writer on spiritual themes. He then believed that he had been called by the Lord to make known to men the internal or spiritual

[1] *Biographical Sketch of Thomas Worcester, D.D.*, by Sampson Reed, pp. 17, 18.
[2] *New Jerusalem Magazine*, vol. xxx. pp. 111, 112.

sense of the divine Word, with the doctrines contained therein, that sense having been first made clear to his own mind as he diligently read the Scriptures. From that time until his death, which took place in 1772, when he was eighty-four years old, he was continually writing and publishing books on theological subjects. Yet he did not intermit his attention to his public duties; nor does he appear to have lost in any degree his general influence.

He declares that the time in which he lived and wrote was that of the close or consummation of the first Christian Church, and was signalized by no less an event than the second coming of the Lord and the establishment of a new era or dispensation of Christianity. Not that the Lord came visibly, in person, to the outward apprehension of men, or that the divine impulse which gave birth to the new age was manifest in this world. But the work was primarily and essentially a spiritual one. According to the philosophy taught by Swedenborg, all natural events are traceable to spiritual causes; and the two worlds, the spiritual and the natural, are closely connected with each other. Hence any important occurrence taking place in the former must sooner or later produce its effects here on earth.

Without going further into particulars, or attempting to argue the question, it is sufficient to say that Swedenborg claimed to foresee, from a spiritual point of view, that after the middle of the last century a marked change would come over humanity. A new impetus would be given to human thought and life. There would be a new heaven and a new earth, in that a new state of things would exist both in heaven and on earth. Not only religion and theology, but all else that deeply affects the lives of men, would undergo a transformation. There would be a new church, or a new dispensation of divine truth and influence in the broadest sense. The change would be gradual, but it would be universal. Not a few who have never heard of Swedenborg, or have heard only to deride him, bear unconscious testimony to the truth of this prediction. That we are living in a wonderful new age is every day becoming more and more the common feeling and belief of mankind. It is declared with ever increasing unanimity and confidence that the Christianity of the future must and will be radically different from the Christianity of the past.

Swedenborg himself says, respecting this new age: —

"The state of the world hereafter will be quite similar to what it has been heretofore; for the great change which has been effected in the spiritual world does not induce any change in the natural world as regards the outward form; so that the affairs of States — peace, treaties, and wars, with all other things which belong to societies of men in general and in particular — will exist in the future just as they existed in the past. The Lord's saying, that in the last times there will be wars, and that nation will then rise against nation, and kingdom against kingdom, and that there will be famines, pestilences, and earthquakes in divers places (Matt. xxiv. 6, 7), does not signify that such things will exist in the natural world; for the Word in its prophecies does not treat of the kingdoms or of the nations upon earth, or consequently of their

wars, or of famines, pestilences, and earthquakes in nature, but of such things as correspond to them in the spiritual world. . . . But as for the state of the church, this it is which will be dissimilar hereafter; it will be similar indeed in the outward form, but dissimilar in the inward. To outward appearance divided churches will exist as heretofore; their doctrines will be taught as heretofore, and the same religions as now will exist among the gentiles. But henceforth the man of the church will be in a freer state of thinking on matters of faith — that is, on spiritual things which relate to heaven — because spiritual liberty has been restored to him."[1]

It will be evident from all these considerations that New Churchmen, or Swedenborgians, must needs take a broad view of the church and its growth. How far the old Christian sects will be dismembered, and the little body which includes the subject of this chapter be blessed with continuous life, and become the acknowledged nucleus of the church of the future, is a matter of comparative indifference to them. The great fact everywhere confronts them, that the prophecies which they have been led to believe are receiving manifest fulfilment; that the establishment of a new church or dispensation is rapidly going on; that fresh light from heaven is descending, and new spiritual influences are busily at work; that liberty of thought is daily increasing, and that in the exercise of it each man sooner or later will find the place that belongs to him. As for themselves, experience shows them that their own sense of spiritual need can be satisfied only in an organization which gives full expression to the specific doctrines taught in Swedenborg's writings. Accordingly they maintain such an organization, endeavoring to be true to their deepest convictions and to enjoy the same spiritual freedom which they willingly concede to others.

Their policy with regard to the religious denominations around them has never been aggressive. Believing, as they do, that human salvation depends on the use which is made of opportunities more than on the opportunities themselves, and that therefore the kingdom of heaven lies open to men of all nations and creeds, they do not feel that kind of solicitude which has often led the members of some Christian sects to compass sea and land in search of proselytes as a matter involving the issues of eternal life and death. Believing also that religious truth cannot really be received by man unless he is in a state of freedom and rationality, they do not approve of any urgent and persuasive methods which tend to hinder the exercise of these two faculties. Their chief reliance, in addition to the maintenance of public worship, has been on the publication and circulation of books, mainly the writings of Swedenborg. One gentleman in Philadelphia, Mr. L. C. Iungerich, has during the last seven years given away, through the publishing house of J. B. Lippincott & Co., many thousand volumes to Protestant clergymen of all denominations; and other individuals and associated bodies have devoted much time and money to the same work.

This chapter does not offer a suitable occasion for speaking in detail of the peculiar doctrines of the New Church. Suffice it to say that they differ

[1] Treatise on *The Last Judgment*, No. 73.

from other doctrines not on any single point or any few points which might be quickly named; but they bring new light to bear on every subject of human thought. Under their influence all things in heaven and earth appear transformed. To those who believe them they come with the certitude of rational conviction. They are seen as philosophical principles, which are no more to be doubted than so many mathematical demonstrations. Instead of being at war with science, they look to science for their proof and confirmation; yet they are equally in harmony with Scripture. I am aware that these assertions will seem to many like the unguarded expressions of mere enthusiasm. But be this as it may, they will at least serve to define the position of a religious body which, undisturbed by the fewness of its numbers and the narrow limits of its nominal influence, yet confidently awaits the issue of events, beholding in the signs of the time the fulfilment of its expectations and hopes, as the advanced guards of human progress constantly draw nearer to its own standard of Christian truth.

James Reed.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN BOSTON.

BY THE VERY REV. WILLIAM BYRNE,

Vicar-General of the Diocese.

ONE hundred years ago there were about one hundred Catholics in Boston. These were for the most part either French, Irish, or Spanish. They had then no church organization, no church, no regular place of worship, and only the occasional ministrations of transient priests. Only two of these are known to have made any considerable stay in Boston. These were the Abbé de la Poterie, an ex-chaplain of the French navy, who said the first mass in the School-Street chapel, Nov. 2, 1788, and the Rev. Louis Rousselet; the latter was here about the close of the War of Independence.

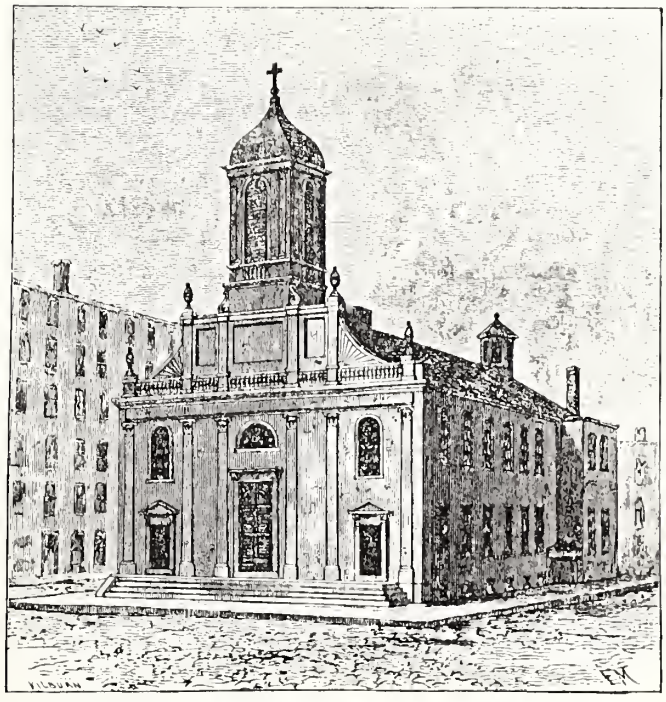
These missionaries were succeeded by the Rev. John Thayer, a native of Boston, a convert to the Catholic faith, who had been a Congregational minister. During this gentleman's travels in Europe in 1781–83 he learned and accepted the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. After this change he still felt impelled to continue the work of the Christian ministry, and resolved to become a priest. With this end in view he entered the seminary of St. Sulpice, Paris. There he completed his studies, and prepared himself for the reception of sacred orders. After being ordained priest he returned to America, and visited Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore, the superior of the missions in the United States. Dr. Carroll assigned him to the Boston mission. On his arrival in Boston, Jan. 4, 1790, he found the Catholics using as a place of religious assembly and worship a small chapel on School Street. This chapel had been previously occupied by a small Huguenot congregation,[1] but was the property of Mr. Perkins, from whom Father Thayer obtained, in 1790, a lease for a few years.[2] This may be said to be the first regularly organized church society of Roman Catholics in Boston.[3]

[1] [See Vol. II. p. 253. — Ed.]

[2] From the arrival of the Rev. John de Cheverus in 1796, the Rev. John Thayer devoted his chief attention to the few Catholics who had settled in New England outside of Boston, till he was sent to the Kentucky Missions in 1799. During his stay in Boston, he was frequently engaged in controversies on religious subjects.

[3] The Rev. Dr. Carroll, of Baltimore, superior of the Catholic Missions in the United

On Aug. 20, 1792, the Rev. Francis A. Matignon, a French priest, arrived in Boston, having been sent by Dr. Carroll to assist Father Thayer. Before the French Revolution drove Dr. Matignon from his native land, he had been for several years regius professor of divinity in the College of Navarre. He was a most valuable helper in the work of the Boston mission, as he was a learned ecclesiastic, a zealous priest, a highly educated and polite scholar, and a man of a meek, gentle, and genial disposition.



CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, IN FRANKLIN STREET.

The Rev. John de Cheverus, another exiled French priest, soon, however, joined him on this mission. This he did at Dr. Matignon's invitation and with the sanction of Dr. Carroll. He was ordained at Paris, Dec. 18, 1790, in the last public ordination which preceded the breaking out of the great French Revolution. He arrived in Boston Oct. 3, 1796. Two clergymen better fitted than Matignon and Cheverus for the peculiar needs

States, paid an official visit to the Boston mission during the year 1791. The only record of this visit, so far as we can discover, is found in a letter of Dr. Carroll, dated Aug. 28, 1791, and addressed to Governor Hancock. After most heartily thanking the Governor and his estimable lady for the many favors and civilities they extended to him during his stay in Boston, Dr. Carroll concludes his letter as follows: —

"I know that your Excellency frequently sees Mr. and Mrs. Jaffray, Mr. Sheriff and his sister, the Rev. Mr. Thatcher, and Judge Sullivan. Will it be too much presumption to ask that I may be mentioned to them as full of gratitude for their civilities and politeness, and anxious to give any proof of it that they can command? Desiring once more my very humble respects to your most obliging and polite Lady, I have the honor to be with the utmost esteem,

"Sir, your most obedient and humble servant,

"† J. Carroll."

The original of this letter is in the possession of the Rev. E. H. Welch, S. J. of Boston College, and was presented to him about eighteen years ago by Mr. Charles Hancock.

of the Boston missions could hardly be found. Their virtue, piety, and zeal won the hearts of the Catholics, and, together with their refined manners and genial disposition, soon gained the respect and esteem of the citizens in general.

In a few years after this, the Catholic congregation having somewhat increased in numbers, it was thought well to build a church for their accommodation.[1] A committee to solicit contributions for this object was appointed at a meeting held March 31, 1799. The members of the committee were Hon. Don Juan Stoughton, Spanish consul at this port, John Magner, Michael Burns, John Duggan, Patrick Campbell, Owen Callaghan, and Edmund Connor. The committee in a few weeks secured subscriptions amounting to $3,000. Many pledged themselves to give half their monthly earnings till the church was completed and paid for. A lot of land at the foot of Franklin Street was immediately purchased. A second subscription to create a building fund was then opened. At the head of this subscription list we find the name of John Adams, President of the United States; Dr. Matignon received some contributions from friends in the Southern States. The total sum collected was $16,153, of which $3,433 was contributed by Protestants friendly to the enterprise. Ground was broken for the foundations, March 17, 1800. The church, sixty by eighty feet, was built in accordance with plans furnished by Mr. Charles Bulfinch, architect.[2] It was a brick structure on a stone foundation, the basement walls being also of stone; and it cost about $20,000. On Sept. 29, 1803, it was dedicated to divine worship, under the title of the Holy Cross, by Bishop Carroll, of Baltimore, to whom, jointly with Dr. Matignon, the land was deeded in trust for the Catholics of Boston. He was assisted in the ceremony by Dr. Matignon and the Rev. John de Cheverus and two other priests. A procession starting from the house of the Spanish consul proceeded to the church. After blessing the church in the mode prescribed in the Roman Catholic ritual, the bishop celebrated a solemn high mass; Mr. Mallet presided at the organ. The church was densely crowded, and the assembly out of doors was very large and orderly. Dr. Cheverus preached the dedicatory sermon. A bell brought here from Spain, now in the mortuary chapel of Holyhood Cemetery, was presented to the church by Mr. Hasket Derby.

This church was afterward known as the Franklin-Street Cathedral of the Holy Cross. It was subsequently enlarged, and was for many years the only Catholic church in Boston. Divine service continued to be conducted in it till September, 1860, when it was sold to Isaac Rich, business in the

[1] The Catholics about this time numbered twelve or fifteen hundred.

[2] [A beautiful silver urn, given to Mr. Bulfinch by the Catholics in testimony of his skill and disinterestedness, is still retained in the family of his daughter in New York. A portrait of Mr. Bulfinch, and an estimate of his work as an architect find place in a later chapter. — Ed.]

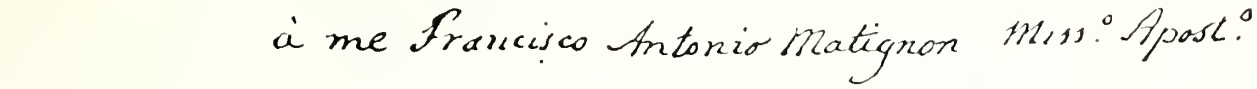
mean time having so completely transformed the neighborhood that few dwelling-houses remained, and traffic in the vicinity having become so noisy that the usefulness of the church was greatly impaired. It is now replaced by the magnificent Cathedral of the Holy Cross at the South End.

+ John Cheverus R. C. Bishop

In the year 1808 Boston was made an episcopal see by Pope Pius VII. Owing to the troubled state of Europe at that time the official papers appointing Dr. Cheverus first Bishop of Boston did not arrive till 1810. The new diocese, of which Boston was thus made the centre, embraced all the New-England States. Bishop Cheverus was consecrated in Baltimore, Nov. 1, 1810, by Bishop Carroll.

[1] [This cut follows a likeness painted by Gilbert Stuart just before the Bishop left Boston, and is now owned by Mrs. Horatio Greenough, of Boston. It was painted for Mrs. John Gore. See Mason's *Gilbert Stuart*, p. 158. — ED.]

On Sept. 19, 1818, Dr. Matignon died in Boston. His remains were deposited in the tomb of John Magner in the Old Granary Burying-ground



on Tremont Street, where they remained till transferred, shortly afterward, to the new Catholic cemetery in South Boston. They now lie under the floor of the mortuary chapel of St. Augustine in that cemetery.

The Ursuline Convent was established in a building beside the cathedral, June 16, 1820, and a school for girls was opened and taught by the nuns. The project of a nunnery and school was first broached by the Rev. John Thayer. Such interest did he take in the matter that he collected about $8,000 for this purpose; and when he died, in 1822, in Limerick, Ireland, he was engaged in soliciting funds for this object. The Ursulines were afterward, in 1826, transferred by Bishop Fenwick to a convent built for them in Charlestown, on a hill since known as Mount Benedict, now in the city of Somerville.

To the great regret of all classes of citizens, Bishop Cheverus, failing in health, was recalled to his native country, and left for France Oct. 1, 1823. There he was made Bishop of Montauban, and was afterward transferred to Bordeaux, where he died cardinal archbishop, July 19, 1836. Very Rev. William Taylor, vicar-general, administered the affairs of the diocese till the appointment of the second bishop of Boston, Benedict J. Fenwick,[1] a native of Maryland, and a member of the Society of Jesus, who was consecrated in Baltimore by Bishop Marechal, Nov. 1, 1825. When he came to Boston, accompanied by Bishop England, he found only two priests in the city, — the Rev. William Taylor, V. G., and the Rev. Patrick Byrne.

The Rev. James Fitton and the Rev. William Wiley were ordained priests in December, 1827. The first Catholic school for boys was opened in connection with the cathedral in 1827, and was taught by the ecclesiastical students who were pursuing their studies under the direction of Bishop Fenwick. It was in this school that the present Archbishop of Boston received his first lessons in the rudiments of Latin. Rev. James Fitton, still living, was one of his teachers.

Bishop Fenwick, finding that there were little colonies of Catholics settled in Charlestown and at Cragie's Point, resolved to build a church for them. Aug. 15, 1828, he visited and approved a site for a new church midway between these points. At his suggestion a meeting of the Catholics of these districts was held August 25 of that year, at which a plan of building and paying for a church with one hundred and twenty pews was adopted.

[1] Bishop Fenwick was born, Sept. 3, 1782, in St. Mary's County, Maryland. He belonged to one of the first families that came from England to settle in Maryland, under Lord Baltimore's Charter. He was also among the first to join the Society of Jesus on its revival.

By selling half the pews it was found that about $6,000 could be secured. A lot of land was purchased from Amos Binney for $1,569, and the church begun Oct. 3, 1828, when the corner-stone was laid by Bishop Fenwick, assisted by the Rev. P. Byrne, Father Wiley, and the Rev. William Tyler, of Boston, the Rev. John Mahony, of Salem, and the Rev. R. D. Woodley, of Providence. A procession led by the cross-bearer proceeded from the house of Mr. Robertson, a Protestant gentleman, to the site of the church on Richmond Street. Bishop Fenwick blessed the foundation and laid the corner-stone with the usual ceremonies. He also preached the sermon. An immense assembly of people was present, many of whom were drawn there by curiosity to witness this novel spectacle. On May 10, 1829, the church being finished, it was dedicated under the title of St. Mary's. Bishop Fenwick performed the ceremony, assisted by the Rev. James Fitton and the Rev. William Wiley, and also preached. The mass was celebrated by the Rev. William Tyler, who was afterward first bishop of Hartford, assisted by Fathers Fitton and Wiley, — this being his first solemn high mass. The concourse of Catholics and others was very great. Father Fitton preached a sermon at vespers.[1]

The small mortuary chapel standing since 1819 in St Augustine's Cemetery in South Boston was enlarged so as to be used as a church in 1831 for the accommodation of the few Catholic settlers of that peninsula. The Rev. Mr. O'Flaherty said the first mass in the enlarged chapel, and preached a sermon on the occasion. Afterward this church was attended by the Rev. Thomas Lynch and the Rev. John Mahony.

This year the *United States Intelligencer* was published in Boston as the successor of a newspaper called the *Jesuit*, which was begun in 1829. The articles in these papers were chiefly controversial, and their tone polemic rather than apologetic. They were dictated by sincere conviction and zeal rather than by policy or expediency; and while they may have made some converts and enlightened not a few, they must have been distasteful, not to say irritating, to many.

The Sisters of Charity were first introduced into Boston in 1832. They came from St. Joseph's, Emmettsburg, Maryland. Sister Ann Alexis was their first superior in this city, and their duties were to take care of orphans and poor children. The labors of Sister Ann Alexis, extending over a period of nearly fifty years, were productive of great good, and were highly appreciated by citizens of every religious belief. The female orphan asylum on Camden Street is a fitting monument of her charity, zeal, and industry.[2]

[1] In 1830, just fifty years ago, the entire Catholic population of Boston and Charlestown was about ten thousand souls, attended by the bishop and four priests, — namely, O'Flaherty, Wiley, Tyler, and Byrne. The baptisms in that year numbered five hundred and twenty-six.

[2] They first opened a school for girls on Hamilton Street. They opened an orphan asylum on the corner of High and Pearl streets in 1841. The Camden-Street asylum was founded in 1858. Sister Blandina, one of the sisters who came with Sister Ann Alexis, was living in 1872.

About this time the cathedral began to be so crowded at all the services that the bishop found it necessary to begin to provide means of building a new church, and funds for this purpose were collected to the amount of five thousand dollars.

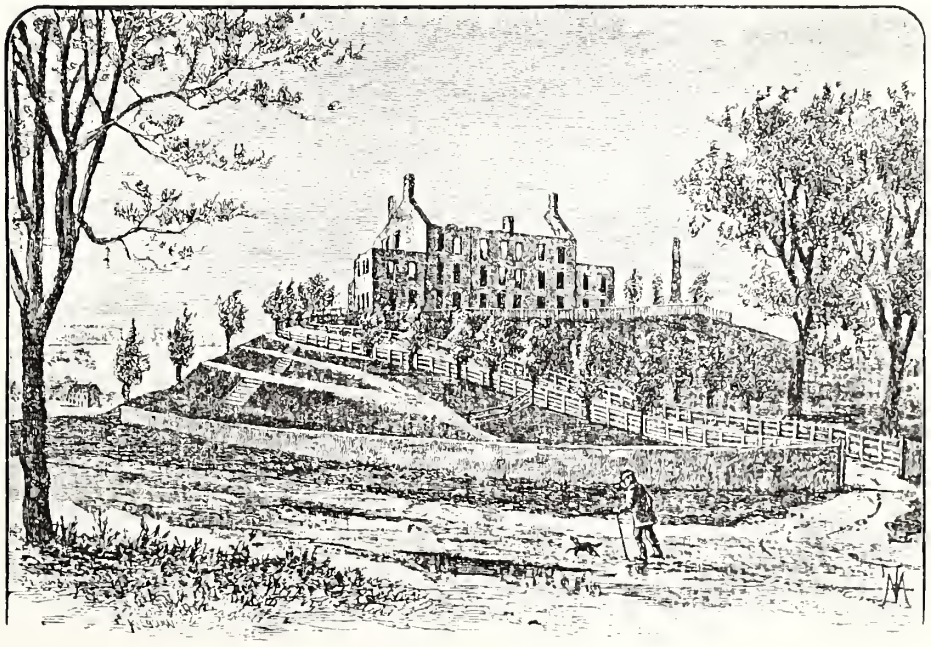
Some time previous to this, the Catholics had purchased a lot of land on Bunker Hill, Charlestown, and had begun to use it as a burial-place for their dead. This year an attempt was made to induce the town authorities to prevent further interments therein. It was thought that this historic ground should not be used as a place of sepulture. The Legislature was petitioned for a law that would give cities and towns authority to grant or withhold permission to bury within their borders. The Catholics opposed the passage of this law, on the ground that, in the growing anti-Catholic spirit of the time, they feared it would be used to embarrass them in giving Catholic sepulture to their dead.

About this time the flight of Miss Rebecca Reed from the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown caused some popular excitement. The fact that she was a convert from Protestantism, coupled with her sudden and secret flight and the reasons she assigned for this step, were taken advantage of by certain zealots to fan the growing flame of anti-Catholic prejudice and public distrust. On July 28 the following year (1834), another somewhat similar, but far more serious and unfortunate, event occurred in connection with this same convent, which finally led to the most disastrous and deplorable results, including the destruction of the convent by a mob.[1]

It appears that one of the nuns named Sister Mary John, in a fit of mental derangement, caused as the physician afterward said by hysteria, left the convent secretly on the night of July 28, and, going to the house of a Protestant neighbor named Runey, was at her own request conducted by him to the house of Mr. Cotting, in West Cambridge. This Mr. Cotting had formerly had two daughters in the convent school as pupils, and Sister Mary John had thus some acquaintance with the family. Mr. Cotting received her kindly. Bishop Fenwick, learning the facts of the case from the nuns, repaired that evening to Mr. Cotting's house and requested to see and converse with Sister Mary John. This request she persistently refused to comply with. The bishop was very anxious that she should return and place herself under the protection and care of her sisters in religion, or consent to be restored to her relatives, both for her own sake and on account of the misconceptions that a contrary course would arouse in the public mind, — already hostile to Catholic institutions, and peculiarly prejudiced

[1] The facts in this case are taken directly from Bishop Fenwick's journal, and do not differ materially from those found by the investigation of a committee appointed for this purpose at a public meeting held in Faneuil Hall, Aug. 12, 1834. This investigation lasted for two weeks, and the results of it are clearly stated in the admirable report of the committee, which is a matter of public record, and may be found in the collection of Bishop England's works, vol. v. p. 223. The chairman of the committee was Charles G. Loring, and it was composed of such distinguished men as Charles P. Curtis, Henry Lee, Horace Mann, Richard S. Fay, John D. Williams, William Sturgis, Benjamin Rich, Robert C. Winthrop, Nathan Appleton, Theophilus Parsons, Thomas Motley, and Edward Sohier.

against monasteries and nunneries. In this emergency the bishop had recourse to the intervention of her brother, Mr. Harrison, of Boston. The brother visited West Cambridge, and was received by his sister. After some persuasion she consented to return to the convent, after having seen the bishop and hearing what he had to say. This she did July 29, accompanied by her brother and the bishop. The next day the attack of hysteria passed away, and Sister Mary John was restored to her normal condition. With the return of mental tranquillity came back her love for the religious state, and her desire to remain in the convent. She could hardly believe the facts in the case as related to her, and was inclined to look upon what had



MOUNT BENEDICT.[1]

happened as a dream. When she could no longer withhold her credence she was greatly grieved, and was heard to cry out from time to time, "O God! where were my senses?" "How can I ever repair the injury I have done!" The bishop and the nuns did all in their power to soothe her anguish and restore her peace of mind. The physician, Dr. Thompson, directed them to keep her as composed and quiet as possible, to guard against a possible relapse. Happily this did not take place, and all would have been well had not a rumor spread that she was detained in the convent against her will, and even harshly treated by the other nuns. The public press took up and spread this rumor far and wide, and the public mind was

[1] [This cut follows a lithograph now in the dining-room of the residence of the pastor of St. Mary's church, Charlestown. There is another view of the ruins in Drake's *Landmarks of Middlesex*, p. 91. — ED.]

excited to a high pitch of indignation. Finally, some of the more ignorant and prejudiced class, including others prompted by bigotry and malice, made a demonstration against the convent on the night of August 9. About nine o'clock that night a mob of rough characters, chiefly of the laboring class, gathered about the convent grounds, crying out in loud and menacing tones, "Down with the convent!" "Away with the nuns!" Two men named Cutter, who resided in the neighborhood, constituted themselves spokesmen for the assembly, and undertook to see if there was any truth in the charge that a nun was forcibly detained in the cloister. With this end in view, they called at the convent, and requested to see the superior and Sister Mary John, so that they might hear from their own lips the truth of the matter. The superior complied with their request, and Sister Mary John declared to them that her stay in the convent was the result of her own free choice. The Cutters retired, professing to be satisfied, and so informed the mob, who soon afterwards withdrew. The nuns, however, in their great tribulation, anxiety, and fear, spent the night in watching and prayer.

The next day being Sunday, the bishop visited the convent and said mass there, as was his custom. He found Mary John full of regret for what had happened, and most anxious to be assured of his forgiveness. On the following Monday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the selectmen of Charlestown paid an official visit to the convent, and with the permission of the superior examined it from garret to cellar. They remained for about three hours, and, having seen and conversed with Sister Mary John and the other inmates, declared that they were perfectly satisfied that everything was correct, and that they would so announce through the newspapers of the following day. Notwithstanding all this, about eight o'clock on the night of this same day (Aug. 11, 1834), a mob again began to assemble about the convent. No great apprehension of violence was, however, felt, as it was known that the civil authorities were warned in time; and it was thought that they were able and willing to protect property and keep the peace. The event proved that this supposition was not at all correct. About ten o'clock that night, when thousands had been gathered to the scene by a bonfire lighted on the adjoining land, a body of about five or six hundred ruffians made a furious assault on the convent. They broke in the windows, battered down the doors, invaded the premises, ransacked and pillaged the convent, and having broken and thrown out of doors such furniture as they could not carry away, finally set fire to the house itself, and burned it to the ground. Although an alarm of fire was sounded, and some fire companies with their engines appeared on the scene, no effectual efforts were made to extinguish the flames, — the firemen being probably overawed by the mob. Two of the selectmen of Charlestown were on the ground, but, beyond advising the mob to abstain from violence, did nothing to protect the convent. The pupils, about fifty-five in number, all young ladies, had retired to bed before the assault began. They were now hastily dressed, and hurried out of the building, followed by the nuns. All fled in scattered groups, as best they

could, and found refuge in the neighboring farm-houses until the following morning, when they were gathered together and returned to their friends. They saved nothing except what they wore at the time, not even a change of clothing. The Ursuline nuns were brought to Boston, and were temporarily lodged with the Sisters of Charity.

The citizens of Boston of the better class were filled with indignation at this dastardly outrage on defenceless women and children. The very next day a meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, in which Mr. Harrison Gray Otis delivered a speech of great power and eloquence. He denounced the perpetrators of this savage outrage as cowardly ruffians, and expressed his horror and indignation at the shameful and atrocious proceedings of the mob. Speeches of the same character were also made by Josiah Quincy, Jr., and others. Resolutions were formally passed, condemning the burning of the convent in the strongest terms. That same day, however, another mob collected about the cathedral, but the citizens were armed and prepared, and although many threats were made, no violence was attempted. The success of Bishop Fenwick in restraining the Catholics from acts of retaliation and the influence of all good citizens caused the excitement gradually to subside, and by August 19 tranquillity was perfectly restored. Thirteen of the rioters were arrested and brought to trial, chiefly through the exertions of the Faneuil-Hall committee. The Government, however, failed to convict, except in the case of Marvin Marcy, Jr., a young man who was probably the least guilty of the number. He was soon afterward pardoned on the petition of the bishop and others, it being thought incongruous that while J. R. Buzzell and other leaders in the riot remained unpunished, the least guilty should suffer.[1]

The church on Pond (now Endicott) Street, was begun about this time, and the walls were ready for the roof, Oct. 14, 1835. The basement being completed, the first mass was said therein on Christmas Day of this year. The church was afterward dedicated, under the title of St. Mary's, May 22, 1836. For a time the clergymen at the cathedral attended this church, of which the first regular pastors were Fathers Wiley and O'Beirne.

[1] Efforts were subsequently made to induce the State to make compensation for the damage done; but although a law was finally (March 16, 1839) passed covering cases of mob violence, the Legislature did not think it well to make it retroactive. The convent property has now passed into other hands, and the hill itself on which it stood is fast disappearing, the clay and gravel being used for filling up the low lands along the Mystic River.

The Ursulines, after residing for a time on a place in Roxbury, known as the Dearborn Estate, visited Quebec in 1835, and finally withdrew altogether from Boston. [The bibliography of the convent riot can be traced in J. F. Hunnewell's *Bibliography of Charlestown*, 1880. Those titles of chief importance are *The Trials*, 1834; *Documents relating to*, 1842; the several legislative reports on indemnity, 1852, 1853, 1854; some papers in the *Boston Commercial Bulletin*, Jan. and Feb. 1870, which enlarged, and reproducing much contemporary evidence, were reissued by Patrick Donahoe as *The Charlestown Convent*, 1870; Mrs. Louisa Whitney's *Burning of the Convent*, 1877, the writer having been a pupil there at the time. Rebecca T. Reed's *Six Months in a Convent* was published in Boston in 1835; followed by *An Answer* from the Lady Superior; this again by a *Reply*, intended as a vindication of Miss Reed, to whose narrative a separate *Supplement* was also printed, with an account of the "elopement of Miss Harrison." — Ed.]

The Catholics becoming quite numerous in the south end of the city, a church on Northampton Street, known as St. Patrick's, was begun in 1835. The Rev. Thomas Lynch, who was the first pastor of this church, was ordained priest July 27, 1833. The Rev. P. O'Beirne, the present venerable pastor of St. Joseph's, Roxbury, was ordained in 1835.

In 1836 a German Catholic Congregation was organized, and was given the use of the cathedral for their services, with priests of their own language to officiate for them. A charity fair in aid of the Orphan Asylum was held this year, and $2,000 realized.

The conversion of the Rev. George F. Haskins, an Episcopal minister, happened in 1840, and he was, after due preparation, ordained priest, and became the second pastor of the church of St. John the Baptist, Moon Street. Afterward he was the first pastor of St. Stephen's church on Hanover Street. He also founded and conducted the House of the Angel Guardian, an asylum for wayward and orphan boys.

Dr. O'Flaherty, somewhat noted for the distinguished share he took in a religious controversy with Dr. Lyman Beecher in 1831, was about this time appointed pastor of St. Mary's Church, jointly with Rev. Patrick O'Beirne, now the rector of St. Joseph's Church, Roxbury.

In 1841 a lot of land was purchased on Suffolk Street to serve as a site for a church for the Catholic Germans, the corner-stone of which was laid June 28 of the following year.[1] A procession, formed at St. Patrick's church, proceeded to the site of the new church, the people on foot, the bishop and clergy vested in their official robes in carriages. The Rev. Francis Roloff, the pastor, preached the sermon. In 1842 was held the first synod of the Boston diocese, in which statutes for the better ordering of discipline were enacted. Jan. 17, 1843, a lot of land on Moon Street, on which there was a large warehouse, was bought for church purposes, and after being adapted to its new uses was dedicated under the title of St. John the Baptist. It is now used as a parochial school, and its place is supplied by St. Stephen's church, Hanover Street. The first pastor was the Rev. J. B. McMahon.

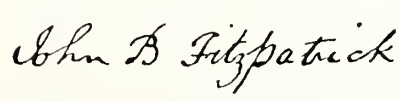
The chapel of St. Augustine, although somewhat enlarged, soon proved quite insufficient for the increasing body of Catholics in South Boston. Consequently a new church was begun on Broadway in 1843. The basement hall was ready for occupancy in 1844, and the church, a fine stone structure, was dedicated in 1845, and called SS. Peter and Paul. Its first pastor was the Rev. Terence Fitzsimmons. It was destroyed by fire, Sept. 8, 1848, the flames being first discovered in the belfry. It was supposed to have caught fire from sparks from a conflagration then raging on Federal Street, near the bridge. The work of rebuilding it was soon begun, and having been reconstructed after the original designs, it was rededicated Nov. 7, 1853. The Rev. P. F. Lyndon was the second pastor, and the present Rector is the Rev. William A. Blinkinsop.

In the mean time several Catholic families had settled on the island, now

[1] The newly-erected tower fell in 1843, doing considerable damage.

called East Boston. Among those the best known were Mr. Daniel Crowley and Messrs. McManus and Cummiskey. So inconvenient was it for them to cross the ferry in order to attend church, that, as soon as their numbers gave any promise of sufficient support, it was resolved to provide them with a church of their own. In 1844 Mr. Daniel Crowley, after consultation with other leading Catholics, and with the approval of the bishop, purchased the meeting-house of the Maverick Congregational Society; and after the necessary alterations and repairs were made it was dedicated, as a Catholic church, on the 25th of February, under the title of St. Nicholas. The Rev. Nicholas J. O'Brien was the first pastor; and on his return to the cathedral, March, 1847, he was succeeded by the Rev. Charles McCallion, who enlarged the church and built a fine brick residence for the pastor. He was succeeded in 1851 by the Rev. William Wiley, who held the office till his death, April 19, 1855. In 1854 the Rev. William Wiley, finding that the congregation was rapidly increasing, secured a lot of land adjoining the old church, laid the foundations and completed the basement walls of the large and beautiful stone church now known as the church of the Holy Redeemer. Father Wiley was succeeded by the Rev. James Fitton, who continued the work and brought it to completion in 1857, when it was dedicated by Bishop Fitzpatrick. The belfry contains a fine bell, the gift of Mr. Daniel Crowley. The galleries have recently been removed, and the interior greatly improved. The old church was converted into a school-house in 1858, and the Sisters of Notre Dame have conducted the parochial school for girls therein from that date to the present time.

The Rev. J. B. Fitzpatrick was appointed Coadjutor Bishop of Boston in 1843, and consecrated March 24, 1844.



The conversion of A. O. Brownson, a Unitarian clergyman, which took place in Boston in 1844, attracted public attention.[1] He was received into the Catholic Church by Bishop Fitzpatrick. This year is also marked by the elevation to the priesthood of the Rev. John J. Williams, the present Archbishop of Boston.

In 1845 a house on Purchase Street was bought, for $18,000, for the Orphan Asylum in charge of the Sisters of Charity.

Bishop Fenwick began to fail in health in 1846.[2] He became quite ill on the 7th of August, and died on the 11th day of the same month, aged sixty-three years and eleven months. His funeral took place on the 13th of August from the cathedral; Bishop Fitzpatrick officiated, and the Rev. N. J. O'Brien preached the sermon. As it was his wish to be buried at the College of the Holy Cross,[3] of which he was the founder, his remains were taken

[1] *Brownson's Review*, for many years conducted with singular ability and success by Dr. Brownson, was also projected in this year.

[2] A portrait of Bishop Fenwick, now in the reception room of the Archbishop's house, was painted in 1845 by Mr. Pope, a celebrated portrait painter of Boston. It is said to be an excellent likeness.

[3] The College of the Holy Cross, near Worcester, was founded in 1843, by Bishop Fenwick, on a farm previously purchased by the Rev. James Fitton. The college was placed

through the streets of Boston to the Worcester Railroad station in a solemn ecclesiastical procession, the bishop and clergy vested in their robes of office. It is worthy of note that it was a French priest, the Rev. Charles E. Brasseur de Bourbourg, who carried the cross at the head of the clergy. This procession, it appears, was not contemplated in the original plan of the funeral, but was organized under the influence of the moment, at the suggestion of Bishop Fitzpatrick.

The dedication of the church of the Holy Trinity (German) took place Oct. 25, 1846. The Rev. Alex. Martini, O. S. F., preached the sermon. On the 6th of December of the same year was dedicated St. Joseph's church, Roxbury, of which the Rev. P. O'Beirne was the first pastor, and who still retains the same charge, after almost fifty years of active work in the ministry. He will celebrate the golden jubilee of his priesthood in 1885.

In 1847 a newspaper, called the *Boston Catholic Observer*, the principal writers for which were the Rev. George F. Haskins and the Rev. N. J. O'Brien, began to be published. This was the year of the famine in Ireland, and at the suggestion of the bishop a collection, amounting to $25,000, was made by the Catholics of the diocese of Boston for the relief of their suffering brethren. A similar collection was made in 1880.

Some symptoms of the Know-Nothing spirit, which then prevailed throughout the country, showed themselves in Boston in 1847. The most notable of these was the preconcerted assembly, June 16, of the lodges of Boston and vicinity at Fort Hill, a quarter thickly settled by emigrants from Ireland. The object of this was undoubtedly to provoke a breach of the peace on the part of the Irish; but the latter, warned and exhorted by the bishop and his priests to keep indoors on that day, allowed the Know-Nothings to have their triumph in peace. The forbearance of the Irish in the presence of these insulting proceedings was greatly admired by the more peaceable citizens.

The hospital on Deer Island and the poor-house in South Boston were now rapidly filling up with newly-arrived emigrants, stricken with the ship-fever. It is thought that it was owing to the Know-Nothing spirit then prevailing that the priests were at first prevented from visiting the Catholics who were dying in these hospitals. The right to administer religious consolation to these poor emigrants was afterward conceded at the earnest solicitation of Bishop Fitzpatrick. This concession was, however, hampered by conditions that seem to us now wholly unnecessary. The Battle of Bunker Hill was celebrated on the 17th of June this year by a display of no-popery

in charge of professors of the Society of Jesus, and members of that order still continue to conduct it. The object of this college was to provide education in the higher branches, and also in the classics, under Catholic auspices, and to cultivate vocations to the priesthood.

In 1849, an attempt was made to procure a charter from the Massachusetts legislature for the College of the Holy Cross. Bishop Fitzpatrick appeared in its behalf before the committee on education, and Charles W. Upham of Salem and other distinguished legislators advocated the granting of the petition. An act granting a charter to the college was passed, and became a law; but it was repealed the following year. A charter was finally granted.

banners in City Square, Charlestown. About this time occurred the conversion of Captain Chandler and the ordination of the Rev. Joseph Coolidge Shaw, a convert to the Catholic Church.

On the 19th of September of this year the Rev. P. F. Lyndon became pastor of St. Mary's church, Charlestown, in place of the Rev. George F. Goodwin, deceased. During his pastorate he enlarged the church to its present size, giving it a seating capacity of about one thousand; and he also built a new pastoral residence. St. Mary's, Boston, was placed in charge of the fathers of the Society of Jesus, Oct. 24, 1847, and the same society still continues to furnish pastors for this church, of whom the Rev. John McElroy, S. J., was the first. In 1848 died Dr. Green, a convert to the Roman Catholic religion, originally from Maine, and still gratefully remembered in Boston as one of the chief founders of St. Vincent's Orphan Asylum for girls.

The influx of emigrants from Ireland was now rapidly increasing the Catholic population of certain districts of the city. Among the places where these emigrants found tenements in large numbers was the Fort-Hill district; and it soon became necessary to furnish church accommodations in that vicinity. About this time it happened that a stone church on Purchase Street was offered for sale for $30,000. Mr. Andrew Carney was instructed by the bishop to buy it, which he did May 1, 1848, binding the contract by a bond for $10,000. When the sellers found that the building was to be used as a Catholic church, such was the pressure of public opinion upon them that they sought to recede from their agreement. Knowing they were held by the bond, they offered to pay $3,000 to have the contract rescinded. This offer was rejected, and the church passed into the possession of the Catholics. It continued to be of great utility to them till it too, like the old cathedral on Franklin Street, had to disappear before the onward march of business. It was attended for a time from the cathedral. The Rev. M. T. Gallagher was its first regular pastor. The Rev. E. J. Sheridan, at present of Taunton, was also for several years pastor of this church, which was known as St. Vincent's; and when it was taken down in April, 1872, the stone was used in building a church of the same name in South Boston. The present pastor is Rev. W. J. Corcoran.

In 1850 an ordinance passed the city council prohibiting further interments in the Catholic Cemetery in South Boston. This was a great grievance to Catholics at the time, as they had then few places of burial, and the laws of their church forbade them to bury their dead in Protestant cemeteries. A test case was brought into court, and it was found that the city had exceeded its authority in issuing this prohibition. Again the Legislature was appealed to for a general law giving cities and towns authority to control burials within their limits. Bishop Fitzpatrick, sharing in the fears of Catholics that in the then existing state of the public mind such a law would be used to force them to bury in Protestant cemeteries, appeared in person before the committee in charge of the bill, opposed its passage, and finally,

with the aid of friendly members and other moderate men, succeeded in postponing legislation on the subject to more favorable times.

July 24, 1849, Father Mathew, the great apostle of temperance, arrived in Boston from Ireland. He was accorded a public reception by the city authorities, and granted the use of Boston Common and Faneuil Hall in which to hold public meetings and administer the total-abstinence pledge. On the 27th of July he spent the entire day in Faneuil Hall, giving the pledge to men of all religious denominations. About four thousand took the pledge that day. The Bishop of Boston extended the hospitalities of his house to Father Mathew, and placed the cathedral at his disposal for the advancement of the cause of temperance. During the whole of July 30 he was detained in the cathedral, giving the pledge to the multitudes that flocked to him.

The Sisters of Notre Dame, from Cincinnati, arrived in Boston Nov. 10, 1849, and took charge of St. Mary's school for girls; the Sisters of Charity, previously in charge, having been withdrawn to Emmettsburg, Maryland. Sister Louis Gonzaga, was the first superior of this community in Boston, and she is described as a woman of remarkable religious zeal, combined with great business and executive ability.[1]

The Rev. Thomas Shahan, present pastor of St. James's church, was ordained priest in 1849. During the year 1850 Dr. Brownson delivered a lecture on "Our Times" in the city of Boston; and Archbishop Hughes, of New York, preached a sermon in the Holy Cross cathedral. About the beginning of this year some stir was made in the German Catholic congregation by the refusal of the pastor, Father Eck, S. J., to officiate at the marriage of one of his flock who had joined the secret society of Odd Fellows; the bishop, being appealed to, sustained the pastor in his refusal.

The Rev. Edward H. Welch, S. J., a member of a well-known Boston family, and who some years previously had become a convert to the Church of Rome, arrived home from abroad in 1850. He had the honor of being made the bearer of palliums for three archbishops, — Purcell of Cincinnati, Blanc of New Orleans, and Smith of Trinidad; he is now a distinguished preacher of the Society of Jesus, and is at present stationed at the church of the Immaculate Conception, Boston. In 1851 the cathedral was repaired, at an expense of $3,000, one half of which was obtained by assessing the pew-owners, and one-half by voluntary contributions. This year Bishop Fitzpatrick received, October 7, a novel invitation. It came through a duly accredited agent of the newly elected Emperor of Hayti, and was to the effect that the bishop would kindly proceed to that island and consecrate him, and also administer confirmation throughout the island. The bishop refused, on the ground that Hayti was not within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the diocese of Boston.

[1] This sisterhood first occupied a house on Stillman Street, where they resided from Nov. 13, 1849, to May 1, 1852, when they moved to the convent on Lancaster Street. The central house of these sisters is now at the academy on Berkeley Street, which was founded July 3, 1864. The first superior of this academy was Sister Alphonse Marie.

The institution known as the House of the Angel Guardian was established this year by the Rev. George F. Haskins, who conducted it most successfully until his death. The first collection in the cathedral for this object amounted to $1,500. It was at first located on land adjoining the church on Moon Street, near North Square.

Jan. 4, 1852, the Rev. John J. Williams took charge of the small Catholic chapel on Beach Street, which had been opened in 1850 to meet the religious wants of the rapidly-growing Catholic population that settled about the South Cove, and was attended at first by Dr. Ambrose Manahan. Patrick Mooney, for twenty-five years sexton of the cathedral, died April 14, 1852.

The Otis School-house, on Lancaster Street, was purchased from the City, May 31, 1852, for $16,500. It was intended to be used for a boys' school, under the direction of the Jesuits; and it was hoped that from it would in time be developed a Catholic academy, in which the classics and higher English branches could be studied. It is now used as a parochial school for girls, taught by the Sisters of Notre Dame.

April 5, this year, the first movement was made toward building a church in the South-Cove district. This was done at a meeting of Catholics held in the chapel of the Holy Family, on Beach Street. The meeting was presided over by Bishop Fitzpatrick, and arrangements were made for the collection of funds to purchase a suitable site for a new church. Such a site was soon found at the corner of Albany and Harvard streets, and was bought Feb. 18, 1853. The corner-stone was laid July, 1853, and the basement chapel was used for the first time, Christmas day, 1854. The church was completed and dedicated, Sept. 23, 1855, by Bishop Fitzpatrick. The Rev. Thomas F. Mullady, S. J., preached the sermon on this occasion. The Rev. John McElroy, S. J., preached at vespers. It was a large brick structure, built in the Gothic style, after designs furnished by P. C. Keely, architect. The first pastor was the Rev. David Walsh. The Very Rev. J. J. Williams, V. G., was pastor of this church at the time he was made Coadjutor Bishop of Boston. Recently the church and land were bought by the Boston & Albany Railroad Company, and on its site now stands one of their large freight houses. The old church was replaced by the new St. James's church, on Harrison Avenue, which was built under the direction of the Rev. James A. Healy, now Bishop of Portland. The new church is Roman classic in style, and is one of the finest churches in the city; it seats fourteen hundred. It was dedicated April 10, 1875, by Archbishop Williams. Its present rector is Rev. Thomas Shahan.

In 1853 a lot of land on Tremont Street was bought by the Catholic Germans, with the design of building a new and larger church. This church was actually begun, and the walls carried a few feet above the foundations, before it became apparent that it was projected on a scale too large for the means of the congregation; and the work was consequently discontinued in 1855. The sudden illness of the pastor, and his consequent absence in Europe, also contributed greatly to this untoward result.

A large district lying chiefly in Roxbury, between the Providence Railroad and Washington Street, and having many Catholic families within it, was still unprovided with a church. In 1853 a Baptist church on Ruggles Street was bought, and, after the necessary alterations were made, was dedicated to Catholic worship under the title of St. Francis de Sales, when Father Rodden preached the sermon. This church was afterward destroyed by fire, and the present church of the same name, on Vernon Street, projected by the Rev. George F. Haskins. The new church was completed under the direction of the subsequent pastor, the Rev. James Griffin. The corner-stone was laid Sept. 29, 1867, by the Very Rev. P. F. Lyndon, V. G., and the church was dedicated June 20, 1869. The same clergyman officiated on this occasion, and the sermon was preached by the Rev. M. J. O'Farrell, then of Montreal, now of St. Peter's, New York. The present pastor is the Rev. John Delahunty, who is rapidly redeeming it from debt. In the mean time the congregation that was gathered in the Ruggles-Street church worshipped in the chapel of the House of the Angel Guardian.

In the year 1853 occurred, in Charlestown, the incident known as the "Hannah Corcoran" riot. A young girl, whose real name was Mary Joseph Corcoran, who together with her mother had recently arrived in this country from Ireland, was employed as a domestic servant, under the name of Hannah, in the family of Mr. Carpenter. While there she began to attend the First Baptist Church, it is said, with the knowledge and consent of her mother. She was even rebaptized in that church, according to the Baptist form of immersion. Her mother, after a time repenting of the consent she had given, resolved to bring her daughter back to the Catholic Church. With this end in view, she took her away from Mr. Carpenter's house and sent her secretly to Philadelphia. Meanwhile, Deacon Carter, of the First Baptist Church, had caused himself to be appointed guardian of the girl, and in that capacity proceeded to demand her return. The Rev. P. F. Lyndon, then pastor of St. Mary's, Charlestown, who was known to have been consulted by the mother, was appealed to. Some suspicious or malicious persons set a rumor afloat that the girl was forcibly detained either in the church vestry or in the priest's house; and a repetition of the scenes which took place at the burning of the convent was for a time threatened. Inflammatory articles appeared in the newspapers; the pastor of the First Baptist Church, the Rev. Thomas F. Caldicott, prayed and preached in a manner to arouse the feelings of his auditors; and finally hand-bills were distributed, inviting "the friends of liberty" to assemble from all quarters on the evening of March 1, in front of the Catholic church on Richmond Street, and there demand that the girl be produced. As there was no mistaking the meaning of this proceeding, and as threats of tearing down the church were freely uttered, the Mayor of Charlestown — Hon. Richard Frothingham — resolved to be prepared to repress any attempts at violence. He ordered out the City Guards, which responded with full ranks, and the marines at the Navy Yard were held in readiness to act

in case of need. One hundred men of the police force of Boston were sent over to assist the local officers. The street immediately in front of the church, between Union and Austin streets, was barricaded. The mob assembled at the time appointed. The mayor proceeded to the scene, and, in the presence of a display of force, read the Riot Act, and ordered the multitude to disperse, which it did about midnight, without attempting any violence. Next day the mother of Hannah Corcoran made affidavit, which was published in the papers, to the effect that she knew where her daughter was, and that she would be forthcoming in a short time. March 5, the girl, accompanied by her mother, returned from Philadelphia, and again placed herself under the protection of Deacon Carter. Notwithstanding this, the excitement continued for some days, and the church had again to be protected from mob violence on the night of March 8. Soon after this, however, the trouble was over, and the public mind settled down to its normal condition. This was the last riot of the kind we read of in our annals.

On April 13, 1853, another effort was made in the Legislature to have the State indemnify the Catholics for the damage done by the burning of the Ursuline Convent by a mob. James Egan, a Catholic member of the Legislature and a member of the Suffolk bar, made an eloquent and powerful speech in favor of the bill, and it passed to a second reading by a large majority. It was, however, finally rejected by a vote which stood — yeas, 111; nays, 120.

On April 20 of this year the Rev. P. F. Lyndon was appointed pastor of SS. Peter and Paul's church, South Boston, in place of the Rev. Terence Fitzsimmons, removed.

About this time the bishop purchased a plot of four acres of land in Roxbury, on the Dedham turnpike. This he intended for the site of a convent for the Sisters of Notre Dame. A convent of this order stands there now, and is used as a novitiate of the order and an academy for young ladies. Its success is chiefly due to Sister Aloyisus, the first Superior.

On Sunday, Sept. 25, 1853, Mons. Bedini, Papal Nuncio to Brazil, assisted at mass at the cathedral, and Bishop O'Reilly, of Hartford diocese, preached. On the following Sunday the Nuncio officiated pontifically in the same place; and during the subsequent week visited the various public and Catholic institutions of the city, and was hospitably entertained by some of the citizens.

The mission of Nuncio Bedini not being clearly defined nor correctly understood, his travels in the United States gave rise to various misconceptions on the part of the Protestant populace, and led to some civic commotions in a few places. In 1854 a false rumor having spread that the Nuncio was to pay a second visit to Boston, a mob of two or three hundred disorderly persons assembled, February 1, before the bishop's house, about midnight; but beyond uttering insulting cries, intended for the ears of the Nuncio, nothing was done. The mob seemed to be inflamed by a false report which had gained credence in the States to the effect that Bedini, while

Governor of Bologna, in 1848, was the prime mover in the conviction and execution of certain Red Republican agitators of Italy.

Nov. 3, 1853, the Catholic clergy of Boston established, by subscription among themselves, a fund for the purpose of giving aid to each other in case of sickness or incapacity from old age. This foundation is still in a flourishing condition, and is of great utility.

At the rededication of SS. Peter and Paul's church, Broadway, November 27, the bishops of Boston, Albany, and Hartford were present, and the Rev. Dr. Ryder, S. J., preached the sermon.

The number of Catholic children baptized in Boston in the year 1853 was four thousand one hundred and seventeen, showing a probable Catholic population of about eighty thousand souls.

The burning and subsequent rebuilding on the same site of the church in South Boston led to an important legal decision regarding the rights of pew-owners under such circumstances. The case is known as Fields *vs.* Tighe; and the decision established the fact that the legal rights of pew-owners perish with the destruction of the church, and do not revive even if another is rebuilt on the same site. Notwithstanding this decision, the bishop satisfied the claims of the pew-owners in an equitable manner.

On March 26, 1855, a committee of the Legislature, accompanied by twelve or thirteen others not of the committee, paid a visit of officious as well as official inspection to the Catholic academy and convent in Roxbury, known as the Academy of Notre Dame. The members of the committee, as soon as they were admitted, scattered themselves over the whole house, and, without waiting for any guidance, entered every room, chapel, and dormitory, and inspected every cellar, garret, and closet in the building. They insisted on seeing and conversing with every inmate of the house, lest, perchance, as they said, any should be detained there against their will. This uncalled-for suspicion and insolent intrusion were very annoying to the nuns and pupils, and were greatly resented by the Catholic community. Indeed, it may be said that in all decent society the conduct of the committee was condemned; and the members were everywhere subjected to well-merited ridicule. So decided was the public censure, that the Legislature investigated the conduct of its committee, and finding that one of the members — Mr. Hiss — had been particularly ungentlemanly in the convent visitation, they expelled him by a vote of the House, May 12, 1855.

January 20, of this year, the Rev. John J. Williams was appointed rector of the cathedral in Franklin Square.

The attendance at the Lenten services at the church of the Holy Cross continued this year to be immense, notwithstanding the fact that the basement of the new St. James's church was then opened and provided with similar services, which were also largely attended.

Sept. 10, 1856, a contract was made for building a wing of a new structure in which to conduct the academy at Roxbury. This building was finished in the spring of the following year. Up to that time the school was con-

ducted in a frame dwelling-house which stood upon the land when purchased. The centre and a fine chapel are now completed.

The lot on which the House of the Angel Guardian now stands, on Vernon Street, was bought from the Norfolk Land Company, about the close of this year. Meanwhile, certain lands belonging to the city, on Leverett Street, and known as the Jail lands, were purchased with the intention of building thereon a college for boys and a Catholic church, both to be in charge of the Jesuits. It being found difficult to obtain the removal of certain restrictions on these lands, in the year 1857 they were surrendered to the city, and the proper steps taken to secure a suitable lot at the South End for the same purpose. A division of opinion among the Land Commissioners of Boston about the expediency of selling any of the city lands for Catholic church purposes, and some popular opposition manifested in the public press and otherwise, retarded the negotiations for a time; but a suitable lot was finally secured. Boston College stands on this lot.

This year Bishop Fitzpatrick showed such symptoms of failing health that, with the advice of his physicians, he resolved to retire for awhile from active duty. He passed the summer months at Worcester College, and in the fall of that year took a trip to the Adirondack Mountains, for the purpose of recruiting his health. He returned greatly benefited, but not completely cured, so that he had to work with caution, and take frequent rests during the year 1858.

The Rev. Michael Moran, the present pastor of St. Stephen's church, was ordained a priest of this diocese, Aug. 15, 1857, by Bishop Bacon, of Portland. Thirty-two acres of land for a Catholic cemetery were this year purchased, within the limits of Dorchester and Roxbury. Dec. 3, 1858, the Rev. John Rodden died at the bishop's residence. Father Rodden was a fertile writer for the Catholic papers of his day, and was for a time editor of the *Boston Pilot*, which was established in the year 1838, by Patrick Donahoe. The present editor is John Boyle O'Reilly, — a celebrated poet and a distinguished Irish patriot.

The foundation of the church of the Immaculate Conception, on Harrison Avenue, was laid in the spring of the year 1858, and the completed structure — one of the finest stone churches in the city — was opened for divine worship, March 10, 1861.[1] Archbishop Hughes, of New York, preached the dedicatory sermon. The high altar and two side altars were consecrated by the bishops of Newark, Brooklyn, and Hartford. The Bishop of Boston, having dedicated the church, celebrated mass pontifically. The Rev. James A. Healy — then Chancellor of the Diocese, now Bishop of Portland — conducted the ceremonies. A procession, consisting of about fifty Jesuit scholastics and thirty priests all in surplices, followed by seven bishops vested in their official robes, started from the adjoining college, and, entering the church from Harrison Avenue, took places in and

[1] P. C. Keely, of Brooklyn, N. Y., was the architect of the church.

about the sanctuary. A well-trained choir, supported by a powerful organ,[1] rendered the music in a most acceptable manner. The sermon at vespers was preached by the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, then Bishop of Albany. The first pastor of this church was Father McElroy, S. J.

In the spring of this year the question of discontinuing the reading of the Protestant version of the Bible in the public schools was agitated. The Catholics complained that while the public schools were professedly non-sectarian, and only used by them as such in the absence of Catholic schools, the practice did not strictly correspond with the theory. All the pupils, of whatever denomination, were obliged to recite from the Protestant Bible, to the exclusion of the Douai version, which the Catholic Church approves. The Lord's Prayer was recited with a closing doxology as an integral part thereof, which in that connection was strange to Catholic ears. Protestant hymns, such as *Old Hundred*, were sung by all the children in common, led by their teachers; and the Ten Commandments were taught and recited in the form in which they are given in the Protestant Bible. A boy named Whall, a pupil in the Eliot School, refused, with the approval of his parents, to recite these passages of Scripture, and was consequently severely flogged for disobedience. He was afterward, with a number of other boys who followed his example, suspended from attendance at the school, and the parents notified that if the boys would not consent to conform to the rules of the school, they could not be readmitted. They would, moreover, under these circumstances, be liable to arrest and imprisonment for truancy. In the latter case they would be sent to the city penitentiary, where they would be wholly under the control and at the mercy of the keepers and instructors, who were all Protestants, and known to be animated with a spirit of proselytism. To avoid this graver danger, the bishop advised the parents to direct their boys to submit, under protest, for the time; and promised to take immediate steps to have the rules amended, and these grievances removed, by the proper authorities. With this end in view the bishop addressed a letter to the School Committee, in which he clearly set forth the objections of the Catholics and the principles involved in the case, and urgently pleaded for a change in the regulations, in the interest of peace, justice, and fair play. Consideration of this proposal was indefinitely postponed by the committee, and the matter was not satisfactorily arranged till some years afterward. Most of these objectionable practices are now discontinued in the public schools of Boston. The Catholics, in the mean time, are building schools of their own, preferring a religious education for their children to any system of mere secular instruction, and making great sacrifices for their support.

An action for assault in the above case was brought into court against Mr. Cook, the teacher who had punished the boy Whall. The action was dismissed, Judge Maine being on the bench. Durant was counsel for Cook, and Sidney Webster for Whall. This trial, and the speeches made by the

[1] The organ was built by Hook & Co., of Boston.

opposing counsel, attracted a great deal of public attention at the time, and aroused considerable bitterness and uncharitableness on both sides. Soon after this, Father Wigget, S. J., opened a school for boys at the North End, which subsequently grew into the large and very successful school for many years connected with St. Mary's church, and still conducted by the Jesuit Fathers, on Cooper Street, in a school-building purchased from the city.

May 15, 1859, the corner-stone of the new building of the House of the Angel Guardian was laid by Bishop Fitzpatrick, in the presence of the Mayor and Common Council of the city of Roxbury, and an immense concourse of people. Dr. Cummings, of St. Stephen's church, New York, preached the sermon. July 19, of this same year, the new orphan asylum for girls, on Camden Street, was dedicated under the patronage of St. Vincent, the apostle of charity.

The corner-stone of St. Francis de Sales' church, Charlestown, — the building of which is due to the Rev. George A. Hamilton, — was laid on a site secured for that purpose on the summit of Bunker Hill proper. Archbishop Purcell, of Cincinnati, was the preacher on this occasion. The Mayor of Charlestown, many city officials and ex-mayors, and the Commandant of the Navy Yard were present; and the multitude in attendance was computed to be not less than six thousand.

This year, 1859, witnessed the first step in the celebrated transfer of the old cathedral lands on Franklin Street to Isaac Rich, who intended to use the site for building warehouses to accommodate the rapid increase of the business of Boston. The deeds, owing to various legal complications, were not actually passed till Sept. 30, 1860. The last mass in the old cathedral was celebrated Sunday, Sept. 16, 1860. The bishop officiated, assisted by the Rev. James Fitton, the Rev. John J. Williams, and the Rev. Michael Moran. An address, explaining the necessity of this step, prepared by the bishop's own hand, was read to the people by his secretary, the Rev. James A. Healy, now Bishop of Portland.

The Catholic college on Harrison Avenue, known as Boston College, was dedicated Sept. 17, 1860. Rev. R. Fulton, S. J., was its best known president.

The first purchase of land for a site for a new cathedral was made Oct. 24, 1860. The property was known as the Williams Estate, situated on the corner of Washington and Malden streets. The adjoining estate, bordering on Union-Park Street, was added to this, January 3 of the following year. The price paid for these lots was $75,000. By the purchase of additional lots, in order to obtain sufficient space not only for a cathedral, but for a residence for the bishop and his clergy, the entire proceeds of the sale of the old cathedral, amounting to $115,000, were expended on land for the new. On this land there stood two dwelling-houses, one of which, until the building of the new episcopal residence, was occupied by the bishop. On June 23 the architect, P. C. Keely, came to view the site, and soon after began to prepare the plans for the basement. It was decided to build of Roxbury stone, with granite trimmings, in the Gothic style. The ground

was broken for the foundations, April 27, 1866, and the corner-stone was laid June 25 of the same year. The basement chapel was ready for occupancy towards the close of 1873, and was first used for divine service on December 7 of that year. The chapel was in use for some time previously.

In the mean time the cathedral congregation, after using the Melodeon Hall for some time, worshipped in Castle-Street church, which was purchased from Harvard College, and dedicated as a pro-cathedral, Dec. 2, 1861. This ceremony was performed by the Very Rev. J. J. Williams, V. G., who was then administering the affairs of the diocese, the bishop being absent in Europe for his health. The Rev. James A. Healy preached the sermon, and the Bishop of Burlington officiated at vespers.

Since the opening of the new cathedral, Castle-Street church is still used every Sunday for the accommodation of those in the immediate neighborhood. Recently a French congregation was organized, and given the use of it until they leased Freeman Place chapel, which they now use.

Jan. 3, 1861, by order of the bishop, mass was said in all the Catholic churches of the city and diocese, at which the people were invited to assist and pray for the preservation of the Union, and the maintenance of peace; as the signs of the times unfortunately indicated the near approach of civil war.

The church of St. Francis de Sales, on Bunker Hill, Charlestown, was dedicated June 17, 1862. The Right Rev. Louis Goesbriand, Bishop of Burlington, officiated, and the Right Rev. Sylvester Rosecranz preached the sermon. There were present about forty priests, and a very great multitude of people. The present pastor is Father Supple.

The church on the corner of Hanover and Clark streets, known as the New North Church, was purchased by the Catholics, September 26, of this year. It was dedicated under the title of St. Stephen's, November 27, and took the place of the church on Moon Street, which had become much too small for the crowded Catholic population of the North End. The Very Rev. John J. Williams performed the ceremony, and Dr. Cummings of New York preached the sermon. The first pastor was the Rev. George F. Haskins. This church was greatly enlarged and very much improved in its interior, in 1875, through the exertions of the Rev. M. Moran, who succeeded Father Haskins as rector of this church. The debt contracted is being rapidly reduced.

During this same year 1862, the twelfth Congregational church on Chambers Street, at the West End, was purchased by the administrator of the diocese. This church was rededicated under the title of St. Joseph's. The Rev. Hillary Tucker, then in charge of a small chapel in the vicinity, celebrated the mass. The Rev. John Boyce, of Worcester, preached the sermon. The first pastor was the Rev. P. T. O'Reilly, now Bishop of Springfield. The first Catholic services in this vicinity were conducted in a small hall by Dr. Manahan, and afterward by the Rev. John J. Williams. Such was the increase of Catholics in this section of the city that it was soon found neces-

sary to enlarge this church also. This work was begun during the pastorate of the Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, and was completed by the Very Rev. P. F. Lyndon, vicar-general of the diocese, after he took charge of the church, Sept. 5, 1870. A fine house in the rear of the church on Allen Street was secured as a residence for the clergy. The basement of the church was fitted up for a Sunday-school, and the whole interior beautifully frescoed and elegantly decorated. The present pastor is the Rev. W. J. Daly.

A new church near South Boston Point, which was built under the direction of the Rev. P. F. Lyndon, was dedicated March 19, 1863, under the title of the Gate of Heaven, the corner-stone having been laid May 1, 1862. The Rev. Bernard A. Maguire, S. J., preached on the occasion. Bishop McFarland officiated, the Bishop of Boston being abroad at the time. A commodious pastoral residence was afterward built in this parish on a lot adjoining the church, by the Rev. James Sullivan. The Rev. Emeliano Gerbi, O. S. F., was for some years pastor of this church. The present rector is the Rev. Michael F. Higgins, who has built a convent in the vicinity of the church to serve as a residence for the Sisters of St. Joseph, who conduct the schools of the parish. These schools were established by the Rev. William A. Blinkinsop, soon after the foundation of the Catholic school for girls near the church on Broadway, which is taught by the Sisters of Notre Dame. The convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph is a handsome brick structure, complete in all its appointments, and in its arrangement of rooms and apartments is a model in its way. Some of the rooms are used for classes studying the higher English branches and music. It is provided with a spacious play-ground for the children attending the parochial school.

This year also witnessed the erection of a large brick church in Dorchester, which was built and paid for through the exertions of the Rev. Thomas McNulty, its first pastor, and was dedicated April 7, 1864, under the title of St. Gregory. The Very Rev. P. F. Lyndon, V. G., performed the ceremony, assisted by the Rev. Thomas Scully and the Rev. W. J. J. Denvir. The sermon was preached by the Rev. James A. Healy, chancellor of the diocese. The present pastor of this church is the Rev. W. H. Fitzpatrick, who has just completed a small church in Neponset, to be entitled St. Ann's. The Home for destitute children began this year.[1]

Bishop Fitzpatrick returned from Europe Sept. 1. 1864, and the priests of the diocese, to the number of eighty, assembled at his house to welcome him home, and presented him with a formal address and other testimonials of their regard. The presentation was made in behalf of the clergy by the

[1] The Home for Destitute Catholic Children began as the Eliot Charity School, No. 9 High Street. In 1864 an association was formed consisting of the Rev. James A. Healy, Patrick Donahoe, Patrick H. Powers, Owen Lappan, Charles F. Donnelly, and others. In January, 1866, the Sisters of Charity took charge of the Home, which was soon afterwards transferred to No. 10 Common Street. The corner-stone of the Home on Harrison Avenue was laid October, 1870, and the building occupied the summer following. The celebrated Irish Dominican preacher, Father Tom Burke, delivered in the fall of 1872, in the Jubilee Colosseum, a lecture in aid of the Home, which realized the extraordinary sum of $11,435.

Rev. Menassas P. Dougherty, of Cambridge. The bishop was not much improved in health by his stay in Europe, and about the middle of December was taken so seriously ill as to cause great alarm to his friends. The Very Rev. John J. Williams was appointed, in 1866, Coadjutor, with right of succession, to Bishop Fitzpatrick.

Bishop Fitzpatrick died at the episcopal residence, near the site of the new cathedral, Feb. 13, 1866. The funeral services were conducted at the pro-cathedral, corner of Washington and Castle streets, February 16, the members of the St. Vincent de Paul's society having kept the night watches over the remains in the mean time. Bishop Goesbriand celebrated the mass of requiem; the Rev. James Fitton assisted, and the Rev. Edward O'Brien, of New Haven, and the Rev. A. Sherwood Healy were the deacons. Archbishop M'Closkey delivered the funeral oration. The bishops present on this occasion were Archbishop Spaulding, of Baltimore, and Bishops Tinon, Loughlin, Bacon, Bailey, McFarland, Conroy, and Williams. A procession, formed of the clergy and the various Catholic societies of the city, moved from the church to the cemetery in South Boston, accompanied and followed by an immense multitude, and amid the tolling of the bells of the city.

Soon after this, March 11, Bishop Williams was consecrated at St. James's church, of which he was the rector, and immediately entered upon the duties of his office. He went to reside at the cathedral residence April 2, 1866, and the Rev. James A. Healy succeeded him in the rectorship of St. James's church. Bishop Williams was then about forty-four years of age, his birthday being April 27. On the 2d of April of this year the Rev. William Byrne was appointed to succeed the Rev. James A. Healy in the office of the chancellor of the diocese. The Rev. T. Maginness, the present pastor of the church of St. Thomas, Jamaica Plain, was ordained priest this year.

The corner-stone of the chapel of the Carney Hospital was laid Aug. 12, 1866. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Fr. Hitzleberger, S. J. The late Andrew Carney, of Boston, had purchased in 1863, at a cost of $13,500, a house and a lot of land on Dorchester Heights, South Boston. This he presented to the Sisters of Charity for the purpose of having a hospital established there. By his will a sum of money amounting to $56,722 was also left towards this hospital and the chapel above mentioned. A part of the centre and one entire wing of the hospital has been for some years completed, at a cost of $108,423. The hospital was incorporated in 1865, but has no endowment, and subsists entirely by the charity of the public and the payments made by such patients as require, and can afford to pay for, private rooms. It is open to all classes and creeds, and its wards are continually filled by charity patients. It has a staff of surgeons and physicians, recruited from the ranks of the medical profession of Boston, and is at present in charge of Sister Simplicia and fourteen other Sisters of Charity. The number of patients treated in 1879 was five hundred and forty. There is a debt of about $30,000 still due on the building. On the medical staff of this institution we find such eminent physicians as Drs. Bowditch,

Blake, Shattuck, Langmaid, Dwight, and Hasket Derby, the celebrated ophthalmist.

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd, whose mission is the reformation of fallen women, established a house of their order in Boston, May 2, 1867. This was at first located on Allen Street. The sisters afterward moved to a larger house at Mount Pleasant, and now occupy a brick building erected for them and their wards near Brookline. This house is supported wholly by charitable offerings and the profits of the industry of the sisters and inmates, and continues to make every year many conquests from the ranks of vice and infamy.

A church in the fourth section of East Boston, built by the Rev. James Fitton, the indefatigable pastor of the Island Ward, was dedicated under the title of Star of the Sea, Aug. 16, 1868.

A portion of South Boston, in the vicinity of St. Augustine's chapel, was set off in 1868 as a separate parish, and the charge of building a new church and administering its affairs conferred on the Rev. D. O. Callaghan.[1] He entered on his duties August 22, and has ever since worked with such zeal and energy, and has so completely secured the cordial co-operation of his flock, that the church is now completed. The church is of brick, in Gothic style, and is one of the most successful efforts of its architect, P. C. Keely. Nov. 8, 1880, the pastor had the happiness of seeing the crowning cross placed on the lofty and elegant spire of a church which is hardly surpassed by any in the city. The work is so far paid for that the ordinary revenues of the church will probably suffice to meet the interest on the debt and the current expenses.

Jan. 4, 1869, the Rev. Thomas Maginness took charge of a church in Jamaica Plain, now a part of the city of Boston, which was begun by the Rev. P. O'Beirne, of St. Joseph's, Roxbury. The corner-stone of this church was laid August 15 of this year. The sermon was preached by the Right Rev. P. T. O'Reilly, Bishop of Springfield. The church was dedicated, when completed, under the title of St. Thomas Aquinas, Aug. 17, 1873. There is now attached to it a convent and a novitiate of the Sisters of St. Joseph, who teach the schools of the parish. The church is of brick, of a good style exteriorly, and very elegantly finished within. The third church in East Boston was begun Aug. 29, 1869, of which the Rev. Jos. Cassin is now pastor. The sermon on the occasion of laying the corner-stone was preached by the Rev. R. W. Brady, S. J. This church was dedicated Nov. 6, 1873, under the title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. The Rev. James Fitton celebrated the mass, and the Rev. Edward H. Welch, S. J., preached the sermon. This church is also of brick, and is neatly frescoed by Brazer. There is a school here also.

During the absence of Bishop Williams in Europe, from Oct. 19, 1869, to June 27, 1870, — that is, during the period of the Vatican Council, — Vicar-General Lyndon administered the affairs of the diocese.

[1] Ordained priest June 29, 1865.

The Rev. Thomas Lynch, pastor of St. Patrick's church, Northampton Street, died March 27, 1870, and was succeeded by the Rev. Joseph H. Galligher. Through the exertions of the latter, a new church of ample dimensions was built on Dudley Street, near Mount Pleasant.

The corner-stone of the new St. Patrick's church, on Dudley Street, was laid by Bishop Williams July 13, 1873. The Rev. Father Freitag, of the Redemptorist order, preached the sermon, and the music was rendered by the Boston Catholic Choral Union. St. Patrick's new church was dedicated, Sunday, Dec. 5, 1880, by the archbishop, assisted by the Very Rev. William Byrne, V. G.; the Rev. M. Moran, the Rev. P. Ronan, the Rev. W. J. J. Daly, and the Rev. Michael Gilligan, acting as deacons. The Right Rev. P. T. O'Reilly preached, and about forty priests attended. There is also a fine pastoral residence, which stands on the lot adjoining the church.

The new house of the Little Sisters of the Poor, now so well and so favorably known in Boston, is located in the neighborhood of this church. These sisters came to Boston, April 20, 1870, and rented a house on Springfield Street, to be used as a home for destitute aged persons. In a short time they were able to purchase an estate on Dudley Street, Mount Pleasant, and had the chapel of their new home dedicated Dec. 8, 1874. They first occupied the new central part of their main building July 5, 1880. Mother Cecilia was the first superior. They now care for ninety old men, and eighty-six women. The sisters find no difficulty in procuring, through charitable donations, sufficient food for the poor under their care, and are only embarrassed in providing room to lodge them. This is one of the most deserving charities in the city, and citizens of all creeds and classes seem to recognize this fact, judging from the liberality of their donations in clothing, provisions, and money.

The corner-stone of the large and splendid church edifice at Meeting-House Hill, Dorchester district, which was projected and built of stone quarried on the site, under the direction of the Rev. Peter Ronan, its present rector, was laid Aug. 24, 1873. Father Freitag preached the sermon on this occasion also. The church is to be dedicated under the title of St. Peter's.

This year a small Baptist meeting-house on North Bennet Street was bought, and converted into a Catholic church for the use of the Portuguese and Italians. The old title of the Moon-Street chapel, St. John the Baptist, was given to this church. The Portuguese alone now worship in this church, the Italians having built a small chapel of their own on Prince Street, which is named for St. Leonard of Port Maurice. The present pastor of the Portuguese is the Rev. H. B. M. Hughes, a venerable missionary father who has seen service in many lands, and speaks as many languages. The pastor of the Italians is Father Boniface, of the Franciscans.

Under the auspices and management of the Catholic Union of Boston a grand festival of three days' duration was conducted in Music Hall, about Nov. 13, 1873, in honor of Pope Pius IX. This was one of the most bril-

liant and impressive demonstrations ever made by the Catholics of Boston. An eloquent address was delivered on the occasion by the Rev. Kent Stone, a recent convert to the church.

June 12, 1874, a fourth church in East Boston was dedicated in honor of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. The Rev. L. P. McCarthy is the pastor. The church was built under the supervision of that veteran church builder, the venerable missionary and church historian, the Rev. James Fitton, from whose records these facts in relation to East Boston are gleaned.

A fourth church in South Boston was also dedicated this year. This was the new St. Vincent's church, built under the direction of the Rev. Michael Lane, since deceased. The mass of dedication was celebrated by the Rev. W. A. Blinkinsop, and the sermon delivered by Father Wissell, of the Redemptorist missions.

July 31, occurred the lamented death of the Rev. George A. Hamilton, pastor of St. Mary's, Charlestown. At his funeral the vicar-general of the diocese celebrated the mass in the presence of the bishop, a large number of the clergy, and a multitude which not only crowded the church, but the space and street in the vicinity. Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, S. C., delivered the panegyric. The Rev. John O'Brien, at present engaged in building a large stone church in East Cambridge, was for several years a co-laborer of Father Hamilton, at St. Mary's, Charlestown.

August 30, the bishop solemnly dedicated the new St. Augustine's Church, South Boston. The Rev. F. E. Boyle, of Washington, D. C., preached in the forenoon, and the Rev. A. S. Healy at vespers. There is a fine brick pastoral residence attached to this church.

Sept. 7, 1874, the Rev. William Byrne was appointed rector of St. Mary's church, Charlestown, and was succeeded by the Rev. T. A. Metcalf.[1] The St. Mary's Infant Asylum in Dorchester was opened, Sept. 8, 1874.

A church in West Roxbury, built by the Rev. Thomas Maginness, was burned down this year, December 15. It was afterward rebuilt, and was for some years in charge of the Rev. R. J. Barry, now building a church in Hyde Park.

The Rev. James A. Healy, rector of St. James's church, having been made Bishop of Portland, Maine, his brother, the Rev. A. S. Healy, for some years professor at Troy seminary, and for a time rector of the cathedral, was appointed pastor of that church, April 5, 1875. He died soon after his removal to St. James's. His funeral, which took place October 23, was attended by about one hundred and fifty clergymen, the members of the Catholic Union, and a congregation which completely filled the large

[1] About this time arrived from Rome, where they had completed their studies, the Rev. Theodore A. Metcalf, the Rev. J. B. Smith, the Rev. J. B. McMahon, and the Rev. J. E. Millerick. The two latter are now stationed at St. Stephen's, Boston; the Rev. J. B. Smith is the present rector of the Cathedral, and the Rev. Theodore A. Metcalf succeeded the Rev. William Byrne, in the office of chancellor. He was also for a time rector of the Cathedral, and conducted therein some of the most important ceremonies that it has yet witnessed, — such as the dedication, the conferring of the pallium, and the solemn requiem for Pope Pius IX.

new church on Harrison Avenue. The Rev. Thomas Shahan succeeded him, Oct. 29, 1875. He has already made some progress in reducing a heavy debt which has continued to burden this parish ever since the building of its first church. He has also established a parochial primary school for boys.

April 18, 1875, St. Stephen's church, enlarged and improved was rededicated, Bishop O'Reilly, of Springfield, preaching the sermon.

On May 2, 1875, occurred one of the most notable events in the history of the Catholic Church in Boston. This was the ceremony of conferring the pallium of an archbishop on the Right Rev. John J. Williams. The new cathedral, not then quite finished, was temporarily fitted up for the occasion. Bishop McNeirney, of Albany, celebrated the solemn high mass, Bishop Goesbriand preached the sermon, and the pallium, which had been brought from Rome by an ablegate of the Pope, — Mons. Cesar Roncetti, accompanied by his secretary, Dr. Ubalbi, and a nobleman of the Papal Guard, Count Marefoschi, — was conferred on Archbishop Williams by Cardinal M'Closkey, of New York, in the presence of all the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of New York, and the clergy of this and the neighboring dioceses, and before an assembly of about six thousand persons. The music was rendered in a creditable manner by the cathedral choir, augmented for the occasion. A sanctuary choir of boys and young men, which had been trained by Mdlle. Gabrielle de la Motte, sang portions of the service with rare precision, correct expression, and remarkable power. This choir continues to sing in the sanctuary of the cathedral every Sunday. The ceremonies were conducted in an admirable manner by the Rev. T. A. Metcalf and the Rev. Hugh Roe O'Donnell. The preparations for the occasion were made under the efficient supervision of the Very Rev. P. F. Lyndon, vicar-general of the diocese.

On June 6, 1875, in accordance with the provisions of a law which, through the efforts of Senator Flatley and others, had just passed the Legislature, the first Catholic religious service was held in the chapel of the State-prison by the Rev. William Byrne, pastor of St. Mary's church, Charlestown. These services were continued every Sunday for the benefit of the Catholic prisoners, and are still held in the chapel of the new prison at Concord. The same religious privileges are also enjoyed by the Catholic inmates of the reformatory and charitable institutions of the city.

The centennial of Daniel O'Connell, the emancipator of Ireland, was celebrated in Boston, August 6 of this year. The Rev. Robert Fulton, S. J., preached a sermon in St. James's on the occasion, and the evening was observed by a grand civic banquet, at which appropriate speeches were made by several distinguished citizens.

The Rev. Robert Fulton, S. J., having by his wise and energetic management succeeded in paying off the entire debt of the church of the Immaculate Conception, the archbishop, Aug. 15, 1875, solemnly consecrated the church, assisted by the bishops of Albany, Burlington, Spring-

field, and Providence. The Bishop of Burlington preached the sermon at vespers. The Rev. R. Fulton, S. J., is now pastor of a church in New York.

The dedication of the new cathedral of the Holy Cross, which with the exception of the spires was now completed, took place Dec. 8, 1875. His grace, the Archbishop, officiated. Bishop Lynch, of Charleston, S. C., preached the sermon. All the bishops of the new ecclesiastical province of Boston were present, together with about one hundred and fifty priests, and a congregation that not only filled the immense auditorium of the cathedral, but overflowed by thousands into the adjoining streets. The Catholic Choral Society rendered the music, a sanctuary choir of boys and young men taking their share in the work, to the great satisfaction of all.

The new episcopal residence being completed, the archbishop and the clergy of the cathedral began to occupy it about this time. This residence was built by the contributions of the clergy of the diocese, and stands at the corner of Harrison Avenue and Union-Park Street. The burial crypt under the cathedral being now ready, the body of Bishop Fitzpatrick, which had been temporarily deposited in a tomb in St. Augustine's cemetery, was transferred to the cathedral and laid in a vault with the usual religious rites and ceremonies.

April 20 of this year the Rev. John Delahunty succeeded the Rev. James Griffin in the rectorship of St. Francis de Sales' church, Vernon Street, and now occupies that position. On April 25 of this year occurred the death of a priest whose history brings us back to the palmy days of the old cathedral on Franklin Street. This was the Rev. Nicholas J. O'Brien, who was ordained priest in 1842, and was for some years pastor of the church in East Boston.

The mission fathers of the Society of the Holy Redeemer, who are chiefly engaged in giving missions in the various parish churches in aid of the regular pastors, purchased the Dearborn estate in Roxbury. On this site the corner-stone of a new church edifice, one of the finest in New England, was laid with the usual pomp and ceremony on May 28, 1876. Bishop Healy preached the sermon. On the night of that same day the house occupied by the fathers caught fire in some mysterious way, and was burned to the ground. They have since replaced the old mansion by a more commodious dwelling-house. The church was dedicated April 7, 1878.

At the dedication of the splendid new church of the Germans on Shawmut Avenue, May 27 of this year, the venerable Father Weninger, S. J., preached the sermon. The present rector of the cathedral, the Rev. J. B. Smith, was appointed Sept. 23, 1876. The new convent at Jamaica Plain was dedicated March 8 of this year.

St. Mary's, Endicott Street, having been for many years too small for the congregation, was at length taken down and replaced by the present magnificent edifice, which was constructed after designs furnished by P. C. Keely, and under the supervision of his son. The principal part of the

work was done under the direction of the Rev. R. W. Brady, S. J. But he, having been made superior of his province, was obliged to transfer his residence to Baltimore. The Rev. W. Duncan, S. J., took his place, and having brought the church to completion, had it dedicated by the archbishop, Dec. 16, 1877. The Rev. R. W. Brady, the former pastor, preached the sermon; the event stands among the most important in the history of the Catholic Church in Boston.

The Rev. Michael Lane, of St. Vincent's, South Boston, having died February 2 of this year, was succeeded by the Rev. W. J. Corcoran, the present pastor.

A grand requiem service for Pope Pius IX., who died Jan. 7, 1878, was conducted in the cathedral, January 14, in the presence of one of the largest audiences that ever assembled there. Quickly following this event came the death of the Very Rev. P. F. Lyndon, V. G., which occurred at the pastoral residence of St. Joseph's Church. He died April 18, and was buried at the cathedral, April 22. The archbishop officiated at the obsequies, and the Rev. James Fitton preached the funeral sermon. The funeral procession from St. Joseph's church to the cathedral was very large, and was witnessed by a great multitude of people, who lined the streets through which the funeral *cortége* passed.

The Rev. William J. Daly succeeded the vicar-general as pastor of St. Joseph's Church, and is now in the exercise of that office. The school question came up again for discussion this year, and the archbishop delivered an address to his clergy on the subject.

July 15, 1878, the office of vicar-general was conferred on the Rev. William Byrne, of St. Mary's church, Charlestown. The fiftieth anniversary of this church — the oldest in the diocese — was observed with becoming solemnity, May 10, 1879. The archbishop celebrated mass pontifically in the old church. Bishop O'Reilly preached an historical discourse on Sunday, and the Rev. R. J. Barry, now of Hyde Park, preached on the following day, when the festival closed with a meeting of the parishioners in Monument Hall, at which addresses were made by the Very Rev. J. J. Power, V. G., of Worcester, and several members of the congregation.

November 3, the new convent of the Sisters of St. Joseph, near the Church of the Gate of Heaven, in South Boston, was opened and dedicated. Feb. 20, 1880, the Ladies of the Sacred Heart — another order of teachers — were introduced into Boston, and located their school temporarily in a large house on Chester Park at the South End.

The most recent event of importance in the history of the Catholic Church in Boston is the purchase of a large estate in Brighton for the purpose of erecting thereon an ecclesiastical seminary in which the future priests of the diocese are to be educated. This institution will be conducted by certain priests of the congregation of St. Sulpice, Paris. This order has successfully conducted for many years similar institutions in Montreal and Baltimore.

The present condition of the Catholic Church in Boston may be summed up as follows: The probable Catholic population of the city in the year 1880 was about 150,000 souls. These worship in 30 churches, attended by 90 priests, under the guidance of their archbishop. There are 10 parochial schools, chiefly conducted by the Sisters of Notre Dame. They have 3 colleges and academies in the city, 5 orphan asylums, 3 hospitals, and a home for their aged poor. The societies that flourish among them are religious sodalities and pious confraternities. They have also many temperance societies and literary associations. Conferences[1] of the charitable society of St. Vincent de Paul are established in every parish, and are continually at work among the poor, relieving their wants, and laboring for their improvement.[2]

William Byrne, D.D.

[1] The first conference of this society was established in St. James's Parish, in 1862. In addition to its labors among the very poor, this society, to some extent, continues the work of the Young Catholics' Friend Society, which for a quarter of a century did excellent service among the poorer children of Boston, providing them with proper clothing, bringing them into the Sunday-schools, and teaching them Christian doctrine.

[2] The material of this chapter is for the most part taken from the original records preserved in the archives of this diocese, and from the files of the *Boston Pilot*. [It may be well to remember that Dr. J. G. Shea contributed to the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*, April, 1881, an important paper on "The Earliest Discussion of the Catholic Question in New England." — Ed.]

CHAPTER XV.

CHARLESTOWN IN THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY HENRY HERBERT EDES.

THE one great event in the history of Charlestown, that which gave her not only a national, but a world-wide fame, — the Battle of Bunker Hill, — has been described in another chapter.[1] The conflagration which attended that struggle reduced the town to ashes, and the inhabitants from affluence to poverty. During the siege of Boston, that part of Charlestown which was above the peninsula, or "without the Neck," was mostly occupied by the American troops; and it was not until after the evacuation of Boston, in March, 1776, that a portion of the former inhabitants began to return, and to repair their waste places. The British *Annual Register*[2] for 1775 observed: —

"Charlestown was large, handsome, and well built, both in respect to its public and private edifices; it contained about four hundred houses, and had the greatest trade of any port in the province, except Boston. It is said that the two ports cleared out a thousand vessels annually for a foreign trade, exclusive of an infinite number of coasters."

In his *Historical Sketch of Charlestown*,[3] Dr. Josiah Bartlett[4] says concerning the rebuilding of the town: —

"A few . . . were able to erect convenient dwellings, whilst others, like their hardy predecessors, were only covered with temporary shelters. . . . By a consideration of mutual sufferings, it was the endeavor of every individual to meliorate the

[1] By Dr. Hale, on "The Siege of Boston."

[2] Page *136.

[3] Printed in 2 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. 163–84 (1814). I would here acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Bartlett's pages for some facts which appear to have been nowhere else preserved. Dr. Bartlett wrote also a brief sketch of the town, which appeared in the first two numbers of the *American Recorder*, December 9 and 13, 1785, the first newspaper printed in Charlestown, or in the county of Middlesex. It lived only till May 25, 1787. There is another sketch in Barber's *Historical Collections of Massachusetts*, pp. 364–374. In 1838 Mr. William Sawyer (H. C. 1828) published large extracts from the town records in the *Bunker Hill Aurora* (newspaper), which had its early home in the "stone building" erected about 1822 by William and Nathaniel Austin at the junction of Main, Harvard, Bow, and Pleasant streets. The *Aurora* was published from July 12, 1827, till Sept. 24, 1870.

[4] Cf. *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. 325.

condition of his neighbor; to cultivate harmony, and unite for the benefit of the whole. A block-house,[1] erected by the enemy at the place [Town Hill] originally

fortified against the natives, was appropriated to the discharge of our civil duties, to the public services of religion, and to the education of youth. Here, uninfluenced by political dissensions, we gave our first suffrages for a chief magistrate and legislators under the constitution of this Commonwealth. . . . The principal streets were widened, straightened, and improved, and the Market Square was regularly laid out soon after the opening of the town, in 1776; to facilitate which a lottery was granted, and the State taxes were remitted for seven years."

In October, 1796, President Dwight visited Charlestown, while on a journey through New England. His account of this place,[2] presents a picture different from that drawn by Dr. Bartlett. He says: —

"The town is built on the southern and western sides of the peninsula. The streets are formed without the least regard to regularity. The middle of this peninsula is a hill, extending almost the whole length, and crowned with two beautiful eminences, the south-eastern named Breed's Hill, and the other, Bunker's Hill. On the southern and western declivities of this hill stands Charlestown. After it was burnt, the proprietors had a fair opportunity of making it one of the most beautiful towns in the world. Had they thrown their property into a common stock; had the whole been then surveyed; had they laid out the streets with the full advantage furnished by the ground, which might have been done without lessening the quantity of enclosed ground; had they then taken their house-lots, whenever they chose to do so, as near their former positions as the new location of the streets would have permitted, — Charlestown would have been only beautiful. Its present location is almost only preposterous. Such a plan was, indeed, sufficiently a subject of conversation; but a miserable mass of prejudices prevented it from being executed. The houses in this town are all new, many of them good, and some handsome. The situations of some of them, also, are remarkably pleasant, particularly those in the southern declivity of Breed's Hill.[3] . . . After the town was burnt, a part only of its former inhabitants returned. Its additional population has been formed by strangers from many places,[4] and of almost every description. The bonds by which they are united are, of course, feeble. . . . The inhabitants of Charlestown are not a little divided in their parochial, town, and public concerns; and this division prevents much of the pleasure of life which might otherwise be found on so charming a spot."

Between April 7, 1775, and Jan. 26, 1776, there is no record of any meeting of the inhabitants or the selectmen. At the selectmen's meeting, Jan. 26, 1776, routine business was transacted, and a warrant issued "in His

[1] It occupied a part of the site of the present meeting-house of the First Parish.

[2] Dwight, *Travels in America* (London ed., 1823), i. 426–37.

[3] Cf. *notes* on pp. 552–53, 557, 562.

[4] This fact is fully attested by the census taken by Samuel Swan, Jr., and Benjamin Hurd, Jr., in February, 1789, and still in the town archives. June 19, 1786, Mr. [Eleazer?] Wyer was ordered to take a census of the inhabitants; but the result of his labors, if he obeyed the order, is not known to be now extant.

Majesty's name," for the annual March meeting, which was appointed for March 6, at 9 o'clock A. M., at Mr. Jeremiah Snow's, innholder in Charlestown. It was also agreed that the sufferers by the burning of the town should be publicly requested to make out just estimates of their losses, and hand them, before March 6, to Seth Sweetser[1] at Medford, Nathaniel Frothingham at Malden, Stephen Miller at Woburn, or John Larkin at Cambridge. At the March meeting town officers were chosen, — Judge Gorham,[2] the moderator, being placed at the head of the selectmen; but the principal business related to the losses just referred to. A committee of thirteen, consisting of the selectmen, Richard Devens,[3] and five others, was appointed to estimate the loss sustained by the town and the inhabitants, "agreeable to the recommendations of the Continental Congress." This committee was increased (April 3) to nineteen, any seven to constitute a quorum. An advertisement in the public prints requested the inhabitants to hand in schedules of their losses to the committee, which was to "meet at the house of Mr. Cooper, innholder, in Menotomy [Arlington], on Tuesday, the 26th of this instant March, at nine o'clock A.M., and so from day to day till the business is completed." The estimates, as revised by the committee, aggregated £117,982 5*s.* 2*d.* sterling.[4] Besides the meeting-house, a court house,[5] county house, prison, work-house, and two school-houses, more than three hundred and eighty dwellings and other buildings were burned, June 17, 1775, rendering the whole population of the peninsula, about two thousand persons, homeless.

On May 4, 1776, the selectmen issued their warrant, "in the name of the government and people of the Massachusetts Bay," for a town-meeting on the sixteenth, when it was voted to send three representatives to the General Court, which was to convene at Watertown on the twenty-ninth; and to raise no money by taxation, the town's income being suf-

[1] Cf. *Ante*, II. 320, 321.

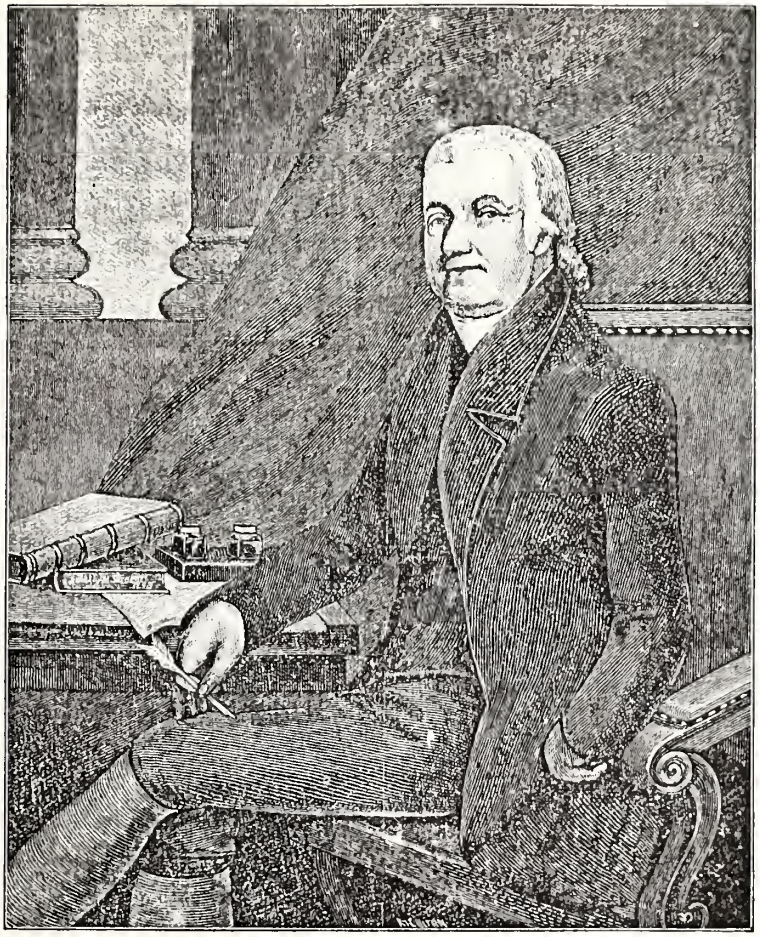
[2] The Hon. Nathaniel Gorham was the most distinguished man who ever made Charlestown his permanent home. His public services were various and important; and the matrimonial alliances of his children and grand-children were remarkable. His portrait is in possession of Mr. Brooks Adams (H. C. 1870). Cf. Thacher's *Funeral Sermon*, June 19, 1796; Welch's *Eulogy*, June 29, 1796; and Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, pp. 423–25.

[3] Richard Devens was the founder of his family. He was born here in September, 1721. In early life he was a cooper; but he became a highly prosperous merchant, and at his decease, Sept. 20, 1807, at the age of eighty-six, he left an estate valued at about $120,000, a part of which was bestowed in charity. (Cf. *Panoplist*, iii. 239.) The cut on the next page follows his portrait by Henry Sargent, now in the Charlestown Branch of the Public Library, to which it was bequeathed by Miss Charlotte Harris. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, pp. 289–92; and Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, chap. xxv.–xxix.

[4] The purpose in making this estimate was to secure, if possible, partial or complete compensation for the damages suffered. Several persistent but fruitless efforts were made to that end. Cf. U. S. House of Rep. Doc. No. 55, Twenty-third Congress, First Session, 1833–34.

The original schedules of property destroyed fill two folio volumes. They afford an interesting glimpse of the social life of that period.

[5] An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1812 to re-establish the courts of law in Charlestown.



Rich: Devens Com.r Gen.

ficient to defray "the charges that will unavoidably arise." On May 28 the town —

"*Voted*, unanimously, that it is the mind of the inhabitants that our representatives be advised, that if the Continental Congress should (for the safety of the Colonies) declare them independent of the Kingdom of Great Britain, they will, in that case, solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in that measure."

The town clerk[1] was instructed to communicate this vote to the town's representatives.

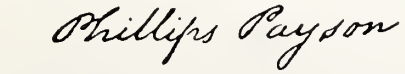
Of all who sought the protection of the British Crown, upon the evacuation of Boston, only one, Thomas Danforth (H. C. 1762), was a resident of Charlestown. He was the only lawyer in the town; had been an addresser of Hutchinson; went to Halifax; was proscribed and banished; and died in London, March 6, 1820.[2]

In August, 1776, a committee was sent to represent to the Council that the quota of ten men called for by the General Court had been already furnished, the town claiming credit for John Larkin, enlisted at Cambridge, five negroes, belonging respectively to Thomas Russell, [the Rev. ?] Mr. Prentice, John Austin, Jr., Isaiah Edes, and Caleb Call, and for Ebenezer Frothingham, Thomas Orgain, Samuel Adams, and John Green, who had enlisted in neighboring towns; but the claim was not admitted, and Charlestown immediately responded to this and all subsequent calls, with alacrity.[3]

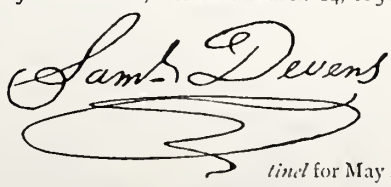
[1] Seth Sweetser. (Cf. *ante* II. 321.) His successors in office were: Walter Russell, who was of the Cambridge family, chosen March 2, 1778;

Samuel Swan, March 1, 1779; Timothy Trumball (H. C. 1774), March 6, 1780; Samuel Swan, Oct. 23, 1782; Samuel Holbrook, the schoolmaster, March 3, 1783; Samuel Payson (H. C. 1782), March 5, 1787; Phillips Payson (H. C. 1778), Aug. 3,

1801; John Kettell, at one time postmaster, March 3, 1806; Samuel Devens, March 2, 1812;

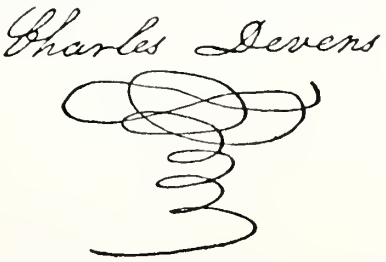


John Kettell, March 1, 1813; David Dodge, schoolmaster, March 7, 1814; John Kettell,



March 2, 1818; Charles Devens, Sept. 30, 1822; and David Dodge, March 7, 1825. Mr. Dodge was annually rechosen till April 26, 1847, when he was unanimously elected first city clerk. He resigned Jan. 25, 1848. His long and faith-

ful services to town and city, and the accuracy, precision, and elegance of his records were re-



cognized by the city government in resolutions adopted when his resignation was accepted, March 15. His portrait, by Wetherbee, is in possession of Mr. Abraham B. Shedd, who was chosen his successor in office April 10, 1848. Mr. Shedd's successors were: Charles Poole, elected March 24, 1851; Daniel Williams, Jan. 13, 1862; and John T. Priest, the present assistant city clerk of Boston, who was elected May 23, 1871.

[2] Cf. *Columbian Centinel* for May 20, 1820; Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, i. 358, 359.

[3] In January, 1787, the town sent the Charlestown Artillery Company (organized June 17,

The attention of the people was at once given to rebuilding. A controversy early arose between the inhabitants and the former residents as to the finances and the right of the former inhabitants to vote in town-meetings upon questions involving their individual proprietary rights, which were to be affected by the proposed amending of the public highways. This trouble was not composed till the close of 1778.[1] The next year the town voted to cover all the wells and vaults, which were then in a dangerous condition. In 1780 (June 24) it was "*Voted*, that all the streets, lanes, etc. within the Neck shall be laid open from the first day of May next;" and a committee appointed to consider the alterations proper to be made in the streets reported (September 29), estimating the cost at £2,600.[2]

The alterations were to be confined principally to the main street and streets about the Square. The same year John Leach,[3] a prominent surveyor of Boston, made a plan[4] of the proposed changes, which were sanctioned by an act of the General Court the next year. When the new lines were established, building proceeded rapidly. The oldest house[5] now standing is the mansion of the late Captain Robert Ball Edes on Main Street. It was built by his great-grandfather, David Wood, Sr., soon after the reoccupation of the town, on the site[6] of his former place of abode, which was burned, June 17, 1775. It is remarkable also as the birthplace of Samuel Finley Breese Morse

1786) to aid in suppressing Shays's Rebellion, and in consequence was excused from sending any of its militia. In 1804 were organized the Warren Phalanx, once commanded by Lieut.-Governor Samuel T. Armstrong, and the Charlestown Light Infantry, called "the Blues," for a time under the command of General Austin.

[1] Cf. Town Records, viii. 321–23.

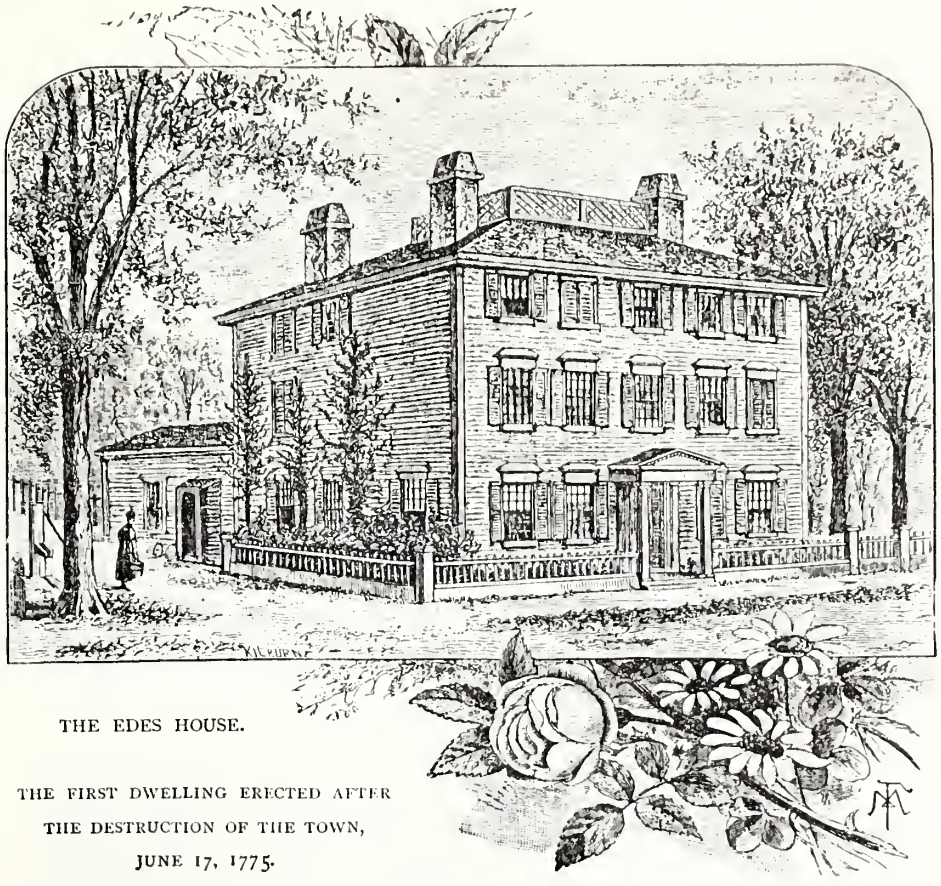
[2] The actual cost was £4,595, 3*s*. 7*d*. plus $80, the alterations being more extensive than was at first contemplated. The street committee's accounts were not finally settled until Nov. 19, 1791. (Cf. Town Records ix. 299, 300, 377.) After the great fire of August, 1835, Charles River Avenue, Warren, Joiner, Chambers, and Water streets were widened or straightened, Gill Street discontinued, and Chelsea Street laid out. In advocating these improvements Dr. William J. Walker (H. C. 1810), the distinguished physician and surgeon, then resident here, was earnest and foremost. Dr. Walker was a son of the Hon. Timothy Walker, and cousin to the Rev. Dr. James Walker. (Cf. Mr. Dillaway's chapter in Vol. IV. for an account of Dr. Walker's munificent bequests to various institutions of learning.) In 1838 a board of street commissioners was established. Mr. Samuel Morse Felton (H. C. 1834), civil engineer, now of Philadelphia, was one of the original board.

[3] Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xix, 255, 313.

[4] Cf. Editor's Introduction to the present volume, under the years 1775, 1780, 1794, 1818, 1830, and 1848; and Admiral Preble's chapter.

[5] Cf. *note* on p. 562.

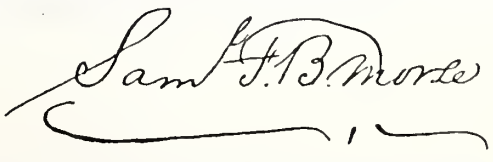
[6] This estate was in the possession of Robert Chalkley, prior to 1656. His widow, Elizabeth, sold the property to Josiah Wood in 1676, and it remained in the uninterrupted possession of his descendants for nearly two centuries. It was inherited, in 1818, by Thomas Edes, Jr., whose mother was a daughter of David Wood,



THE EDES HOUSE.

THE FIRST DWELLING ERECTED AFTER THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TOWN, JUNE 17, 1775.

(Y. C. 1810), the inventor of the electric telegraph, who was born, April 27, 1791, in the front chamber of the second story, on the right of the front door of entrance. A few months previous to that time, his father, the Rev. Dr. Jedediah Morse, had accepted the hospitality of his friend and parishioner,



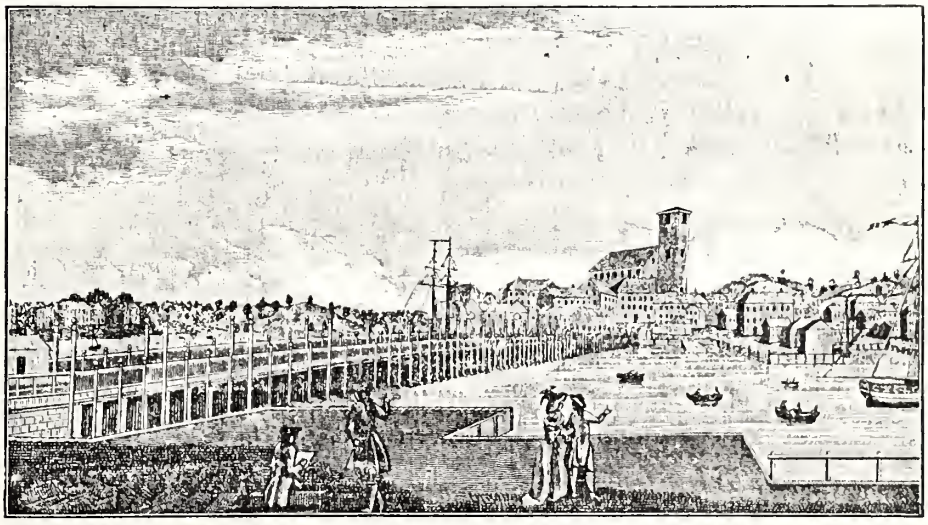
Mr. Thomas Edes, Sr., while the parsonage, on Town Hill, was in building. Some delays occurring in the work, Dr. Morse's visit was prolonged until after the birth of his eldest and most distinguished child.[1]

In 1783 the roadway over Bunker Hill was opened. The barracks, built there by the British during their occupancy of the town, were sold and removed about the same time. In 1785 (February 7) the town chose Nathaniel

Sr. (Cf. *note* on p. 562.) The heirs of Captain Robert Ball Edes conveyed it, in 1864, to Leonard B. Hathon, who adapted the lower story of the house to purposes of trade. The cut represents the building as it appeared early in the present century. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, pp. 197, 322, 323, 895, 1045–47.

[1] Cf. *Belknap Papers* (5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*), ii. 254. Professor Morse died April 2, 1872.

Gorham, Samuel Nicholson, Captain Joseph Cordis, David Wood, Jr., John Larkin, Dr. Josiah Bartlett, Isaac Mallett, John Austin, Samuel Swan, and Joseph Hurd[1] a committee to petition the General Court to grant the petition of Thomas Russell, Esq., and others for liberty to build a bridge across Charles River where the ferry was then established.[2] An act was obtained the same year, the corporators being Governor Hancock, Thomas Russell, Nathaniel Gorham, James Swan, and Eben Parsons. The bridge was completed in 1786, and was opened June 17, amid "the greatest splendor



CHARLESTOWN IN 1789.

and festivity."[3] It was 1,503 feet long and 43 feet wide. In 1791 the town actively opposed the building of a bridge from West Boston to Cam-

[1] Mr. Hurd was representative in 1814. Cf. Edes's *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, pp. 123, 124, 264, 265.

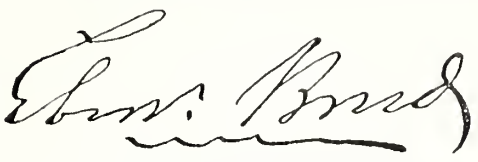
[2] The same committee was instructed to oppose the petition of John and Andrew Cabot for liberty to build a bridge from Lechmere Point to New Boston.

[3] Cf. Bartlett's *Historical Sketch of Charlestown*, pp. 172, 173; *American Recorder* (newspaper) for June 20, 1786; and *Massachusetts Magazine* for September, 1789 (i. 533), which describes the structure and contains a view of it, reproduced in the woodcut in the text, showing also the Square and the new meeting-house with its unfinished spire. The bridge was built by Samuel Sewall. [In the manuscript note-book

Sam[l] Sewall

of Robert Gilmor, of Baltimore, who was in Boston about this time, there is a view of Charlestown from the west end of Cambridge bridge. It is in the Boston Public Library. A view of Boston, from Breed's Hill, is given in Mr. Stanwood's chapter in Vol. IV., and follows an engraving in the *Massachusetts Magazine*, June, 1791 (iii. 331). There is in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1790, a crude view of Bun-

bridge; and in 1796 assumed a similar attitude toward a proposed bridge from Chelsea to Moulton's Point.[1] In 1804 a new bridge to Boston was proposed. The town voted, "unanimously," to oppose the scheme. In March, 1828, however, an act creating the Warren Bridge Corporation was passed by the Legislature, in which John Skinner, Isaac Warren,



John Cofran, Nathaniel Austin, Ebenezer Breed, and Nathan Tufts[2] were named as corporators. This enterprise, in which General Austin[3] was a prime mover, and which continued to enlist his zealous support for more than thirty years, was violently opposed[4] by the Charles River Bridge Corporation, whose property was to be materially injured thereby.[5] The shares fell from $1,950 in 1823 to $825 in 1824, during the agitation of the project, even before the charter was granted.[6] In November, 1835, the town voted to avail of the option offered by the Legislature to take one half of Warren Bridge and half the bridge fund, preparatory to open-

ker Hill, from the slope of Copp's Hill, taken by an officer of the twenty-second regiment, at the time when Howe was encamped there, after the battle. The ruins of Charlestown, the tents of the encampment, the wharfed shore, with a few buildings and a ship on the Boston side, are shown. A view taken from the Navy Yard about 1825 is in Edes's *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, p. 133. It was drawn by the wife of the late Commodore James Armstrong, U.S.N. A view of Charlestown in 1826, from the dome of the State House, is in Snow's *Boston*, p. 316. A view of Charlestown, from Copp's Hill, about 1840, is in Barber's *Historical Collections of Massachusetts*, p. 364. — Ed.]

[1] Chelsea Bridge was built in 1803, at a cost of $53,000, under an act of the Legislature passed in 1802, incorporating certain persons for the purpose of building a turnpike road from Salem to Charles River Bridge in Charlestown. One half of the 2,400 shares in this bridge belonged to the Malden Bridge Corporation, which was chartered in 1787 to build a bridge at Penny Ferry (*ante*, I. 393). The bridge cost £5,300, and was built in six months. Cf. *Massachusetts Magazine* for September, 1790 (ii. 515), for a description and view of the structure.

[2] Nathan Tufts, a wealthy citizen, who died in October, 1835, aged 71, was uncle to Charles Tufts, the founder of Tufts College, who was born July 17, 1781, and who died Dec. 24, 1876.

[3] The Hon. Nathaniel Austin was High Sheriff of Middlesex and Major-General of the Massachusetts Militia at the same time. His mother was a sister of Dr. Isaac Rand (H. C. 1761), a distinguished physician and president of the Massachusetts Medical Society. General Austin died here April 3, 1861, in his ninetieth

year. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, pp. 32, 785, 786. See p. 564, *note*.

[4] The contest between these rival corporations was long and bitter. Both decisions of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts (1828, 1829) were against the older corporation (6 Pickering, 376; 7 Pickering, 344). The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where it was argued for the plaintiffs by Mr. Webster. At the January term in 1837 Chief-Justice Taney delivered the opinion of the court, affirming the decree of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. (11 Peters, 420.)

[5] June 6, 1823, the town had voted to memorialize the General Court in favor of a petition then before it, that the contemplated new bridge should be toll-free to foot-passengers.

[6] See a valuable report upon the affairs of the Charles River Bridge Corporation, printed in *Mass. House of Reps. Doc.*, No. 71, 1827.

ing it as a free bridge, to be maintained by Charlestown and Boston jointly; adopted a series of resolutions, and chose a large committee to confer with the Boston authorities, and to promote the success of the plan. In 1845 a bill to re-establish the tolls[1] on both bridges was introduced into the House of Representatives. Resolutions were adopted protesting against the passage of the bill, "as hostile to the interest of this town, and particularly burdensome to the laboring classes; utterly unnecessary, uncalled for, and in the highest degree arbitrary and oppressive," since there was still an unexpended balance of $30,000 belonging to the bridge fund. The town's representatives were instructed to oppose the bill. Tolls were re-established for the last time by an act passed in 1854 to raise funds to rebuild or repair both bridges and to provide a permanent repair fund of $100,000.

The Middlesex Canal, one terminus of which was in this town, at the Neck, was chartered in 1793. The survey was completed in the summer of 1794, and the canal was navigable in 1803.[2] In 1836 Boston Avenue, now known as Warren Avenue, was laid out. The same year the Charlestown Wharf Company and the Charlestown Branch Railroad were incorporated. The first named corporation was authorized to hold the water-front from the Navy Yard to Lynde's Point. The Fitchburg Railroad Company, chartered in 1842, succeeded to the Branch Railroad, and acquired much of the Wharf Company's property. The Middlesex Horse Railroad Company was incorporated April 29, 1854.

In 1800 the National Government was seeking a site for a naval station. On March 27 it was "*Voted*, that it is the sense of this meeting that it will be of the greatest consequence to this town to have the Continental Dock and Navy Yard established in it;" and a committee was appointed to ascertain at what price the necessary land could be had. $73,200 was the price demanded by the seven owners of the land. This sum was deemed exorbitant, and another committee was appointed to make a just appraisal of the estates, under oath. They adjudged the land worth $25,180. The town then chose Dr. Aaron Putnam[3] its agent to proceed to the seat of government, and endeavor to secure the location of the Navy Yard here. He was instructed[4] to oppose the Noddle's Island site, and to call to his aid the influence of our distinguished townsman, the Hon. Samuel

[1] A previous, but unsuccessful, attempt had been made in 1840.

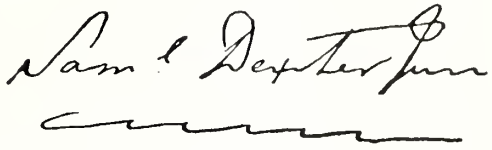
[2] Cf. Caleb Eddy, *Historical Sketch of the Middlesex Canal*. Boston, 1843. In 1807 a canal through Back (now Warren) Street was projected, but the plan miscarried. [See Mr. C. F. Adams, Jr.'s chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[3] Dr. Putnam was subsequently appointed agent for the United States; and in 1801 purchased and took about sixty-five acres of land for a Navy Yard. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 780.

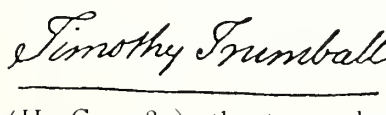
[4] His letter of instructions is recorded in the Town Records, ix 461–63.

Dexter, Jr.,[1] who was then one of the United States Senators from Massachusetts. The mission was successful.[2]

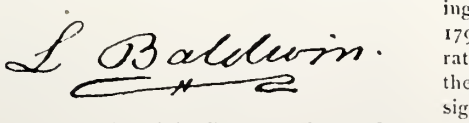
The establishment of a naval station in this town marked an epoch in its history. The ruin and desolation caused by the war had given place to prosperity, and the town had assumed the aspect of an enterprising and successful community. The public buildings had been rebuilt, the streets improved, and the principal ones furnished (1795) with signboards;[3] the church and the schools were re-established on firm foundations, and were in a flourishing condition; the fire department was well organized and well regulated; and the finances, which had occasioned much solicitude,[4] were in a satisfactory condition.



Notwithstanding the slender resources of the town after its destruction, the schools were not permitted to languish. As early as Sept. 15, 1777, a committee was chosen to "fit up the Block House with all convenient speed for a school-house." In 1780 the appropriation for schools was £6000; and in 1781 £100 "hard money." The next year there were three schools, — one within the Neck, taught by Timothy Trumball (H. C. 1774), the town clerk; and two others under the care of Samuel Tufts and Lieutenant Samuel Cutter. In 1792 Samuel Payson (H. C. 1782), the town clerk, was in charge of the grammar school. March 27, 1793, on petition of the town, an act was passed incorporating Richard Devens, Nathaniel Gorham, Josiah Bartlett, Aaron Putnam,



[1] The Hon. Samuel Dexter (H. C 1781), LL.D., resided in Charlestown for several years on a fine estate, extending from Main Street to High Street on the southerly side of Green Street, now covered by Dexter Row, the Winthrop Church, and the mansions of Mr. Rhodes Lockwood, the Hon. Edward Lawrence, and ex-Mayor Sawyer. Cf. Story, *Sketch of the Life of Samuel Dexter;* and *Reminiscences of Samuel Dexter, by Sigma.* [See Mr. Morse's chapter on "The Bench and Bar," in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

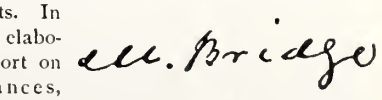


The Hon. Franklin Dexter (H. C. 1812), LL.D., son of the preceding, was born here, Nov. 5, 1793.

[2] Cf. Admiral Preble's chapter in the present volume, and Edes's *Memorial of Josiah Barker*, Boston, 1871. The dry-dock was constructed by the Hon. Loammi Baldwin (H. C. 1800), 1827–34.

[3] It was not until 1826 that the streets generally were named and the numbering of the houses begun. Feb. 7, 1831, the selectmen voted to number the houses within the Neck "at once" at the public charge. Town-Hill Street was named Harvard Street on petition of Governor Everett and others, dated Nov. 7, 1836.

[4] In 1787–88 the town was obliged to sell some of its lands to liquidate its most pressing debts. In 1795 an elaborate report on the finances, signed by Josiah Bartlett and Matthew Bridge, is recorded. A new system for keeping the town's accounts was recommended, which subsequently was adopted.



Joseph Hurd, Nathaniel Hawkins, and Seth Wyman as trustees of the Charlestown Free Schools. In 1841 the number of trustees was increased to eleven. Aug. 11, 1800, the trustees of the schools were authorized to erect a new building on the site of the school-house within the Neck to accommodate the school, the town meetings, and other public business. It was built of brick, contained a town hall[1] and a room for the selectmen, and stood on the site of the present old Harvard School-house on Harvard Street. The cost was not to exceed $3,000. In 1837 that part of the nation's "surplus revenue" which was apportioned to Charlestown,[2] was set apart for the benefit of the schools. It was invested by the town treasurer in town notes. Only the interest could be expended; and it was provided that this income should in no way supersede the annual appropriation for school purposes. In May, 1846, when the trustees' annual report was considered in town-meeting, its recommendation of an appropriation of $500 for teaching music in the grammar schools was indefinitely postponed. At the annual March meeting in 1831 an attempt was made to establish an English high school.[3] A petition for such a school was received and referred to the trustees for consideration. In the following April they reported upon the project which the town voted to indefinitely postpone. In 1836 there were two determined efforts in the same direction. In March, 1837, the trustees, as requested, reported a scheme for such a school, which was ordered to be printed; and they were requested to look for a proper site and report their conclusions to the town. It was not until 1847–48, however, during the first year of the city government, that the High School-house on Monument Square was built. The corner-stone was laid Oct 7, 1847.

Sam.l Payson

For five years (1778–1783) the Block House, already mentioned, served as the Sunday home of the people. June 24, 1780, it was voted to let the Training-field to the highest bidder, and use the rental to repair it. Sept. 10, 1781, the town chose a committee[4] "to solicit subscriptions of the good friends of this town throughout this State to assist us in building a meeting-house." Oct. 27, 1782, the town voted to give to the First Parish "that piece of land commonly called Town-house Hill, for the sole purpose of

[1] In 1815 a proposal to buy the Baptist meeting-house on High Street (see pp. 561–63) for a town hall was rejected because of the incumbrances upon the estate. March 11, 1816, the town voted to buy the Robbins Tavern lot on the Square at the corner of Harvard Street, for $5,200, at the same time rejecting a proposal to buy the Warren Tavern lot. During the next two years a commodious building, three stories high, with cupola, was erected at a cost of about $20,000. (Cf. Town Records, xi, 25.)

The Warren Tavern, in which was Warren Hall, is now occupied in part by George S. Monroe as a market, at the northerly corner of Main and Pleasant streets.

[2] It amounted to $19,230.34, and was received May 5 and July 5, 1837. The total amount distributed in Massachusetts was $1,338,173.58.

[3] April 4, 1825, the town voted to indefinitely postpone the second article in the warrant for the meeting: "To know what measures the town will take to establish a Classical Free School."

[4] Judge Gorham, Capt. Cordis, David Wood, Jr., Capt. Eliphalet Newell, and John Brazier.

erecting thereon a house for the public worship of God;" provided it was built within five years, otherwise the grant was to be void. The new meeting-house was built the same year. It was a wooden structure,[1] 72 feet long, 52 feet wide, and 27 feet high to the eaves.[2] It had an imposing tower and an elegant steeple,[3] designed by Charles Bulfinch (H. C. 1781), of Boston. The building faced the east, being directly opposite the head of Henley Street.[4]

In 1804 the meeting-house was widened to 84 feet; and Dr. Bartlett tells us "a convenient chapel, 26 feet long, 21 feet wide, and 10½ feet high, for parish and church meetings, lectures, etc., was built by subscription in the church [amounting to $411], in 1809," in the garden "of a valuable parsonage lot, bequeathed, in 1703, by Mr. Richard Sprague."[5] March 5, 1803, the Legislature incorporated "a religious society by the name of the 'First Parish in the Town of Charlestown.'" The town opposed the petition of John Larkin and others for this act.[6] The present brick meeting-house was dedicated July 3, 1834. In 1852 the building was remodelled and a Norman tower added; into which, in 1868, a chime of sixteen bells[7] was introduced. They were given by Miss Charlotte Harris, of Boston, in memory of many of her ancestors who worshipped here.

The Rev. Thomas Prentice (H. C. 1726) retired to Cambridge in 1775, and lived there, in the house in which he was born, during the remainder of his days; although he continued his ministrations to his scattered flock here. Dr. Budington says: "After an interval of something like three years, the public worship of God and the ordinances of religion were re-established under the ministry of the now aged Prentice." The first

[1] Frothingham, *History of Charlestown*, p. 161, gives a lithographic northwest view of the building as it appeared in 1799.

[2] Cf. Bartlett, *Historical Sketch of Charlestown*, p. 170; and Budington, *History of the First Church*, p. 235.

[3] Aug. 29, 1797, the town voted to raise eight hundred dollars to discharge the debt incurred in building this steeple which, including the tower of 72 feet, was 162 feet in height from the ground to the top of the ball.

[4] It was in this building that the services in commemoration of Washington were held, Dec. 31, 1799. Cf. Town Records, ix. 452–54.

When Washington made his northern tour, during the first year of his presidency (1789), he passed through Charlestown on Thursday, October 29, when he wrote in his Diary: "Left Boston about eight o'clock. Passed over the bridge at Charlestown, and went to see that at Malden, but proceeded to the College at Cambridge, attended by the Vice-President [John Adams], Mr. Bowdoin, and a great number of gentlemen." Although he was not officially received here, he made one social call — on Major Benjamin Frothingham, a cabinet-maker, whom he had known in the army, and who was a member of the Cincinnati.

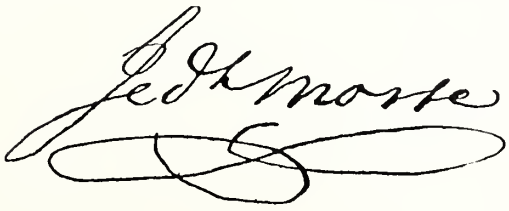
[5] Captain Richard Sprague was the most munificent benefactor of the Charlestown Church. He came from England with his father, Ralph Sprague, about 1628, and died, childless, Oct. 7, 1703, although he had been twice married. By his will he devised a large property to his nephews and nieces, to Harvard College, the poor, the Free School, and to the church. His uncle of the same name, who died Nov. 25, 1668, was also styled "Captain." Cf. *ante*, I. 384, 399; Budington, *History of the First Church*, pp. 148, 159, 192, 193; Soule, *Memorial of the Sprague Family*; and Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, pp. 887–92.

[6] Cf. Budington, *History of the First Church*, p. 237.

[7] Cf. *N. E. Hist. and Geneal. Reg.*, xxiv. 284

celebration of the eucharist after the return of the inhabitants occurred Nov. 8, 1778, "with great solemnity and fulness of numbers beyond expectation."[1] Mr. Prentice died June 17, 1782, at the age of eighty years, and was buried here with honors.[2] His second wife was Rebecca, daughter of Lieutenant Ebenezer Austin. For nearly five years the church was without a settled minister. Mr. Joshua Paine, Jr. (H. C. 1784), eldest son of the Rev. Joshua and Mary Paine, of Sturbridge, received a unanimous call to the vacant pulpit in November, 1786, and was ordained Jan. 10, 1787. He was born Dec. 5, 1763. At his graduation the second honor, the salutatory oration, was awarded him. He received the honorary degree of A.M. from Yale College in 1787, and died here, of consumption, Feb. 27, 1788,[3] when in his twenty-fifth year. Dr. Budington remarks: "Mr. Paine was the last of a long series of pastors who died in the ministry of this church and were interred in this town."

In November, 1788, a unanimous call was extended to the Rev. Jedediah Morse (Y. C. 1783), of New Haven, Conn., who was installed here April 30, 1789, the Rev. Dr. Jeremy Belknap[4] preaching the sermon. Dr. Morse was, *ex officio*, an overseer of Harvard College, and the unsuccessful candidate of the Orthodox party for the Hollis professorship of divinity at Cambridge, in the memorable contest which resulted in the election of Dr. Henry Ware in 1805. Dr. Morse resigned his pastorate[5] in August,



[1] Church Records.

[2] Cf. *ante*, II. 319; Budington, *History of the First Church*, pp. 140–43, 233, 234.

[3] Church Records.

[4] Dr. Belknap wrote as follows to his friend Ebenezer Hazard, for several years Postmaster-General at New York, and a family connection of Judge Samuel Breese, whose daughter Dr. Morse married, May 14, 1789: —

"Boston, Jan. 24, 1789. . . . And now I must make an episode. You said in one of your late letters to me that probably Charlestown people would soon have to build a house for Mr. Morse. I let this drop in a conversation with a daughter of Mr. [Richard ?] Carey, who is one of my congregation; and 'know *one woman* by these presents' was never more completely exemplified. In a day or two it was all over Charlestown; and the girls who had been setting their caps for him are chagrined; while some of the elders of the land are really enquiring how, when, and where the house shall be got. I suppose it would be something to Mr. Morse's advantage, in point of *bands and handkerchiefs*, if this report could be contradicted; but if it cannot, O how heavy will be the disappointment! When a young clergyman settles in such a town as Charlestown there is as much looking out for him as there is for a 1000 dollar prize in a lottery; and tho' they know that but one can have him, yet who knows but *I* may be *that one?* A part of Payne's popularity there arose from this circumstance [referring to the Rev. Joshua Paine]. I say a part, for he was really an amiable character. A Mr. [John] Andrews, who is lately ordained at Newburyport, is just such an object; and I am told that the *linen* comes in largely from the female part of the parish. I could tell you more, but it would be only exposing the weakness of some good folks. Do tell Morse, if he is not *too far gone*, that it will be much in favor of his popularity, and something in his pocket, if he can come to Charlestown with his neck clear of that fatal noose; but if he cannot, I shall tremble for him, unless he should bring a yoke-fellow whom they *must worship* as much as they do him."—*Belknap Papers* (5 Mass. Hist. Coll.), ii. 97, 98. See also ii. 30, 31.

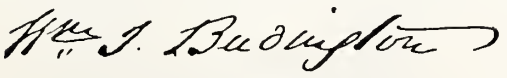
[5] His successors in the First Church pulpit are named in Dr. Tarbox's chapter in the present volume. Among them was the late Rev. Dr. William Ives Budington (Y. C. 1834), whose

1819; and he was dismissed Feb. 22, 1820. He died in New Haven, June 9, 1826.[1]

Dr. Morse was a conspicuous figure in the theological controversies of New England, which marked the early part of this century; and his literary works were numerous. He was the author of the first geography printed in America. His pioneer work appeared in New Haven in 1784. The *American Universal Geography*, in two volumes, was brought out in 1792.[2] His best known historical work is *A Compendious History of New England*, first printed in 1804, the name of the Rev. E. Parish appearing on the title-page as joint author with Dr. Morse. It was this book which provoked the controversy between Dr. Morse and Miss Hannah Adams.[3] But Dr. Morse will be chiefly remembered as the leader and special champion of the Orthodox party in the Unitarian controversy.[4] He was prominent in the efforts which resulted in the establishment of the theological seminary at Andover, and the founding of Park Street Church in Boston.[5] In his own parish the two parties, Orthodox and Unitarian, were quite evenly balanced, with a small numerical preponderance in favor of the former. The Unitarians, although numbering in their ranks three quarters of all the property holders of the parish, and nearly all the elements of culture, influence, and social standing in the town, withdrew peacefully from the church and society without demanding any portion of the church funds or plate, or even challenging their possession by those who remained; and quietly established the Second Congregational Society, of which more is to be said presently.

Dr. Morse's ministry was marked by much internal dissension. In 1800 a considerable number of his parishioners withdrew and formed a Baptist Society. Its first meeting-house was built at the head of Salem Street, on the corner of High and Pearl streets. It was dedicated May 12, 1801. The Rev. Thomas Waterman was the first pastor. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Collier (B. U. 1797) in 1804. The parish was soon involved in pecuniary and other difficulties; and the meeting-house, which Dr. Bartlett describes as "handsome and convenient, with a cupola and bell," passed out

exalted character caused him to be held in the highest esteem by all who knew him; and his excellent history of the church he so faithfully



served has placed this community, where he was known and loved and honored, under lasting obligation to its author. The pulpit is now vacant.

[1] Cf. *ante*, p. 553; Sprague, *Life of Jedediah Morse, D.D.*; Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 686; Duyckinck, *Cyclopaedia of American Literature*, i. 161; and Dana, *Memoir of the late Hon. Samuel Dana*, pp. 14, 15,

[2] [The Rev. Dr. James Freeman printed some rather damaging *Remarks* on this book in 1793, and its author curiously chose to consider the pamphlet a hidden attack on his Orthodoxy and a step towards turning Harvard College into a Unitarian institution! See Henry Stevens's *Hist. Coll.*, I., No. 224. — Ed.]

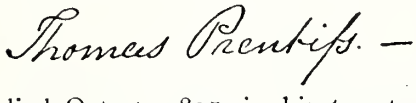
[3] Cf. Hunnewell, *Bibliography of Charlestown, Mass., and Bunker Hill.* Boston: 1880, — a valuable compilation, — for a list of Dr. Morse's publications.

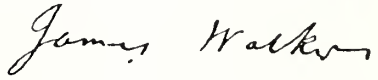
[4] Cf. Ellis, *Half-Century of the Unitarian Controversy;* Budington, *History of the First Church*, pp. 150–58; and Dexter, *The Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, pp. 612–26.

[5] The Old South was then the only Congregational Church in Boston which had not espoused the Unitarian faith. [See Dr. Tarbox's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

of its hands. It was purchased in 1816 by the Unitarians.[1] The Baptists, in 1810, built another meeting-house on the site of their present edifice on Austin Street.[2] In 1811 there was another and larger secession from the First Parish to form the First Universalist Society, which built a meeting-house on the site it has ever since occupied.[3] The Rev. Abner Kneeland was its first minister. The Rev. Charles Follen Lee is the present pastor.[4]

In 1815 the greatest secession in the history of the First Parish occurred. The Unitarians who withdrew at that time held their first meeting, Dec. 28, 1815, in Massachusetts Hall in the Indian Chief Tavern,[5] the Hon. Josiah Bartlett presiding. It was voted to apply to the Legislature for an act of incorporation as the Second Congregational Society in Charlestown.[6] An act was granted, Feb. 9, 1816, in which General Austin's name appears first in the list of corporators. Mr. Thomas Prentiss (H. C. 1811), a classmate of Edward Everett and Chief-Justices Dunkin and Lane, was ordained its first pastor, March 26, 1817. He died Oct. 5, 1817, in his twenty-fifth year. He was succeeded by Mr. James Walker (H. C. 1814), whose ordination occurred April 15, 1818. Dr. Walker resigned his pastorate, Feb. 18, 1839, having been called to the Alford Professorship of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity, in Harvard College,[7] from which he passed to the presidency of that institution, in 1853.[8] He preached his farewell





[1] Cf. Edes, *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, pp. 60–63, 81–88.

[2] Their pulpit is now vacant. Cf. *A Short History of the First Baptist Church in Charlestown.* Boston: 1852; and *Christian Watchman* (newspaper) for Jan. 4, 1828.

[3] In Church Court, contiguous to Thompson Square which was formed, in part, a few years ago, by cutting off the triangular building then standing at the northerly junction of Main and Warren streets, long known as "Crafts' Corner."

[4] [See Dr. Miner's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

[5] This was formerly the mansion of Colonel David Wood, Jr., a prominent citizen, who was

a delegate to the Concord Convention of July, 1779, selectman, member of the school committee, fireward, etc. He was chosen representative in 1780, but declined serving. He was a director of the Charles River Bridge corporation. His daughter Ruth married the eldest son of Judge Gorham, in 1794 (see p. 549, *note*). The present meeting-house of the society, by a remarkable coincidence, stands upon the site of Massachusetts Hall, on Main Street. Colonel Wood's mansion stood between his father's — now known as the Edes Mansion (see p. 553, and *note*) — on the north, and the Hon. Samuel Dexter's (see p. 557, *note*), on the south. Judge Artemas Ward (H. C. 1783), LL.D., lived nearly opposite Mr. Dexter, on Main Street, — his estate being next above the northerly corner of Union Street.

There is a tradition that Colonel Wood's mansion was built before the Revolution; that it escaped the flames June 17, 1775; and that it was occupied during the Siege of Boston by the British Commissary, Jeremiah Dummer Rogers (H. C. 1762). The building is still standing on the northerly corner of Main and Miller streets, whither it was removed in 1818; after which it was known as the Eagle Hotel. Cf. Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, ii. 232.

[6] Its name was changed to the New Church in Charlestown in 1819, and to the Harvard Church in Charlestown in 1837.

[7] Cf. *ante*, II. 318, *note*.

[8] Dr. Walker was officially connected with the college as overseer, fellow, or president, from 1825 till 1860, and from 1864 till his death, Dec. 23, 1874. He was also a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. During his residence here he was President of the Trustees of the Charlestown Free Schools.

sermon July 14, 1839. During his ministry the present meeting-house was built. It was dedicated Feb. 10, 1819. Dr. Walker was succeeded by Mr. George Edward Ellis (H. C. 1833), who was ordained March 11, 1840. His ministry was signalized by the establishment of the Free Ministry and the building of the Harvard Chapel on Edgeworth Street (1846–56), for nearly twenty years (1850–69) in charge of the Rev. Oliver Capen Everett (H. C. 1832). He was professor of Systematic Theology in the Divinity School at Cambridge, 1857–63. He delivered his farewell discourse June 13, 1869. His ministry and that of his distinguished predecessor covered more than half a century (1818–69).[1] The Rev. Charles Edward Grinnell (H. C. 1862) was installed his successor, Nov. 10, 1869, and he retired from his charge Dec. 28, 1873. The society was without a settled minister till Oct. 4, 1876, when its present pastor, the Rev. Pitt Dillingham (D. C. 1873), was ordained.[2]

Feb. 15, 1820, the trustees of the Methodist Religious Society in Charlestown were incorporated. They purchased and occupied the meeting-house on High Street, which had belonged successively to the Baptists and Unitarians. The Rev. Dr. Wilbur Fisk (B. U. 1815), afterward President of Wesleyan University, was their first minister. The society, known since June, 1862, as the Trinity Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now worships in a large brick meeting-house on High Street, opposite the head of Elm Street.[3] March 1, 1833, the Legislature incorporated the Winthrop Society in Charlestown. This society, Orthodox in belief, was formed by a secession from the First Parish. It worshipped for a time in the Town Hall until a meeting-house could be built for it on the southerly side of Union Street. In 1849 the present commodious building on Green Street was completed. The Rev. Daniel Crosby (Y. C. 1823) was the first minister. The present pastor is the Rev. Alexander Stevenson Twombly (Y. C. 1854). The other religious societies are: St. John's Church (Episcopal), organized March 7, 1840, of which the Rev. Dr. Thomas R. Lambert is the present rector; the Bunker Hill Baptist Church,[4] the pulpit of which is now vacant; the Monument Square Methodist Episcopal Church,[5] the Rev. Dr. James O.

[1] June 17, 1841, Dr. Ellis delivered here an oration, in which Prescott's right to be regarded as the commander in the battle of Bunker Hill was ably set forth. Forty years later it was his privilege to offer for the acceptance of the Bunker Hill Monument Association the noble statue of Prescott, to be mentioned presently. To Dr. Ellis's active interest the public is chiefly indebted for one of the best pedestrian statues in America. Cf. *Proceedings of the Bunker Hill Monument Association* for 1881.

[2] A *History of the Harvard Church in Charlestown*, 1815–1879, octavo, pp 294, by the writer of this chapter, was "printed for the society" in 1879. It contains full biographical notices of all the pastors and nearly complete lists of their several publications.

[3] The Rev. Dr. Henry White Warren (Wesleyan Univ. 1853), now one of the bishops of the M. E. Church, was pastor of this society, 1868–70. Its present pastor is the Rev. Dr. Horace W. Bolton.

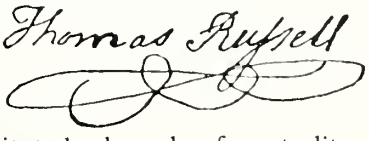
[4] In 1844, 222 persons were dismissed from the First Baptist Church to form another society, now defunct, which worshipped in a small wooden meeting-house that occupied a part of the site of the present Trinity (Methodist) Society on High Street. By some of those persons the present Bunker Hill Baptist Church was organized, Jan. 5, 1850, as the Bethesda Baptist Society.

[5] This society, formerly known as the Union Church, dates from 1847. Its first settled pastor was the Rev. Edward Cook.

Knowles, pastor; St. Mary's Church (Roman Catholic), opened for public worship in May, 1829, the Very Rev. William Byrne, V.G., pastor; and the Church of St. Francis de Sales (Roman Catholic), dedicated June 17, 1862, now under the charge of the Rev. Michael J. Supple.[1]

The burning of the Ursuline Convent on Mount Benedict by a mob from Boston, on the night of Aug. 11, 1834, is described in other chapters.[2] The next day a town-meeting was held to take notice of the outrage, and a committee, consisting of the Hon. Edward Everett,[3] Benjamin Whipple, John Soley, John Skinner, and the Hon. William Austin[4] was chosen to prepare resolutions expressing the indignation of the citizens at the lawless proceedings on the previous night. The resolutions were adopted, and a vigilance committee, consisting of General Austin and nine others, appointed "to take all such measures as may be necessary to preserve the public peace," and to detect and bring to justice the perpetrators of the deed. The town directed the selectmen to offer a reward for the detection of the culprits, and voted to request the Governor of the Commonwealth to offer an additional reward.

Questions of public policy have never been more earnestly or more warmly debated in any community than in this. In August, 1793, the town replied to a letter from the Hon. Thomas Russell,[5] as chairman of a committee of the town of Boston, expressing its sense of the impropriety of fitting out armed vessels to cruise against the mercantile marine of other nations at peace with the United States, and its opinion that such an act constituted a breach of neutrality; and, further, that participants in such acts should be regarded as enemies of the country. In 1795 (July 21), the town having listened to the reading of Jay's treaty, voted "disapprove of the treaty now pending between the United States and Great Britain;" and "that this town do disapprove of



[1] Cf. the several chapters on the different denominations in the present volume.

[2] See those by the Very Rev. William Byrne, V.G., which contains a view of the convent, and by James M. Bugbee, in the present volume.

[3] Mr. Everett lived in Charlestown, 1828–37, chiefly while representing the Middlesex District in the Congress of the United States.

[4] The Hon. William Austin (H. C. 1798) was a younger brother of General Austin (see p. 555, *note*). He was a college classmate of the Rev. Dr. William Ellery Channing and Mr. Justice Story; declined to accept membership in the Phi Beta Kappa, to which he was elected, because it was then a secret society; studied law about two years in London, entering at Lincoln's Inn; and after his return home became a prominent member of the Middlesex Bar. He was representative and State senator, and a graceful and vigorous writer. Five of his sons graduated at Cambridge — in 1825, 1830, 1831, 1839 (H. D. A.), and 1849; and his daughter Margaret married William Prescott Dexter (H. C. 1838), a grandson of the Hon. Samuel Dexter (see p. 557 and *note*). Mr. Austin died here June 27, 1841, aged 63. Cf. Allibone, *Dictionary of Authors*, i. 83; Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, i. 658, 659; Willard, *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, ii. 13–15, 39, 165; Loring, *The Hundred Boston Orators*, pp. 328, 329; and Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 33.

[5] He was a son of the Hon. James Russell (*ante* II. 330). Cf. Rev. Dr. Peter Thacher's *Sermon*, April 17, 1796; Dr. John Warren's *Eulogy*, May 4, 1796; and Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 834.

the treaty as modified by the Senate of the United States." The selectmen, as instructed, communicated these votes to the President the next day. Washington replied August 31.[1]

July 20, 1807, resolutions were passed condemning the attack of the "Leopard" upon the "Chesapeake,"[2] and approving the then recently issued proclamation of the President. Aug. 20, 1808, the selectmen received a letter from the selectmen of Boston concerning the proceedings of that town with respect to the embargo,[3] and requesting that similar measures might be adopted by this town; but the receivers of the letter, being of a different political complexion from their Boston brethren, deemed it inexpedient to convene the town to consider the letter, and sent of themselves a reply.[4] Jan. 29, 1847, a town-meeting, convened in pursuance of a warrant signed by Jacob Foss, a justice of the peace, — the selectmen refusing to issue a precept, — appropriated fifteen hundred dollars "to fit out the company of volunteers raised in" Charlestown "who are about to embark for the seat of war," — the Mexican. The selectmen (January 23) in refusing the prayer of Mr. Foss and others, expressed the opinion "that the town would have no authority to make such an appropriation as the petitioners contemplate."

The war for the Union found here the most cordial sympathy and support. The amount of money appropriated and expended on account of the war and for aid to soldiers' families, less the amount refunded by the Commonwealth, was $176,000. The city furnished for that struggle four thousand three hundred and seven men, a surplus of one hundred and eleven over all requisitions. One hundred and twenty-three of these were commissioned officers. Seven complete organizations, of which the officers and nearly all the enlisted men resided in Charlestown, constituted her nominal contribution to the national armies; but there were numerous enlistments of Charlestown men in other organizations credited to other places, besides more numerous enlistments in the navy, of which no sufficient data are at hand.[5] The Bunker Hill Soldiers' Relief Society,[6] which was the first of its kind organized in the loyal States, had its inception in the mind of Miss Almena Brodhead Bates, through whose active interest a meeting of ladies was held for consultation at the residence of her father, the late Paymaster John Adams Bates, U. S. N., on Saturday evening, April

[1] Both letters are recorded in the Town Records, ix. 387, 388. See Mr. Lodge's chapter in the present volume.

[2] Cf. Lossing, *Pictorial Field Book of the War of* 1812, p. 156 *et seq.*

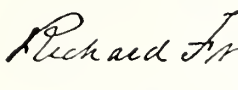
[3] Cf. Mr. Lodge's chapter in this volume.

[4] Recorded in Town Records, x. 117–19.

[5] For the facts in this paragraph I am under obligation to Major William H. Hodgkins who has kindly placed at my disposal his valuable collection of statistics concerning Charlestown in the Civil War. Cf. Robinson, *History of the Fifth Regiment, M. V. M.; Record of the Mass. Volunteers*, 1861–65, published by the Adjutant-General in two vols., quarto; and the *Charlestown Advertiser* (newspaper), 1861–66. The Soldier's and Sailor's Monument, by Milmore, stands on the Training-field. It was dedicated June 17, 1872. The Grand Army of the Republic is represented here by Abraham Lincoln Post No. 11, and George L. Stearns Post No. 149. Charlestown is also well represented in the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States.

[6] The devotion of the late Miss Louisa Bray to the work of this society throughout its entire existence, was remarkable.

20, 1861. The Hon. Richard Frothingham[1] presided. A Constitution was agreed upon, which was adopted by the largest meeting of ladies ever held in Charlestown, in City Hall, on the following Monday afternoon, when a board of officers was elected.[2] The beneficent work of this society was zealously carried on till the close of the war by the ladies of Charlestown. Its annual expenditures amounted to between $4,000 and $5,000, which was raised by the churches, by individual contributions, and by entertainments given for its benefit.

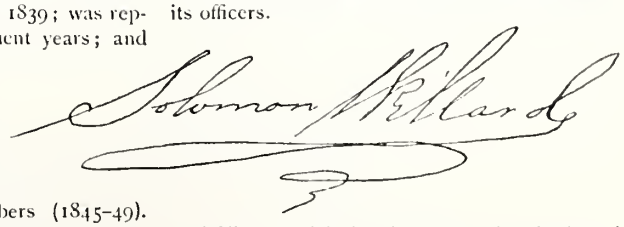


In 1823 measures were taken by Mr. Webster, Judge Tudor, Theodore Lyman, Jr., Colonel Thomas H. Perkins, General Dearborn, and other prominent gentlemen, to form an association for erecting a monument on Bunker Hill. An act incorporating the Bunker Hill Monument Association was passed June 7, 1823; and Governor John Brooks was chosen its first president, June 17. Plans were soon matured to raise the funds necessary to buy the site of the battle-field on Breed's Hill (which had been secured by Dr. John C. Warren) and to build the monument.[3] On the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, the corner-stone of the obelisk was laid with masonic ceremonies in the presence of La Fayette,[4] and an oration pronounced by Mr. Webster, who was also the orator at the completion of the monument in 1843.[5] In 1857 a marble statue, by Dexter, of General Joseph Warren was placed upon the grounds; and the present year has witnessed the unveiling of Story's admirable statue, in bronze, of Colonel William Prescott.[6]

[1] Mr. Frothingham was born here Jan. 31, 1812, and died here Jan. 29, 1880. He was a trustee of the schools as early as 1839; was representative in 1840 and subsequent years; and mayor 1851–53. He was a political writer, as well as the author of several historical works, which are authorities upon the subjects they treat. His *History of Charlestown*, from 1629 to 1775, appeared in seven numbers (1845–49). Harvard College conferred on him the degree of A.M. in 1858, and Tufts that of LL.D. in 1874.

Mr. Thomas Bellows Wyman was born in Charlestown Dec. 11, 1817, and died here May 19, 1878. He was cousin to Mr. Frothingham, but, unlike him, he never held any public office. His quiet and retired life was chiefly devoted to the preparation of his unique and unrivalled work, *The Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, which entitles him to a respectful and grateful recognition in these volumes.

[2] Cf. Schouler, *Massachusetts in the Civil War*, ii. 393–99, for a full account of this society and its officers.



[3] The obelisk is about two hundred and twenty feet high. The architect was Solomon Willard. In 1824 the town declined the overtures of the Association for the cession to it of the Training-field, on condition that a more spacious park should be laid out on Breed's Hill.

[4] General La Fayette was received here the preceding year (Aug. 27, 1824) by a large committee of the town, which had specially invited him to be its guest. Cf. Town Records, xi. 213, 214; and *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* xiv. 65–67.

[5] Cf. Frothingham, *History of the Siege of Boston*, pp. 337–50; and Warren, *History of the Bunker Hill Monument Association*.

[6] See Mr. Arthur Dexter's chapter in Vol. IV.

In 1804 a statement of the town's expenses was ordered to be printed annually and distributed among the citizens. In 1804–5 the State Prison was built at Lynde's Point.[1] The original building, to which others subsequently were added at different times, was of granite, two hundred feet long by forty feet wide, and four stories high. The buildings are no longer used as a penitentiary, the institution having been recently removed to Concord.[2] In 1805–1807 the new burial-ground on Bunker Hill Street[3] was laid out. In 1812 a Branch of the Washington Benevolent Society was established here. In 1815 the Washington Hall Association was incorporated. In August, 1815, it was voted to light lamps in certain streets, not named, at "the dark of the moon in October next." July 5, 1817, President Monroe was received by a large committee of prominent citizens of which the Hon. Josiah Bartlett was chairman.[4] Oct. 6, 1818, the McLean Asylum for the Insane[5] was opened. June 18, 1825, the Bunker Hill Bank was chartered; and Feb. 21, 1829, the Warren Institution for Savings was incorporated. In November, 1829, the town dismissed the petition of John H. Shaffer for the erection of a theatre; and the following month the use of the Town Hall was granted to the Charlestown Lyceum, which was opened with an address by Major Walker, Jan. 5, 1830. Lyceum Hall was incorporated March 4, 1831.[6]

In 1802 the town was surveyed for the fourth time.[7] The same year Nathaniel Prentiss and others were set off from this town to Cambridge.[8] In 1824 the project of constituting as a separate town all that part of Charlestown which lay "without the Neck" was first seriously considered in town-

[1] Cf. *ante* I. 387.

[2] An excellent view (18 × 10½ inches) of the prison and workshops in 1829, drawn in India-ink and colors by a convict, is in possession of the writer of this chapter. There is a brief account of the prison, and a view of it from the water side, in Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Mass.*, pp. 367, 368. Cf. *An account of the Massachusetts State Prison*, Charlestown, 1806; G. Bradford, *Description and Historical Sketch*, 1816; G. Haynes, *Historical Sketch*, 1869; and Bartlett, *Historical Sketch of Charlestown*, p. 175.

[3] A Roman Catholic burial-ground, on the summit of Bunker Hill, contiguous to St. Francis de Sales' Church, was consecrated later.

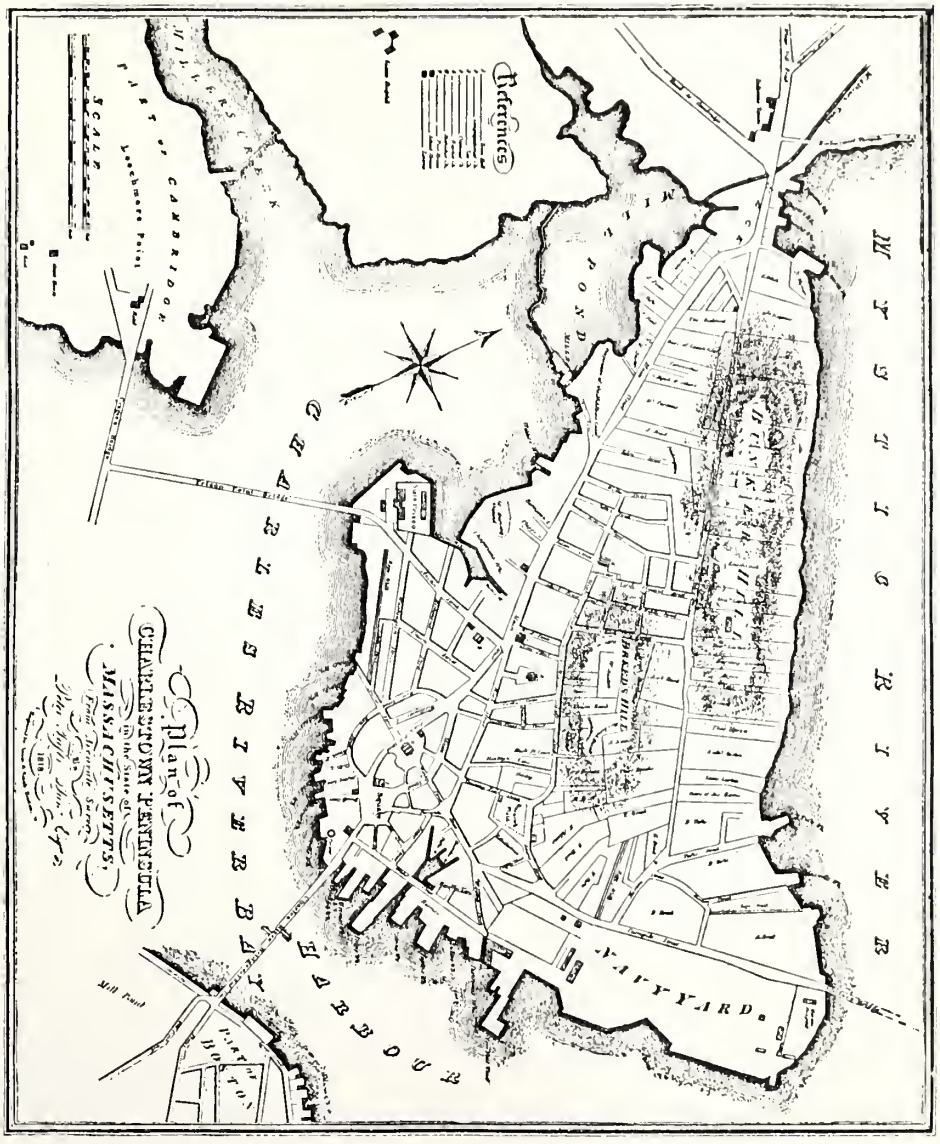
[4] Dr. Bartlett's address of welcome, and the President's reply, are in the Town Records (xi. 53, 54). President Jackson visited Charlestown, by invitation, June 26, 1833. He was welcomed on Breed's Hill by Mr. Everett, who presented him with a mahogany box, suitably inscribed, containing a six-pound ball from the battle-field of New Orleans and a grape-shot from the field of Bunker Hill. Mr. Everett's address and the President's reply are in the Town Records (xii. 250–55). July 22, 1845, resolutions on the death of General Jackson were adopted. Cf. Town Records, xiv. 262, 263.

[5] Cf. *ante*. I. 391. There is a view and some account of the asylum in Barber's *Hist. Coll. of Mass.*, pp. 366, 367. Views engraved on steel may be found as frontispieces to Frothingham's *History of Charlestown* and Bowditch's *History of the Mass. General Hospital*, which see.

[6] This year (1831) the first Charlestown Directory appeared. Others followed in 1834, 1836, 1838, 1840, 1842, 1845, 1848, 1852, and then every two years till 1874, when the last of the series of twenty was issued. A complete set is in the Charlestown Branch of the Public Library.

[7] This survey is printed in the *Third Report of the Boston Record Commissioners*, pp. 247–62. Cf. *ante*, I. 393; II. 324.

[8] Cf. *ante*. II. 324.



TUFTS'S PLAN OF CHARLESTOWN, 1818.[1]

meeting.[2] The committee then appointed to confer with the persons desiring the separation, and to mature an acceptable plan, failed to accomplish its mission. In 1842, however, the town voted (Jan. 26) to accede to the petition of Guy C. Hawkins and others to be set off as the town, now city, of Somerville; and appointed a committee to confer with the legislative committee engaged in drafting the bill authorizing the separation concerning the

[1] Copies of this plan, taken from the original copperplate, were inserted in Volume II. of Wyman's *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown.*

[2] A petition for such a separation, signed by Samuel Tufts and others, was then pending in the General Court.

lines of demarcation to be determined and the conditions attending the disruption. The act incorporating the new town was passed March 3. April 22, following, Charlestown was newly divided into six wards.[1]

Jan. 5, 1846, the town considered a petition of the Hon. Henry P. Fairbanks and others, that application be made to the General Court for a city charter. Nov. 9, 1846, the selectmen were authorized, by a vote of 798 to 774, to petition for a charter. One was granted Feb. 22, 1847, and accepted by the town March 10, — the vote standing 1127 in favor of the Act, and 868 against it. March 20 the selectmen divided the town into three wards, as provided in the charter. April 19, upon a second trial,[2] Mr. George W. Warren (H. C. 1830) was elected mayor.[3] The first board of aldermen consisted of Ebenezer Barker, Dexter Bowman, John Cheever, Thomas Hooper, Phinehas J. Stone, and Paul Willard (H. C. 1817).

The Public Library had its inception in the offer of the Hon. Timothy T. Sawyer, the Hon. Edward Lawrence, Mr. Edwin F. Adams, and Mr. Nathan A. Tufts, to give $500 each towards founding such an institution. It was established by a city ordinance, passed June 5, 1860. The library was opened Jan. 7, 1862, and was administered by trustees,[4] chosen annually, until it became a branch of the Boston Public Library, in 1874. It now contains more than twenty-two thousand volumes. Cornelius Sowle Cartée (B. U. 1825) has been the librarian since 1870.[5]

The Mystic Water Works were constructed under a legislative act, passed in March, 1861, which was accepted by the people Sept. 10, by a vote of 944 to 251. Dec. 10, 1861, Messrs. Edward Lawrence, Matthew Rice, and George H. Jacobs were appointed commissioners to build the works. They organized by choosing Mr. Lawrence chairman, Jan. 8, 1862. April 5, Mr. Charles L. Stevenson was appointed chief engineer, and Mr. George R. Baldwin,[6] consulting engineer. September 27, work was begun on the reservoir on Walnut Hill,[7] Somerville. The water was formally introduced into the city with imposing ceremonies, Nov. 29, 1864. The expenditures of the commissioners, who made their final report Feb. 28, 1865, amounted to $731,515.83. The Mystic Water Board was created the same year (1865), and continued to manage the water department until it was

[1] In 1841 the valuation of what is now Somerville amounted to $579,440, and of what remained after Somerville was set off, $4,008,680. Cf. Town Records, xiii. 366–69, 446–50; xiv. 35–37, 164–68. In 1847 the valuation was $8,415,145.

[2] A majority of the votes cast was then necessary to a choice.

[3] Mr. Warren's successors in the mayoralty were: Richard Frothingham, Jr., 1851–53; James Adams, 1854; Timothy T. Sawyer, 1855–57; James Dana (H. C. 1830), 1858–60; Horace G. Hutchins (D. C. 1835), 1861; Phinehas J. Stone, 1862–64; Charles Robinson, Jr., 1865–66; Liverus Hull, 1867–68; Eugene L. Norton, 1869; William H. Kent, 1870–72; and Jonathan Stone, 1873.

[4] The Hon. Timothy T. Sawyer was president of the board of trustees during the entire separate existence of the institution, to which his loyal and arduous service was conspicuous.

[5] The covenant between the city and the original subscribers was recognized in sect. 12 of the Annexation Act of 1873, which provides that all books and documents then belonging to the library, or thereafter given or bequeathed to it, "shall be continued and kept within the present limits of Charlestown." Its funds and future bequests to it were similarly secured.

[6] He was half brother to the Hon. Loammi Baldwin (H. C. 1800). See p. 557, *note*.

[7] Formerly called Walnut Tree Hill. Cf. *ante*, I. 391.

merged with the Cochituate Water Works in the Boston Water Board. The Hon. Edward Lawrence was chairman of the commissioners and of the water board from Jan. 8, 1862, till July 15, 1873, when he resigned. The ability with which he administered this important trust, for which he received no pecuniary compensation, was fitly recognized by the city council upon his retirement.[1] The total cost of the works to January, 1873, was $1,460,000. They yield a handsome revenue.[2]

The Winchester Home for Aged Women was founded by Mrs. Nancy (Phipps) Winchester,[3] who died here June 24, 1864, bequeathing an estate worth about $10,000 to establish "a home for aged and indigent females." The corporation was organized Oct. 3, 1865. The managers[4] are chosen by the different Protestant religious societies in Charlestown.

The annexation of Charlestown to Boston was brought before this town, on petition of Oliver Holden[5] and others, as early as Nov. 14, 1836, when the matter was "indefinitely postponed."[6] At a town-meeting held Jan. 28, 1845, a preamble and resolutions opposing the scheme, which had been revived, were presented by Mr. Richard Frothingham, Jr., and adopted. April 29, 1854, an act to unite the two cities was passed by the Legislature and accepted by the people; but it was set aside on account of a flaw in its provisions.[7] The measure was again agitated in 1860 and in 1870. On the fourteenth of May, 1873,[8] another act was passed. It was accepted by both cities on the first Tuesday in October; and on the first Monday in January, 1874, Charlestown cast in her lot with that of her first-born.

Oliver Holden

Henry H. Edes

[1] Cf. Records of the Board of Mayor and Aldermen, x. 36, 37.

[2] Cf. *Report on supplying the city of Charlestown with pure water*, Dec. 26, 1859, by G. R. Baldwin and C. L. Stevenson, Boston, 1860; and *Report of the commissioners and chief engineer of the Charlestown Water Works*, Feb. 28, 1865. Boston: 1865.

[3] Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 754.

[4] At the present time (1881) the Hon. Liverus Hull is President of the corporation, the Hon. Timothy Thompson Sawyer and the Hon. Francis Childs, are Vice-Presidents, Mr. John Turner is Treasurer, and Mr. Abram Edmands Cutter, Secretary.

[5] Mr. Holden was the composer of the tune "Coronation," in 1793. Cf. Wyman, *Genealogies and Estates of Charlestown*, p. 509.

[6] An earlier movement in the same direction occurred in 1829. Two informal meetings of the citizens were held in the Town Hall, March 20 and April 3 of that year. At the last meeting a report favoring the measure was presented. Only two speeches were made, — one by Mr. Joseph Tufts (H. C. 1807), the other by Mr. Arthur W. Austin (H. C. 1825), then a young attorney-at-law, who vigorously attacked the scheme, and succeeded in defeating it by a majority of ten to one. Cf. *Bunker Hill Aurora* (newspaper) for March 21 and April 4, 1829.

[7] The decision of the Supreme Judicial Court is reported in 2 Gray, 84.

[8] In 1873 the valuation was $35,289,682; and the public property was reckoned worth $3,035,100, including the water works which are set down at $2,000,000. The annual appropriations for the year 1873–74 amounted to $497,275. Jan. 12, 1874, the funded debt amounted to $2,623,287.50.

CHAPTER XVI.

ROXBURY IN THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY FRANCIS S. DRAKE.

AT the close of the Revolutionary war, and for nearly half a century afterward, Roxbury was still a suburban village, with a single narrow street, and dotted with farms, many of which were yet held by the descendants of original proprietors. Not a few of the old homesteads were still in existence, and the manners, habits, and pursuits of the primitive inhabitants had not wholly given place to newer fashions and more varied occupations. The business of the town was concentrated in Roxbury Street, the sole thoroughfare to Boston, through which, as through a tunnel, crowded all the surplus produce of the country. Hides and skins, the chief articles of its trade aside from its farm products, also supplied the staple for its manufactures of leather, shoes, and gloves. Traces of the siege were evident in the remains of forts and earthworks lining its eastern border, in the shot-riddled houses in their vicinity, and also in the absence of the shade and forest trees that had formerly adorned it. From the old Burying-ground to the site of the British lines[1] not a house was left standing.

The town at this period contained two hundred and thirteen dwelling-houses, eighteen tanneries and slaughter-houses, one chocolate mill, two grist mills (Pierpont's and Ralph Smith's), three meeting-houses, one grammar school, and four other schools. Its population was probably under two thousand. The eastern, central, and western portions, respectively known as the First Parish, Jamaica Plain, and Spring Street, constituted prior to 1820, when parochial divisions had all disappeared, the First, Second, and Third parishes. Punch-Bowl village was at Muddy River, now Brookline; Roxbury Precinct included the westerly side of Parker Hill and vicinity; and Pierpont's Village clustered around the mill whose site is now the Roxbury Station of the Boston and Providence Railroad.

Jamaica Plain, originally called the "Pond Plain," had, as early as 1667, received its present name, probably in compliment to Cromwell, and in commemoration of his recent valuable conquest from Spain of the island

[1] Canton Street.

of Jamaica. This charming and healthful region has always been a favorite summer resort for Bostonians. Here were the country seats of Governors Bernard, Hancock, and Bowdoin, of Sir William Pepperrell the younger, Commodore Loring, Captain Hallowell, and many other distinguished citizens of colonial days, as well as those of a later period.

The localities embraced in the western portion of the town were Spring Street, so named for its springy character; Muddy Pond, with its aboriginal woods, bordering upon Dedham; Muddy-Pond Hill, lately re-christened "Mount Bellevue;" Canterbury, that quiet and obscure portion of the town adjoining Dorchester, whose name is a puzzle to the antiquary, and in which are now included the beautiful cemeteries of Forest Hills and Mount Hope; Brook Farm, the scene of the most famous of American Socialist experiments, lying in the southwest corner of the town; and the Bussey Farm, originally the Weld Farm, upon which stands the Bussey Institution, the Agricultural School of Harvard University. Roslindale and Clarendon Hills, centrally situated, are communities of recent origin and rapid growth.

Slight alterations were made in the Boston boundary-line by the legislative acts of 1836, 1838, and 1859. In 1857 a decision of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, regarded by the people of Roxbury as a flagrant piece of injustice, deprived her of seventy-one acres of Back-bay land which had belonged to her from time immemorial, and declared it to be the property of the State. Much of this territory, formerly covered with water, has been reclaimed, and now constitutes the finest portion of the city. The Back-bay Park, with the exception of a small portion belonging to Brookline, is included in the Roxbury tract. In 1838 eighteen hundred acres of Newton, bounding upon Charles River, were set off to Roxbury. That part of the town lying between Muddy River and the Brook, its original boundary, was annexed to Brookline in 1844. In 1852 a portion of Dedham was annexed to the town of West Roxbury. The filling of Roxbury Canal, the extension of Swett Street and of East-Chester Park have slightly enlarged the area of the town on its eastern side.

Shays's Insurrection broke out in the fall of 1786. Roxbury, true to her military traditions, performed her part in its suppression, sending to the scene of operations Captain Spooner's artillery company, and an infantry company under Captain Moses Draper. The former, before marching, were addressed at the Old Meeting-house by Mr. Samuel Quincy. November 30, Roxbury sent a party of mounted volunteers on a secret expedition for the capture of some of the leading insurgents; but they returned without effecting their object. For the protection of the Court to be held at Cambridge a company of veterans belonging to the First Parish was organized under the command of Major-General Heath, with Captain Joseph Williams and Hon. John Read as lieutenants.

At the public celebration in Boston, Feb. 8, 1788, of the ratification of the Constitution of the United States, at which all the industrial arts were

represented, the farmers of Roxbury, with a plough and other implements of husbandry, led the procession.

President Washington, dressed in his old Continental uniform, and attended by his secretaries Colonel Lear and Major Jackson, made his last entry into Boston from the Roxbury line, Oct. 24, 1789, to revisit the scene of his first memorable achievement. He was saluted with a discharge of cannon from the Roxbury Artillery, under Captain Jonathan Warner, Colonel Tyler's troop of horse escorting him to the entrance of the town. His detention here of two hours, exposed to a raw northeast wind, gave him a severe cold. From the same cause a general distemper became prevalent, called the "Washington Influenza."[1]

A canal fifty feet in width, extending from the wharf at Lamb's-Dam Creek nearly to Eustis Street, just east of the Burying-ground, was built in 1795, the line between Boston and Roxbury passing through its centre. Its enterprising projectors — among whom were Ralph Smith, Dr. Thomas Williams, and Aaron and Charles Davis — proposed by this means to save two and a half miles of land carriage from the centre of Boston. General Heath's manuscript journal, under date of March 9, 1796, notes the fact that a large topsail schooner that day came up into the basin of the new canal, in "Lamb's Meadow." This canal, never a paying investment, long ago ceased to be of commercial importance, and has been recently filled up by the city.

In 1795 the Jamaica-Pond Aqueduct Company was incorporated. About forty-five miles of pipes, made of logs, were laid, the average daily supply of water being about four hundred thousand gallons; and, until the introduction of Cochituate water, it supplied some portions of the old city. The right to draw water from the pond, granted to certain citizens conditionally in 1698, was a frequent cause of litigation till 1851, when the Boston Water Board bought the right for $45,000. In 1856 the city sold it for $32,000 to the present corporation, on condition that they should not bring water into the city proper.

Colonel Joseph Dudley, in 1810, gave a portion of his patrimonial estate as a site for a town house. A two-story brick building was erected, and was so far completed in February, 1811, that a town-meeting was then held there. The use of the upper story was granted, in 1818, to the Norfolk Guards for an armory. A grammar-school was subsequently kept there. After 1846 it was known as the City Hall. Latterly used as a court-house, with cells for prisoners in its basement, it was demolished in 1873, to make room for the new Dudley-School-building, when the heirs of Dudley were recompensed for the departure from the original conditions of the gift.

Prominent among the town officers of Roxbury for fidelity and length of service were Deacon Samuel Gridley, Dr. N. S. Prentiss, Joseph W. Tucker, Colonel Joseph Williams, Noah Perrin, Ebenezer Seaver, and Joseph W. Dudley.

[1] [See Mr. Lodge's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

In September, 1814, while the second war with England was in progress, the town voted unanimously to do, by manual labor, pecuniary contribution, and military service, whatever the Executive of the Commonwealth should require to put the State in a proper posture of defence "in the

H. Dearborn[1]

present alarming condition of the country;" and placed upon its war committee the veteran General Henry Dearborn. Political sentiment in New England was violently hostile to the war, and John Lowell, Jr.'s pamphlet on "Madison's War," a powerful attack on the party in power, so exas-

[1] [This portrait of Gen. Dearborn, painted by Stuart in 1812, is now owned by Mr. H. G. R. Dearborn, his grandson. See Mason's *Stuart*, p. 170. The Dearborn house, in Roxbury, is shown in Lossing's *Field-book of the War of* 1812, p. 250, and in Drake's *Roxbury*, p. 327. — Ed.]

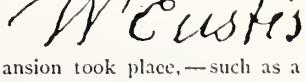
perated some of its supporters, that they threatened to burn Mr. Lowell's house in Roxbury. No attempt was made, however, to put the threat into execution.

The Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation was chartered June 4, 1814, and in 1818 work was begun on the Mill-dam, or Western Avenue, the first of the artificial roads connecting the peninsula of Boston with the main land. For the construction of this road, one and a half miles in length, Irish laborers were for the first time expressly imported into this country. The stone used was from the Parker-Hill quarry. It was opened July 2, 1821, with a public parade, the addition of another avenue to Boston being considered a great event. So far as obtaining water-power was concerned the project was a failure; but the conversion of the submerged territory into dry land by the Boston Water-Power Company has resulted in the rapid growth of the city in that direction.

In August, 1824, on the occasion of the visit of General Lafayette to the United States as the guest of the nation, he was entertained by Governor Eustis, his old compatriot in the army, at his residence in Roxbury, — the Governor Shirley mansion.[1] The General was received by a cavalcade of citizens, the bells were rung, while salvos of artillery and a discharge of rockets evinced the general enthusiasm and the heartiness of his welcome. A grand entertainment was given him by the Governor, at which were present ex-Governor Brooks and General Dearborn, both of whom had served with distinction in the Revolutionary army. After making a tour through the States, Lafayette returned to Roxbury, where he passed the night of June 16, 1825, and the next morning was escorted to Bunker Hill, where he assisted in laying the corner-stone of the monument.

The two hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Roxbury was celebrated Oct. 8, 1830, with great parade. Upon the square near the Norfolk House a procession was formed, which, under escort of the Norfolk Guards, marched through the principal streets. An historical address was delivered by General H. A. S. Dearborn, and a centennial poem by Dr. Thomas Gray. In the evening the town was illuminated by bonfires and by fireworks from

[1] [This is shown in the frontispiece of Vol. II. This mansion passed in 1764 into the hands of Judge Eliakim Hutchinson, Shirley's son-in-law; and as the judge was a loyalist, it was occupied by troops during the siege, and became in 1782 the property of the Hon. John Read, who sold it in 1791 to a French Refugee, Mme. de Fitzpatrick. Later, it was owned by Giles Alexander, and at one time was occupied by M. Dubuque, from Martinique, who had a cook named Julien, who afterward became famous in Boston as a caterer. Captain James Magee, a shipmaster in Colonel Thomas H. Perkins's employ, next owned it, and his widow sold it to Governor Eustis in August, 1819; and after the death of the governor's widow, who had kept the house unchanged, it was sold in August, 1867; and when Shirley Street was laid out the house was moved a little to the southeast. (Drake, *Town of Roxbury.*) In November, 1865, an auction sale of many relics preserved in the



old mansion took place, — such as a secretary given by General Warren to Governor Eustis; the furniture of the chamber occupied by Lafayette; a portrait on ivory of the Duchess of Orleans, given by herself to the governor; and the old family coach, which was built by Knowles and Thayer, of Amherst, in 1822 (sold for $30), and which has since been conspicuous in more than one procession in Boston. — ED.]

the Old Fort.[1] Another celebration, under the auspices of the Roxbury City Guard, took place November 22 of the centennial year 1876, at which General Horace B. Sargent was the orator.

The decade from 1820 to 1830 marks distinctly the epoch of transition from the old to the new town. Prior to this the only public improvement of magnitude besides the Roxbury Canal had been the construction, in 1805, of the Dedham Turnpike. The Mill-dam, as already noted, and two new churches, had been built in 1821. In 1824 Roxbury Street was paved and brick sidewalks laid. Before this the street was paved in the middle only, the sidewalk of cobble-stones having a narrow brick-walk in its centre. In 1825 all the existing roads, to the number of forty, received names from the town authorities. Albany Street, originally the "way to the town landing," or wharf, was widened, and named Davis Street. The Norfolk House was opened, and a newspaper started. The streets were first lighted in May, 1826, lamps being provided by the inhabitants. In this year hourly coaches began to run from the Town House to the Old South Church, in Boston; more frequent and rapid conveyance is now furnished by two steam and two horse railroads. The first of these, the Boston & Providence, was built in 1834. In 1829 a Board of Health was created.

In this and the following decade the march of improvement was further manifested by the speculative purchase of a number of the old estates near the business part of the town. Among the more important of these were the estates of Dr. Thomas Williams, between Albany and Magazine streets; the White Farm, in the locality since known as Mount Pleasant; the Weld and John Read estates, adjoining White's; the Dudley estate, lying between Bartlett and Roxbury streets; the Maccarty Farm, between Hawthorne Street and Walnut Avenue, and extending from Cedar Street on the north to Marcella Street on the south; the Ruggles and Joseph Williams estates, embracing the territory through which Highland and Cedar streets run; and the Lowell and Heath estates, on the north side of Centre Street, between it and Parker Hill. Through these large tracts streets were laid out and graded, new buildings very soon sprang up on every side, and the population and business of the town rapidly increased.

Tremont Street was opened to Roxbury from its Boston terminus, near Chickering's piano-forte factory, Sept. 10, 1832, — a great relief to Washington Street, which up to that period had been over-crowded with country teams. So much opposition was manifested to this enterprise by those doing business on the "Neck," then the only free thoroughfare connecting Boston with the country, — toll being taken on the Mill-dam, — that it could only be completed through private subscriptions. These were procured through the energetic efforts of Watson Gore and Guy Carleton, aided by John Parker and a few other wealthy men.

After more than two centuries of town government, which it had at length fairly outgrown, the town of Roxbury became a city, by legislative

[1] Where now the Cochituate stand-pipe is.

enactment, March 12, 1846. The act was accepted by the inhabitants on the twenty-fifth of the same month, eight hundred and thirty-six voting yea, while only one hundred and ninety-two voted in the negative. The old board of selectmen was replaced by a mayor, eight aldermen, and twenty-four councilmen. The territory of the town was divided into eight wards. When West Roxbury was set off, in 1851, it took parts of wards four and five, and all of wards six, seven, and eight, with the exception of Brook Farm, recently bought by the city for a poor-farm, and Forest Hills Ceme-

MEETING-HOUSE HILL IN 1790.[1]

tery, both within the territorial limits of the new town. One important result of the change was the immediate adoption of numerous much-needed public improvements, such as the general laying of sidewalks and drains, the construction of sewers, and the providing of public parks. One of the most memorable of the achievements of the new city government was the establishment of Forest Hills Cemetery. Gas was first introduced in 1850, and a horse-railroad was put in operation in 1856, running at first from Guild Row only to Boylston Street. Among the many street improvements was the widening of Washington Street, in 1855. In the twenty-two years of the city government the population grew from thirteen thousand to thirty thousand, its largest increase being in the decade from 1840 to

[1] [This follows a painting by Penniman, owned by Mr. Horace Hunt. It is taken from Deacon Moses Davis's house, and shows the old First Church. The Mears house, the Lambert house, and the old parsonage are yet standing. Drake, *Town of Roxbury*, p. 287. — Ed.]

1850; its business steadily expanded, and it became in all save the name a part of the adjoining metropolis. The following citizens successively occupied the mayor's chair: John Jones Clarke (1846), H. A. S. Dearborn (1847–51), Samuel Walker (1851–53), Linus Bacon Comins (1854), James Ritchie (1855), John Sherburne Sleeper (1856–58), Theodore Otis (1859–60), William Gaston (1861–62), George Lewis (1863–67).

The idea of dividing the town, which grew out naturally from its great extent, and from the fact that all its business, religious and secular, had to be transacted at its eastern extremity, first found expression in 1706, when petitioners to the General Court from that quarter of the town prayed that the western part might form a separate precinct. It accordingly became the second parish in 1711. An unsuccessful attempt was made in 1777 to incorporate the second and third parishes into a district to be called Washington. The western part of the town, being wholly agricultural, strongly objected to the expenditure of sums raised by general taxation upon improvements made almost wholly in the eastern or business part of the town. Efforts for separation were consequently renewed in 1817, again in 1838, 1843, and 1844, and finally in 1850, when they were successful, notwithstanding the opposition of the Roxbury city government, — the act setting off and incorporating West Roxbury taking effect May 24, 1851. This event, so interesting to its people, was celebrated with great rejoicings on the evening of June 3, 1851. The dividing line was Seaver Street, from Blue-Hill Avenue to Washington Street, thence, running in the same direction, to Brookline, crossing Centre Street at its junction with Day and Perkins streets. By this division Roxbury lost four-fifths of her territory, which was reduced to two thousand one hundred acres. Her population remained at fifteen thousand, the same as when she became a city. In 1868 West Roxbury built an elegant town house (Curtis Hall) on a portion of the Greenough estate.

Roxbury performed her whole duty in the war of the Rebellion, placing her entire quota promptly in the field. Spirited public meetings were held, stirring and patriotic addresses made, and there was no lack of effort to raise the men and material required of her for the preservation of the Union. At a meeting in West Roxbury in 1862, upon a proposition to lay out a new road, it was resolved that "the only road desirable to be laid out at the present time is the road to Richmond;" and the town gave $86,000 for war purposes, to which private subscriptions added $22,000. It is believed that Roxbury contributed more liberally to the support of the families of her soldiers than any other town in the State. The women were especially active in promoting the success of the Union cause. In December, 1861, they formed a society auxiliary to the United States Sanitary Commission; Mrs. Henry Bartlett was its president, and weekly meetings were held for nearly four years; they raised $7,860, and forwarded twelve thousand one hundred and eighty-three garments, besides linen, fruits, and hospital stores.

The city furnished three thousand two hundred and seventy-one men for

the service, one hundred and thirty-six of whom were commissioned officers, —a surplus of four hundred and forty. In consequence of her policy of raising her men in anticipation of the calls of the general government, she was subjected to but a single draft, and that a very slight one, in 1863. Valuable aid was rendered in procuring enlistments by the "Reserve Guard," Captain Edward Wyman. There was disbursed for war expenses $545,367.34, besides the sum of $21,818 in private subscriptions to aid in recruiting. The camp of the Second regiment, Colonel Gordon, was established at Brook Farm, May 11, 1861, and named Camp Andrew.

The Roxbury City Guard furnished three companies to the service, — Company D, First regiment, Captain Ebenezer W. Stone, Jr., for three years; and Company D, Forty-second regiment, Captain George Sherive, for nine months. This company made a part of Colonel Burrill's regiment, a portion of which was captured at Galveston, Texas, Jan. 1, 1863. Returning at the expiration of its term of service, it re-enlisted for one hundred days. Its officers remained prisoners until exchanged, July 22, 1864. Other Roxbury organizations for three years were—

Company E, Thirteenth regiment, Captain Joseph Colburn (promoted to lieut.-colonel).

Company E, Twenty-second regiment, Captain W. L. Cogswell.

Company K, Thirty-fifth regiment, Captain William S. King (promoted to colonel).

Company B, Thirty-ninth regiment, Captain William W. Graham (promoted to major).

Fifty-sixth regiment, Captain G. G. Redding (no distinct company organization).

Fifty-ninth regiment, Captain Lewis F. Munroe (killed Oct. 12, 1864).

Fifty-ninth regiment, Captain Warren S. Potter (no distinct company organization).

Of her officers, Colonels Isaac S. Burrill and W. Raymond Lee were captured at the outset of their periods of service,—the latter at Ball's Bluff. General Nelson A. Miles, well known for his distinguished services in the civil war, and in recent Indian campaigns, went from Roxbury as first lieutenant of company E, Twenty-second regiment. Among her brave sons whose lives were freely given to their country were General T. J. C. Amory, Colonel Lucius M. Sargent, and Major E. G. Park. Tasteful monuments to the memory of her fallen heroes have been erected at Forest Hills, and in front of the Unitarian church at Jamaica Plain.

The project of annexing Roxbury to Boston, broached in the year 1851, was for a long time strenuously opposed. Voted down in 1853 (two hundred and sixty-two yeas; nays, three hundred and ninety-nine), it was carried by the people in 1857 (eight hundred and eight to seven hundred and sixty-two); but in view of the small majority the city authorities declined to act upon it. In 1859 the legislature gave the petitioners leave to withdraw. In 1864 the proposition was rejected in the senate. At length the arguments of those who foresaw the necessity for a common system of streets, sewers, water-supply, and drainage for the two cities, already so

closely united commercially and geographically, prevailed. Early in 1867 a committee of the legislature unanimously reported that "the *benefits* to Roxbury, the *necessities* of Boston, and the *interests* of the Commonwealth, sanction and require annexation." The commissioners of both cities had previously reported in favor of the measure. It was accordingly adopted by the voters of the two cities on the second Monday of September, and annexation took effect Jan. 6, 1868. The vote of Roxbury was one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two to five hundred and ninety-two, — more than three to one in its favor. The majority of votes for it in Boston was also large. West Roxbury followed the example of her elder sister six years later (Jan. 5, 1874). By the annexation of these two districts Boston acquired a territory three times the size of her own, — a much needed accession; increased her valuation $26,551,700, and added forty thousand to her population. The especial benefit to Roxbury was the introduction of Cochituate water; a remarkable rise in the value of her real estate soon followed, and a fresh impetus was given to her growth and prosperity. Her history as a separate organization terminates at this point, after an existence of two hundred and thirty-eight years.

The past sixty years have witnessed a striking change in the religious life of Roxbury. The severity of the Puritan Sunday, which prevailed up to the close of the last century, had at the beginning of this period been materially relaxed, and fines for non-attendance at church were no longer exacted. The three churches which then sufficed for its religious wants have grown in number to forty-two; and the single denomination then in existence has seen springing up within and around it societies representing nearly all shades of religious belief, with full liberty for their exercise. Instead of the large number of clergymen in Roxbury at the present time, many of whom are little known, the three Roxbury ministers, Porter, Gray, and Bradford, for near half a century had wielded the spiritual destinies of the people, by whom they were universally known and greatly beloved. The old First Church, in Eliot Square, like so many others of the original churches of New England, is now Unitarian in its faith, the change taking place early in this century. Its present edifice, the fifth erected here, dates from 1804. In 1857 the building was repaired, and its interior greatly improved. At that time four of its pew-holders of 1804 were yet living, as also were twenty-five of the descendants of the original founders of 1632. It is noteworthy that the term of service of four of its ten pastors, — Eliot, Nehemiah Walter, Porter, and Putnam, — extends over a space of two hundred and nineteen years. With the exception of Welde, who went back to England, and the present pastor, all have begun and ended here their ministerial career, spending their lives in the service of this church. The Rev. Eliphalet Porter, D.D., pastor for more than half a century, was a sound, instructive, and practical, rather than a popular preacher, generally saying the right thing in the right manner, at the right time. His succes-

sor, the Rev. George Putnam, D.D., pastor for a nearly equal period, was a most thoughtful, interesting, and eloquent preacher. He represented Roxbury in the State Legislature and in the Constitutional Convention, and rendered efficient service to her schools.[1]

Next in age to the First Church is that of the Second Parish, also Unitarian, in West Roxbury. Its house of worship, on Centre Street near South, originally a plain, square structure, without a steeple, stood with its side to the road. Given its present form and largely rebuilt in 1821, it was again enlarged and repaired a few years ago. Theodore Parker, who preached here nearly nine years, speaks of his parishioners as "good, quiet, sober, church-going people, and capital listeners." For the first year or two, as he informs us in his volume of *Ministerial Experiences*, his congregation did not exceed seventy persons, including the children; yet he took great pains in the composition of his sermons, which were never out of his mind.

After Rev. Dr. Gordon's return to England, in 1786, the pastorate of the Third Parish Church, at Jamaica Plain, was vacant seven years, and until the settlement of the Rev. Thomas Gray. From a small and poor society Mr. Gray brought it to a highly prosperous condition. Though practical, agreeable, and often effective as a preacher, it was as a pastor, in the faithful and affectionate oversight of his flock, that his chief excellence lay. The present church edifice, erected about 1852, occupies the site of the first, which in 1820 had been enlarged and remodelled. In 1821 a new and larger bell replaced that given in 1783 by John Hancock, and formerly in the New Brick Church, Boston. This Church is also Unitarian Congregational.

A series of meetings held in the autumn of 1817, at the residence of Beza Tucker, continued in what was called "Whitewash Hall," in Guild Row, led to the formation of the Dudley-Street Baptist Church. The thickly-settled portion of the town had then but one religious society, that of the Rev. Dr. Porter. The first Baptist edifice, which was of wood, was raised May 10, 1820, and dedicated November 1; and March 9, 1821, the society, under the name of "The Baptist Church of Roxbury," was formed. Its present name was adopted Feb. 28, 1850; and its present building, erected in 1852, was dedicated July 27, 1853.[2]

The First Universalist Society in Roxbury originated in 1818, in a course of Sunday-evening lectures at the Town Hall by the Rev. Hosea Ballou, assisted by the Rev. Paul Dean. Beginning its career at about the same time as the Baptist church, it was, like that, made up largely of seceders from the Old First Church.[3]

St. James's Church, on St. James Street, the first Episcopal church in Roxbury, originated in May, 1832, and was incorporated in 1833. The parish was organized Aug. 9, 1832. Prior to the consecration of its

[1] [The succession of pastors of the churches in Roxbury can be found, when not given in this chapter, in those in this volume relating to the several denominations. — Ed.]

[2] Its pastors have been: Joseph Elliot (1822–24), William Leverett (1825–39), Thomas Ford Caldicott (1840–48), Thomas Davis Anderson (1848–61), Henry Melville King (1863—).

[3] [Its history is told in Dr. Miner's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

church building, by Bishop Griswold, Aug. 7, 1834, services were held weekly in the Female High-School house on Bartlett Street. The church was enlarged by the addition of a wing on the west side in 1862; a new chapel was built in 1877–78.[1]

The Eliot Congregational Church, in Kenilworth Street, an off-shoot of the Old First Church, was organized Sept. 18, 1834. Until the completion and dedication of its edifice, Nov. 25, 1835, services were held at the Town Hall, the Rev. Jacob Abbott officiating.

The Winthrop-Street Methodist Episcopal Society, incorporated in 1859, had its beginning in 1838, holding its meetings in a hall in Guild Row and at the Town Hall, until the completion, in December, 1840, of their house in Williams Street, now Shawmut Avenue. In August, 1852, they sold this property, and took possession of the house on Warren Street formerly occupied by the Baptist society, and which they caused to be removed to the site now occupied by the Warren Block. This house was destroyed by fire early in the morning of March 29, 1868. Services were held in the Universalist church until the completion of their present edifice on Winthrop Street, the first service being held there July 4, 1869. The new building was dedicated Nov. 28, 1869. A division of the society having in the meantime occurred, ninety members withdrew and formed the Highland Methodist Society, whose house of worship is at 160 Warren Street.

The Mount Pleasant Unitarian Church, on Dudley Street, is another off-shoot from the Old First Church in Eliot Square. The society was organized May 6, 1845, and its house, built on the site of the old Welde homestead, was dedicated in the following year.

St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic) church, on Circuit Street, was built in 1846. Of the forty-two places of worship at present in Roxbury, eight are Methodist Episcopal, seven Trinitarian Congregational, six Baptist, six Roman Catholic, four Unitarian Congregational, three Episcopal, three Universalist, and two Union. There are one each of the Lutheran, Swedenborgian, and Second Advent denominations.

In 1790 the number of pupils in the five town schools was two hundred and twenty-five. A new school-house was built in 1798 on what is now Palmer Street, and two others were soon afterward established at Canterbury. Nine school districts were formed in 1807, four of them in the easterly parish; and the total expenditure for schools increased from $1,000 to $1,500. The yearly cost of education was less than four dollars per scholar. In 1816 the appropriation was increased to $2,000, and uniformity in rules and regulations, and also in text-books, was secured. In 1829 committees were formed for visiting the schools at convenient times and without ceremony. In 1831 the upper part of the Town House was fitted up for pupils

[1] Its pastors have been: M. A. De W. Howe (1832–35), William Staunton (1835–37), A. D. W. Howe (1837–46), Robert B. Hall (1846–47), John Wayland (1848–58), George S. Converse (1859–71), Percy Browne (1872—). See the chapter by the Rev. Phillips Brooks, D.D.

of both sexes above the age of seven years, and the appropriation increased to $3,000, — a little less than sixty cents *per capita* for each inhabitant. At this time there were eleven primary schools. In 1846, when the city was incorporated, there were six grammar and thirteen primary schools. The old grammar-school building, erected in 1742 and enlarged in 1820, having become totally inadequate to the requirements of the school, was sold in 1834, and a new one built in Mount-Vernon Place, now Kearsarge Avenue. In 1844, after a five years' experiment of making this a high school, its old organization was restored, such English studies only being required as are compatible with the latter character. Besides primaries, there are now two high schools and ten grammar schools in the Roxbury district. One of the most successful of its private schools was that established at Jamaica Plain by Stephen M. Weld, in 1827, and taught by him for a period of thirty years. Notre Dame Academy, a Roman Catholic institution, is on Washington, opposite Townsend, Street.

On the decease of Benjamin Bussey, in 1842, he bequeathed his valuable estate of three hundred acres to Harvard University, for the establishment of a seminary for "instruction in practical agriculture, useful and ornamental gardening, botany, and such other branches of natural science as may tend to promote a knowledge of practical agriculture and the various arts subservient thereto." Courses of lectures were also to be given. One half the net income is applied to maintain this institution; the residue is equally divided between the Divinity and Law schools of the University. The Bussey Institution, which includes the Arnold Arboretum, is on South (near Morton) Street, and went into operation in 1871. Its principal building is of Roxbury stone, in the modern Gothic style.

The first public library of Roxbury, established in 1805, reorganized as the "Social Library" in 1831, and as the "Roxbury Athenæum" in 1848, was incorporated in 1851, and is in Bradley's Building. Caleb Fellowes, founder of the Fellowes Athenæum, died in 1852, leaving $40,000 to be laid out for a suitable lot of ground, and in erecting thereon an edifice for an institution similar in plan to the Philadelphia Athenæum, while the income of a further bequest was to be applied to the purchase of books. It was incorporated in 1866, and having been joined by a covenant with the Roxbury Branch of the Boston Public Library, the united libraries were dedicated July 9, and opened for public use July 16, 1873.[1] A branch of the Public Library has also been established at Jamaica Plain. At Roslindale and at West Roxbury it has other less important dependencies.

The *Norfolk Gazette*, the first newspaper in Roxbury, was published weekly, by Allen & Weeks, from Dec. 15, 1824, to Feb. 6, 1827, when it

[1] A sufficient account of Mr. Fellowes and the Athenæum will be found in a pamphlet commemorating the dedication in 1873.

was discontinued. The *Norfolk County Journal*, now the *Home Journal*, also a weekly, was established in 1849, and was edited for two years by William A. Crafts. The *Roxbury City Gazette* was established by William H. Hutchinson in 1861. The *Suburban News*, a weekly, issued at Jamaica Plain, is now in its ninth year.

The old almshouse on Centre Street was abandoned in 1831, and a much larger one built on Marcella Street. In 1849 the Brook-Farm property was bought for a poor-farm by the city, but it was soon afterward sold. The Marcella-Street property is now a home for Boston's vagrant boys, while a portion of the city poor are kept at the Austin Farm Alms-house, in West Roxbury. There is a small-pox hospital at Canterbury.

In March, 1784, the Roxbury Artillery Company was formed, and John Jones Spooner, afterward an Episcopal clergyman, was chosen captain. This corps, which did good service in Shays's Rebellion, became an infantry company in 1857, taking its present name, — "The Roxbury City Guard." Its first parade was on July 5, 1784. The Norfolk Guards were organized Jan. 27, 1818, Alexander H. Gibbs commander; reorganized in 1838, and disbanded in 1855. This company, composed of prominent citizens, was highly distinguished for its bearing and efficiency. The Roxbury Horse Guards, Captain A. D. Hodges, organized May 16, 1861, re-organized in 1864, now forms a part of the active volunteer militia of the State.

The Fire Department of Roxbury has always been remarkable for its promptitude, skill, and efficiency. In 1784 its first fire-engine was located in Roxbury Street, opposite Vernon, the site of the Greyhound Tavern. Daniel Munroe was its captain; William Bosson, Jr., clerk and treasurer. Its members were John Swift, David Swift, John Williams, Jr., Elijah Weld, Joseph Weld, Joseph Richardson, William Dorr, Joshua Felton, Amos Smith, Aaron Willard, Abel Hutchins, Captain Samuel Mellish, Ensign R. H. Greaton, Jeremiah Gore, Jesse Doggett, and William Blaney. Fire wards were also chosen. A new fire-engine was established in 1787 near the Punch-Bowl Tavern. The members of this company were John Ward, Isaac Davis, Joseph Davenport, Joseph Crehore, James Pierce, Samuel Barry, Captain Belcher Hancock, and Lieutenant William Bosson. In 1802 the "Torrent" No. 2 was accepted, and its company of twenty-one men appointed. A new engine was purchased by subscription in 1819 for No. 1, and the town was asked for land on the northerly corner of the burying-ground on which to build its house. In 1831 Roxbury had seven fire-engines, with four hose-reels attached, — No. 1, Dudley Street (new house); No. 2, Centre Street, by Poor-House; Nos. 3 and 4, Jamaica Plain; No. 5, Spring Street; No. 6, Eustis Street (new house); No. 7, "Norfolk," at Punch-Bowl Village.

The Roxbury Charitable Society, formed in September, 1794, principally by members of the Roxbury Fire Society, was incorporated in 1799, and still continues its career of active beneficence. Judge Lowell was its first president. Among its promoters were Governor Sumner, Hon. John Lowell, Hon. John Read, William Lambert, the Rev. Eliphalet Porter, Hon. Sherman Leland, and Charles Davis. Imposing ceremonies in times past attended its anniversaries, such as a procession with military escort, and a discourse at the First Church. Among its anniversary orators were Judge Lowell, the Rev. Horace Holley, Edward Everett, Rev. Henry Ware, Dr. John Bartlett, and the Rev. E. D. Griffin. Prominent among the other charitable associations of Roxbury are the Consumptive's Home, Grove Hall; the Roxbury Home for Aged Women and Children, Copeland Street; the House of the Angel Guardian, Vernon Street; the House of the Good Shepherd, Tremont Street; Little Sisters of the Poor, Dudley Street; the Martin Luther Orphans' Home, Baker Street; St. Luke's Home for Convalescents, Roxbury Street; and the New England Hospital for Women and Children, on Codman Avenue.

The Washington Lodge of Freemasons, the thirteenth lodge chartered in Massachusetts, was instituted March 14, 1796, and Worshipful Master Ebenezer Seaver, Senior Deacon Simeon Pratt, and Junior Deacon John Ward were publicly installed by the Grand Master, Paul Revere, October 16. Its founders were Simeon Pratt, John Ward, Moses Harriman, Ebenezer Seaver, Timothy Healy, Joseph Ruggles, Stephen Davis, and James Howe. Among its past-masters were Simeon Pratt, Nathaniel Ruggles, Nathaniel S. Prentiss, Samuel Barry, Samuel J. Gardiner, John Howe, Charles Wild, and George Frost. The Mount Vernon Royal Arch Chapter, Lafayette Lodge, and the Joseph Warren Commandery of Knights Templars have since been organized in Roxbury. Odd Fellowship is represented here by the Warren Lodge, Highland Encampment, and Quinoboquin Lodge.

Brook Farm, one of the most celebrated of the former institutions of Roxbury, was purchased in 1841 by George Ripley and others, who associated themselves together as "The Brook-Farm Institute of Education and Agriculture," and were afterward incorporated as "The Brook-Farm Phalanx."[1] After occupying it for five or six years, they sold it to the city for a poor-farm. It is now "The Martin Luther Orphans' Home."

Apart from the old mansions and cemeteries of Roxbury, described in a former chapter, there are few memorials of her past in existence. Durable monuments of the beneficence of Judge Paul Dudley are yet visible in numerous mile-stones erected by him on the different roads leading from the town. One of the most prominent and interesting of these is a large stone at the corner of Centre Street, the old Dedham road; upon its front is inscribed, "The | Parting | Stone | 1744 | P. Dudley;" on its northerly side it directs to Cambridge and Watertown, and on its southerly side to Ded-

[1] [This social experiment will be described in a later chapter of Vol. IV. — Ed.]

ham and Rhode Island. Lord Percy's soldiers read its inscription as they passed it on their way to Lexington, one hot April forenoon; and it has since afforded rest and information to many a tired wayfarer. Not far from this, on the other side of the street, opposite the residence of Mr. Prang, is a still older stone, inscribed, "Boston 3 miles, 1729." At the corner of Eliot Street, Jamaica Plain, is another, inscribed, "Five miles to Boston Town House, 1735." Among the old houses not previously mentioned is the Crafts homestead on Tremont Street, near Parker-Hill Avenue, whose chimney bears date 1709. The Warren House, with its memorial inscriptions, and the Cochituate stand-pipe, and the adjacent monument, standing as they do on consecrated ground, call to mind the martyrs and patriots of '75. Among the landmarks still remembered, but which have disappeared, are the "Rocking-Stone," a natural curiosity situated on the Munroe Farm; and the tall chimney of the chemical works, near Hog Bridge, pronounced unsafe and taken down, after remaining a conspicuous landmark for over thirty years.

In 1846 General H. A. S. Dearborn and others petitioned the newly established city government of Roxbury for a rural cemetery. The purchase of the Joel Seaverns farm of fifty-five acres, in Canterbury, was the result; and to this the addition of other pieces of land adjoining have increased its area to two hundred and twenty-six acres. The work of laying out the grounds of this "Garden of the Dead" was assigned to General Dearborn, whose skill and taste had already been successfully exerted at Mount Auburn. The original wooden gateway, with its Egyptian designs, gave place in 1865 to the present tasteful structure of Roxbury stone and Caledonia freestone, in the modern Gothic style. At the left of the entrance is an elegant marble receiving-tomb, built in 1870. Three avenues diverge towards different parts of the cemetery from the main entrance, opposite which, on Snow-flake Hill, is a stone bell-tower and observatory one hundred feet in height, completed in 1876. The eminences which gave the cemetery its name are the Eliot Hills, a range of four heights in its south-western part; Consecration Hill, at its north-eastern angle; Chapel Hill, north of Lake Dell; the large hill south of Consecration Hill, named for the illustrious Warren; and Cypress Hill. Lake Hibiscus is near the centre of the cemetery, and is approached by avenues from its different parts. One of the most attractive spots at Forest Hills is the grotto on Dearborn Hill.

Mount Hope Cemetery, on Canterbury Street, a little south of Forest Hills, lies partly in Dorchester, and contains over one hundred acres. It was consecrated June 24, 1852, and July 31, 1857, its proprietors transferred it to the city of Boston. Other cemeteries in Roxbury are Mount Calvary, on Mount Hope Street; Gethsemane, Baker Street; Warren, Kearsarge Avenue; Hand-in-Hand (Jewish), Grove Street; Mount Benedict, Arnold Street; and St. Joseph's, Circuit Street.

Roxbury has several parks. Washington Park, the largest of these, lies between Bainbridge and Dale streets; Highland Park, on Fort Avenue, the

site of a Revolutionary fort, contains the Cochituate stand-pipe; Fountain Square, Orchard Park, and Madison Square are also parks of respectable dimensions. Cedar Square, on Cedar Street, was the gift of Alvah Kittredge, Esq., to the town. Other smaller breathing-spaces are Walnut, Walden, Bromley, and Lewis parks. Forest and Oakland gardens are popular and attractive summer resorts.

Salt was in the early days made at the "Salt Pans," near the town landing. Not far from this place General Joseph Palmer, conspicuous in the Revolutionary annals of the State, erected salt works, which were in successful operation when his sudden death, in 1788, brought the enterprise to a premature close. A fulling mill was established by John Pierpont on Stony River, near the site of Day's cordage factory, in 1658. The manufacture of leather was for a long time the principal one in Roxbury. Early in the present century, John Doggett founded the well-known looking-glass and carpet works on Roxbury Street. The Willards, celebrated clock and watch-makers for over a century, established themselves here in 1773.

In 1792 there were near the town landing-place, at Parker Street, several establishments, one of them owned by Ralph Smith, for the packing of provisions and the manufacture of soap and candles; and vessels were laden with these commodities here. Where Arlington Street now is the channel of approach was then, having nine feet of water at low tide. The Back Bay was at that time an expansive and beautiful sheet of water. The large establishment of the brothers Aaron and Charles Davis for packing provisions, and their distillery and tannery, were near the town wharf, now the junction of Albany and Northampton streets. In 1845 the value of Roxbury's manufactures, in which one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight persons were employed, was $2,247,684. The largest items embraced were four cordage manufactories, sixteen tanneries, three rolling, slitting, and nail mills, one carpet manufactory, nine bakeries, three chemical works, three starch mills, one distillery, five soap and tallow manufactories, and one lead manufactory. The manufacture of boots and shoes was a large item. The most notable of the varied industries of Roxbury at the present day is the chromolithographic manufactory of L. Prang & Co., on Roxbury Street, established in 1856. The Roxbury Carpet Company, and the Howard Watch and Clock Company are also well known for the excellence of their productions. There are seven large breweries in Roxbury.

According to the United States census, the population of Roxbury at different periods has been as follows (the figures for 1860 and 1870 do not include the population of West Roxbury): —

1790 . . . 2,226	1840 . . . 9,089	1870 . . . 34,772
1810 . . . 3 669	1850 . . . 18,373	1880 . . . 78,799
1830 . . . 5,247	1860 . . . 25,137	

Roxbury is the native place of three of the generals of the Revolution, — Warren, Heath, and Greaton; and the birthplace or home of ten of the governors of the State, — Thomas and Joseph Dudley, William Shirley, Francis Bernard, John Hancock, James Bowdoin, Samuel Adams, Increase Sumner, William Eustis, and William Gaston. Besides the names already mentioned, those of the following eminent citizens should be noted: General Henry Dearborn, and his son General Henry A. S. Dearborn; General William H. Sumner, and Admiral John A. Winslow of Kearsarge fame; Judge John Lowell, and his son John Lowell, Jr., a distinguished writer upon politics and agriculture; Samuel and Franklin Dexter, William Whiting and Sherman Leland, prominent lawyers; Hon. John Read, Ebenezer Seaver, and Ward Nicholas Boylston, valuable citizens; Jonathan Davies, Eliphalet Downer, John C. Warren, and John Bartlett, skilful physicians and noted men; Gilbert Stuart and Gilbert S. Newton his nephew, painters of celebrity; and S. G. Goodrich, Lucius Manlius Sargent, Samuel G. Drake, and Epes Sargent, who have acquired distinction in the field of literature.

The events of the siege of Boston are the only ones of much historical importance which have marked the annals of Roxbury, no serious conflagration or other grave public calamity having occurred within her borders. Her progress, owing to her geographical position and other favoring conditions, has been remarkably rapid of late years, and she must ere long contain within her ancient limits a large share of the city's population. The process of absorption and assimilation into the larger municipality is constantly going on, and is a matter of regret to those only whose local pride leads them to deplore the abdication of self-government and the lost identity of the old town, and who fear that even its name may be obliterated from the map. The inappropriate designation of Boston Highlands should be dropped, and its old and honored name of Roxbury restored.

Francis S. Drake

CHAPTER XVII.

DORCHESTER IN THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY THE REV. SAMUEL J. BARROWS,

Minister of the First Parish, 1876-80.

THE history of Dorchester for the last hundred years is not a history of striking events. From the external side it lacks brilliancy and incident, and may not be very picturesque; but the history of no New-England town could be written from its external side only. Beneath the staid, quiet, homely life of the last century there have always been deep currents of moral, intellectual, and religious force, which worked silently and persistently, and carried the life of the town with them. In critical times we see these forces breaking out with great vehemence; but, for the most part, they move on as noiselessly as the sap ascends the channels of the tree.

We may see by looking at such a town as Dorchester, and many other New England towns, how much growth may take place in ideas, morals, and the internal life of a community without greatly affecting its external institutions. It may be truly said of the New-England town, what seems rather paradoxical when applied to material things, — that it is larger on the inside than on the outside. Nevertheless, we soon distrust the permanence and reality of the spirit of progress unless we see it taking outward form and effect; and Dorchester can point to substantial embodiments of that spirit in its own history. It may be said, however, that in this town progress always struggled with a powerful conservative tendency which prevented it from advancing too hastily on the one hand, while it retarded sometimes that advancement which was necessary for its health. If the old settlers could wake up and see the town as it is to-day, they would recognize a vast number of changes. Would they be willing to admit that every change is an improvement?

In our last chapter[1] we carried the history of Dorchester through the provincial period to the close of the Revolutionary War. We find the town, geographically and materially, just where it stood before, but with the old-time loyalty directed with increased fervor towards the new government to which it had transferred its allegiance, and which it had given so much of its

[1] Vol. II. p. 357.

blood and treasure to establish. It is a fact to be noted, that whatever conservatism Dorchester may have had in practical methods, it was always radical and progressive in its patriotism. Whenever the question of civil liberty came up, it was in the fore-front.

It has been noticed that Dorchester's jealousy of any interference with State rights and liberties led it to be suspicious and oppositive of the union of the colonies proposed in 1754; but when such a union was needed for the protection of the colonial liberties, the town was prompt and warm in its acceptance, and never wavered in its loyalty. In 1809, when Massachusetts was greatly disturbed and excited, owing to the imposition of the embargo, and inflammatory meetings were held in various towns protesting against the course of the Government, Dorchester was firm in its support. It drew up a remonstrance, and saw "with the sincerest sorrow that a number of towns were so lost to their national allegiance, and so heedless of the conflict which might result from the prosecution of their measures," that they had passed resolutions and presented petitions to the Legislature "highly insulting to the national authority, and appealing to the authority of the State to resist the laws of the Union on a subject exclusively within the constitutional authority of the Government of the United States. We consider," they add, "the union of the American States as the ark of our safety and the rock of our defence against invasion from without or violence from within. We will, therefore, cling to it as the last hope of our liberties." There was an apprehension in Dorchester that the motive of some of the leaders in that "uneasiness" was to demolish the republican government and to erect a hereditary monarchy on its ruins. "A system of this kind or any part of it," they said, "we are free to declare we will oppose to blood." If the views of the town upon the subject of State rights are not indicated with sufficient clearness in the preceding paragraphs, they are left beyond doubt in the paragraph which follows: "To resist by arms a law of our State Legislature of an interior and local nature would be treason against the Commonwealth. On such an occasion the inhabitants of this town would be found among the first to support the laws and repel the treason. It also cannot be less an act of treason against the National Government to resist by force a law of theirs on the subject of national concerns, although unfortunately such resistance should be sanctioned by the State Legislature."

Surely here is a change from the suspicious spirit of 1754, when Dorchester feared a union of the colonies as destructive to the liberty of the State. If such was the position of the town in 1809, we need not be surprised at the stand which it took in 1861. It is hardly necessary to say that during the war of 1812–14 the town, without distinction of party, used all its means to "defend its soil and repel the hostile invader."

A profound interest in the life and development of the nation, of which Dorchester was one of the first seeds, is a marked feature in its history; yet the local affairs of the town were never neglected. The arts of peace were

more sedulously cultivated than the arts of war. The public spirit, which was prompt to rally when the nation was in danger, manifested itself in the long years of peace and plenty. It is shown in all matters relating to public improvements, in the construction of roads, the care of the old cemetery, the administration of the schools, and in a pious regard for the interests of religion. While the town is anxious over the result of the embargo, it is seriously considering the question of "inoculation by cow-pox." We are impressed again with the importance of the ministerial function at this time. "The two reverend ministers of the town and the selectmen" were appointed a committee to return "a respectable answer" to the important and interesting letter addressed to them by the selectmen and committee of the town of Malden on this subject. The town afterward voted to approve of the method, and to recommend it to the inhabitants of the town; and the ministers were requested to read these votes to the congregations the next Lord's Day after divine service. The doctors were asked to keep a register of those inoculated, and to return it to the town clerk; but otherwise they do not seem to have been consulted. The ravages of small-pox, which had visited Dorchester in previous years, may have hastened a decision on this point.

In reading the town records we are struck by the thoroughness with which the committees did their duty. Dorchester evidently seemed to them an important place; it was worthy of their best work. The reports on the condition of schools and on the general subject of education are models of conscientious and painstaking fidelity; and some of them, made within the last forty years, would bear re-printing for their broad and sensible views. In another part of the town records we have from the committee on roads a long treatise on the art of road-making, showing great practical knowledge of the subject, and written not only to interest the town ear, but to influence the town pocket. The excellent roads of Dorchester to-day are not wholly owing to annexation.

The cause of education did not languish. The individual bequests to the school fund, already noticed in the first volume, were increased in 1797 by the gift of nearly ten acres of woodland from the Hon. James Bowdoin, son of Governor Bowdoin; and in 1803 by the gift of a lot of land containing about five thousand feet, from John Capen, Jr. Noah Clapp, town clerk, in a letter to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1792, says that up to that time more than thirty from Dorchester had been graduated at Harvard College, and that more than twenty of these had been preachers of the gospel, — a fact which shows that a close relation was assumed between education and religion.

In 1784 the town voted "that such girls as can read in the Psalter be allowed to go to the Grammar School from the first day of June to the first day of October."[1] This is the first vote in which provision is made for the public education of girls. Though there were dame-schools in which they

[1] *Town Records*, iv. 79.

received instruction in sewing and reading and spelling, their attendance on the public schools seems to have been confined previously to one afternoon annually at the general catechising in the fall of the year, "where each child was expected to answer two questions at least from the Assembly's catechism." [1] By the year 1803 there were four annual schools established. The town made a small yearly appropriation for their support, the salary of the teacher being about what a private soldier receives now in our army, — thirteen dollars a month and board. The annual appropriation for schools in 1812 was $2,700, and from 1820 to 1824, $2,300. The six school-masters then received $400 each, the income from school funds amounting to $257. In the years 1825 and 1828 the appropriation was $2,500; in 1830, $2,300. In 1857 the amount voted for schools in Dorchester was $23,622.98, or ten times as much as in 1830. The sum appropriated by the town for the public education of each child between the ages of five and fifteen was in that year (1857) $13.18. Dorchester stood in that respect the third in the Commonwealth, and the second in Norfolk County, — the towns of Brookline and Nahant alone exceeding it. In 1869 — the last year of Dorchester's life as a town — the appropriation for schools was $54,000.

A committee in 1827 reported it expedient to have a High School; but the report was not accepted, and final action was not taken until 1852, when an appropriation of $6,000 was made for the building and a central location selected, so that four fifths of the children of the town were within two miles of the school-house. Such a central location was necessary, as the town, in spite of loss of territory, was still nine miles long and two and a half broad,[2] and contained eight thousand inhabitants. The High School was opened in December, 1852, when fifty-nine scholars were admitted. The first principal was Mr. William J. Rolfe, who was succeeded by Mr. Jonathan Kimball in 1856. Mr. Elbridge Smith is the present incumbent.

In the previous record the religious history of the town has been practically synonymous with the history of the parish. It continued to be so until the early part of this century. With the increase of population other houses of worship became necessary. With larger toleration and growth in opinion, Dorchester, characterized for nearly two hundred years by remarkable religious unity, became the home of a variety of churches and sects.

The Rev. Thaddeus Mason Harris succeeded the Rev. Moses Everett as pastor of the First Parish, and was ordained October, 1793. He was born in Charlestown, Mass., July 7, 1768; graduated at Harvard in 1787. He is well remembered by many of the old citizens of Dorchester and Boston for his genial nature, his sparkling wit, his aptness in the choice of texts and subjects, and the fountains of tears that were often unsealed in the delivery of his earnest and moving discourses. The shelves of Harvard College Library, of which he was librarian for a short time before going to Dorchester, bear many of his works, which attest his scholarship and the

[1] *History of Dorchester*, p. 450. [2] *Records*, x. 610.

wide range of his studies in science, religion, and history. Dr. Harris was a prominent member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and he deserves especial mention in this book because of his deep interest in the history of the town and of the church whose pastor he was for forty-three years. He did more than any one before him to collect and arrange the written, and to record the oral, traditions of the place and people.

Dr. Harris was succeeded by the Rev. Nathaniel Hall, who became associated with him as colleague in 1835, was made sole pastor in 1836, and

THADDEUS MASON HARRIS.[1]

held the office till his death in 1875, — a period of forty years. Mr. Hall's saintly character and his devotion to his calling were marked features of his effective but unpretentious ministry. He was succeeded by the writer of this chapter.

In a period of two hundred and fifty years the First Parish of Dorchester had but ten successive ministers; but from the settlement of Richard Mather, in 1636, to 1876, — a period of two hundred and forty years, — there were but seven successive ministers, with an average pastorate of thirty-four years each. There have been six deacons who have held office over forty years each. Deacon Ebenezer Clapp, the father of the present deacon of that name, held office for fifty-one years. Deacon Henry Humphreys, one

[1] This cut follows a miniature likeness owned by his daughter, still living in South Boston. A memoir of Dr. Harris by the Rev. N. L. Frothingham, D.D., with a long list of his publications, is in 4 *Mass. Hist. Coll.*, ii. See also *Funeral Sermon* by Rev. Nathaniel Hall.

of the present deacons, has served forty-eight years. Meeting-house Hill has been the site of the church building for two hundred and ten years. The society has had five meeting-houses, some of which have been previously noticed. The present building dates from 1816, but has received various additions and improvements.

There is one very interesting feature about the history of the First Parish, to which allusion was made on the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of its formation, held June 17, 1880. It is, that, while from time to time there were controversies and agitations concerning practical measures, such as the introduction of a new hymn-book, or the change of the method of singing from "lining out" into singing by note, there is nothing in the history of the church which shows just when it ceased to be Calvinistic and became Unitarian. The transition was silently and almost insensibly made.[1]

In 1806 the Second Church was formed at the south end of the parish, to meet the wants of the residents in that locality. The separation from the First Parish was very peaceably and affectionately made. Dr. Harris preached the dedication sermon of the new church.[2] When Dr. John Codman was ordained pastor in 1807, the sermon was preached by Dr. Channing. The property of the First Church and Parish was afterward divided between the two organizations and the subsequently formed Third Society, in proportion to the numbers of each.

The theological controversy, which the First Parish was spared, began soon after to rage with considerable violence in the Second Church. The theological councils that settled it could not allay the bitter feeling which was engendered, and which, though now extinct, continued for many years. As a result of this controversy, the Second Church allied itself with the Orthodox party, retaining its pastor, Dr. Codman. The opposing party withdrew and formed the Third Religious Society. Dr. Codman remained pastor of the Second Church till his death in 1847. The Rev. James H. Means was ordained and succeeded to the pulpit in 1848; and after a very successful pastorate of thirty years, marked also by eminent fidelity as a citizen of the town, he resigned in 1878. His successor, the present pastor, is the Rev. E. N. Packard.

The Third Religious Society, as already stated, was formed largely of members who left the Second Church of Dorchester. They built a meeting-house at the Lower Mills, which was dedicated in 1813, and was replaced by another built in 1840.[3]

Up to 1817, or a period of one hundred and eighty-seven years, Congregationalism was the only church polity known in Dorchester, and for one hundred and seventy-six years had been confined to a single organization. In 1817 the uniformity of the church government was broken by the estab-

[1] See *Proceedings of the 250th Anniversary of the First Church and Parish of Dorchester*, p. 118.

[2] The bill of expenses of that dedication service is still preserved by the Second Parish, and it is interesting to note among the items, "whiskey," "Madeira wine," and "gin for the sexton," as part of the approved expenses.

[3] [The succession of pastors of this church is given in Dr. Peabody's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

lishment of a Methodist Episcopal Church, whose first building was dedicated May 6, 1818, and succeeded by another in September, 1829.[1] The long roll of ministers which, in accordance with the Methodist system, this church has had, presents a strange contrast to the small number settled over the ancient church of the town.

A Baptist church was organized at Neponset in 1837; and another, — the North Baptist Church, corner of Sumner and Stoughton streets, — in 1840. An Episcopal church — St. Mary's — was organized in 1847. Instead of the single church existing at the beginning of this century, there are now twenty-one churches in the Dorchester District; namely, ten Congregational, — five of which are Trinitarian, four Unitarian, and one Universalist, — four Methodist, three Episcopalian, two Baptist, and two Roman Catholic.[2]

In the earliest years of its history the inhabitants of Dorchester found their chief occupation in fishing and farming and trading. Dorchester never developed great commercial importance, nor did it abound in manufactures; yet the water-power on the Neponset River was very early utilized, as was noticed in the first volume. The old grist mill was afterward followed by a fulling mill and a snuff mill. In 1727 a paper mill was established;[3] and as early as 1765 the manufacture of chocolate was begun, — the first made in New England. Dorchester chocolate is still known throughout the country for its excellence; and chocolate and paper mills have continued to be very important features of its industry.

A corporation of the proprietors of mills on Mill Creek and Neponset River was formed in 1798. Several tanneries were also located in the town, and the pits where some of them stood have not yet been filled up.

In later years, while commerce at Commercial Point has decreased, the manufactories have mainly centred at Neponset; while South Boston — the district which Dorchester first ceded to the city of Boston — has become the site of many of the largest iron works in the country.[4] What is still known as the Dorchester District, however, has been, and promises to remain for years to come, a place of residence for those whose occupation is in the city proper. A few of the old farms are left, but the majority have been cut up by streets and divided into building lots.

Dorchester has long been famous for its interest in horticulture. Dorchester and Roxbury furnished all the presidents and treasurers of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society for the first twenty years after its formation. The Rev. Dr. Harris, Captain William R. Austin, William Clapp, Zebedee Cook, Elijah Vose, Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, John Richardson, Samuel Downer, and Thaddeus Clapp are some among the living and the

[1] [See Dr. Dorchester's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] If we add South Boston, Washington Village, and Hyde Park, which were included within the Dorchester limits at the beginning of this century, the comparative number of churches would be much increased.

[3] [See Vol. II., p. 462. — Ed.]

[4] [See the chapter on "The Industries of Boston," in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

dead who have devoted themselves zealously to the culture and improvement of fruits and flowers. Hon Marshall P. Wilder has cultivated in his own orchard more than twelve hundred kinds of fruit; and on one occasion sent over four hundred varieties of the pear for exhibition.[1]

The love of the simple old colonial ways lingered long in Dorchester, and made it somewhat intolerant of modern inventions. The conservative character of the town was shown in its opposition to railroads. In 1842 a petition was presented to the Legislature for the privilege of building a railroad from Boston to Quincy, by any one of three routes. The town opposed it at a meeting, Feb. 2, 1842, saying: "A great portion of the road will lead through thickly-settled and populous parts of the town, crossing and running contiguous to public highways, and thereby making a permanent obstruction to the free intercourse of our citizens from one part of the town to another, and creating great and enduring danger and hazard to all travel upon the common roads." The town suggested that, if it be built at all, it be built over the marsh. The representative of the town in the Legislature was instructed to use his "utmost endeavor to prevent, if possible, so great a calamity to our town as must be the location of any railroad through it." A committee was appointed and counsel employed to oppose the petition before the Legislature. The town believed that "the property and the comfort, and perhaps the lives, of their fellow-citizens were deeply interested in the result of their remonstrance, and that the expenses of the ablest counsel were not to be considered when such interests were at stake." In 1844, when a petition was made for the formation of the Old Colony Road from Boston to Plymouth, and the petition for a road to Quincy was renewed, it was opposed again by the committee of the town; but opposition was finally ineffectual, and Dorchester was eventually doomed to the "calamity" of having two steam railroads, with branch tracks. The nature of that calamity would receive a new interpretation to-day, if these roads for any reason should be abandoned.

The earnest and devoted patriotism which Dorchester showed during the two wars with Great Britain was repeated in the war of the Rebellion. It is hardly worth while to refer to the attitude of the town as expressed in the resolutions which it was prompt to pass at the outbreak of the war. A complete exhibit of what was really done would furnish more substantial testimony. From the report of Adjutant-General Schouler, it appears that Dorchester furnished one thousand three hundred and forty-two men for the war, which was a surplus of one hundred and twenty-three over and above all demands. Of these, thirty-one were commissioned officers. From figures furnished by Mr. N. W. Tileston, who has given much study to this subject, we learn that the whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town on account of the war, exclusive of State aid, was $125,319.30. The amount received by the town from the State as State aid

[1] [See Colonel Wilder's chapter, in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

was $65,606.99. In the work of relief among the soldiers, the churches of Dorchester did a noble service. The Benevolent Society of the First Parish was organized Nov. 8, 1861, largely for this object. This society alone during the war sent to the soldiers provisions and supplies worth from fifteen to twenty thousand dollars. The other churches did similar work, and together must have furnished a like amount. On Sunday, Aug. 31, 1862, when the news of the result of the second battle of Bull Run reached Dorchester, all the parishes in town dispensed with religious services in the afternoon, and applied themselves to picking lint, making bandages, and packing clothes, wine, jellies, and other refreshments for the sick and wounded. The First Parish alone sent off twenty-one cases the next day. The amount contributed by societies and private individuals for the relief of soldiers and seamen during the war exceeded the sum of $50,000.

The number of Dorchester citizens who perished in the war was one hundred. This does not include the number of men from other towns who were sent as recruits to fill up the Dorchester companies, or those who served in the navy. A large number of these were killed or died in rebel prisons, or were never heard from.

In previous chapters we have noticed the fluctuation in the Dorchester boundary. While the soul of the town was never diminished, there was from time to time an atrophy of the body. A slice was lost here and a slice there, until the original territory was very much diminished. Until 1793 Dorchester, as has been said, was a part of Suffolk County, and thus practically joined to Boston in all judicial matters; but more than fifty years before this time an agitation was begun for a separation from Boston, the complaint being made that the people who had business at the courts in the city were long detained, to the great expense of time and money. The town, therefore, voted, in 1743, that it was desirous that the country town-meeting be separated from Boston, and erected into a district and county by itself. In 1784 this vote was re-affirmed. When the separation was finally made, in 1793, public opinion seems to have altered, and the change met with much opposition. The town presented a memorial to the Legislature protesting against the division of the county of Suffolk, and praying that Dorchester might be re-annexed thereto. The reasons for the opposition were the cost of additional buildings, and the great advantages attending the transaction of business in the metropolis, as the new shire town was in a place inconvenient for the memorialists. The opposition, however, was not successful; but the centrifugal force which threw off Dorchester, with neighboring towns, into a new county, did not save it from the centripetal movement which was gradually to draw the whole town back again, not only into Suffolk County, but within the corporate limits of Boston itself. Hungry Boston did not swallow Dorchester at one bite, — it took three meals to do it. It began in 1803, by nibbling at Dorchester Neck, now known as South Boston. Boston was steadily growing and becoming more

crowded. Dorchester Neck, which could easily be connected by a bridge, seemed to afford the needed relief. Most of the residents of Dorchester Neck were in favor of the annexation. They were far removed from the centre of the town, and the building of the bridge to Boston promised them many advantages. Dorchester was willing to have the bridge built, but voted against the annexation. A committee was appointed to present a remonstrance to the Legislature. The committee presented the lamentable fact that, since the incorporation of Dorchester, "the towns of Milton, Stoughton, and others had been set off from it, so that the remainder was only ten miles in length, and contained little more than seven thousand acres of land."

But a joint committee of both Houses reported in favor of the annexation, without compensation to Dorchester. At a town-meeting, where the action of the legislative committee was detailed, one of the Dorchester committee stated that $6,000 might be obtained provided the town would not oppose the project; but the town was obstinate, and voted *not* to accept the $6,000 on the conditions offered. The bill passed the Legislature March 6, 1804; and Dorchester lost the money and the territory too.

In 1836 the inhabitants of Little Neck, Washington Village, petitioned to be joined to Boston. They were four miles from the town house, and upwards of a mile from any school, and represented that they were wholly debarred from school privileges for several successive days in each month by the tide-water being permitted to overflow the public road. The town of Dorchester opposed the annexation. The committee of the General Court reported against it, because Boston would incur great expense in laying out the streets across the salt marsh; but the matter was only delayed, for Washington Village was finally annexed to Boston May 21, 1855.

It took but ten or twelve years for Boston to digest this last slice of territory, and then it was hungry for more. The sister town of Roxbury was the first victim. Her annexation to Boston in 1868, far from meeting the growing wants of Boston, only indicated that the annexation of Dorchester was but a question of time. In 1867 the subject was more or less agitated by the citizens of Dorchester themselves, who brought the matter before the Boston city government, and secured the appointment of a board of commissioners to confer with commissioners appointed by the town. The commission was unable to agree, but expressed the opinion that it might become desirable to annex a portion of the town of Dorchester, "in order to complete the elaborate system of drainage and harbor improvement devised for the benefit of Boston." No immediate action followed, but a year later the matter was taken up, — this time from the Boston side; and by order of the common council, passed Dec. 22, 1868, the mayor was requested to appoint a commission of three discreet and intelligent persons carefully to examine the subject in all its financial, industrial, and sanitary relations, and to report the result of their doings to the city council. The final report of this commission presented many interesting facts

which serve to show the condition of Dorchester on the eve of the annexation.[1]

While Dorchester from 1657 had steadily lost in territory through redivision of its boundaries, there was a great gain in wealth and population. The population of Dorchester in 1855 was 8,340; in 1865, 10,707, — an increase of 2,377 in ten years; a gain of $28\frac{50}{100}$ per cent. The magnitude which town affairs had assumed is also seen by the annual appropriations at town-meetings. Notwithstanding the much greater geographical extent of the original town, its early expenses seem small enough when compared with those for 1869, — a few months before the vote on annexation was taken.[2] The result of the city commissioners' examination was a unanimous report for annexation, based on "the necessity for a part, and the desirableness of the whole, of the territory for the present and prospective wants of the city, and the highly favorable financial, industrial, and sanitary condition of the town." The commissioners noted the "strong feeling of attachment to the name of the town and its history and traditions" which was manifested, and thought that, by the annexation of the whole territory, Dorchester might continue to retain her boundary and local history as a precinct of the city.

In May, 1869, the subject came up before the Legislature. The mayor and city council urged the annexation. The town of Dorchester was represented by a committee of eighteen gentlemen, who presented a petition signed by between eight and nine hundred citizens. The matter came to a hearing before the joint committee on towns. There was no organized opposition from Dorchester, but the measure was opposed by the Norfolk County Commissioners. As a result of these hearings a majority of the committee reported in favor of annexation, and presented the draft of a bill for that purpose. A minority report urged that the annexation would be of no commercial advantage to Boston, and that it would be of no benefit to Dorchester. "Her town affairs," they said, "appear to be well managed; her

[1] Its number of inhabitants was estimated at twelve thousand.

Dwelling-houses, May 1, 1868	1,830
Ratable polls	2,918
Legal voters	2,100
Churches	13
School-houses, of the larger class	7
" " " smaller class	3
One steam fire-engine, and several hand-engines.	
Scholars	2,000
Acres of land	4,532

Valuation for 1868: —

Real estate	$9,291,200
Personal	6,035,100

The financial condition of the town was as follows: —

Town debt	$147,700.00
Cash on hand Feb. 1, 1869	
Due from State and for taxes	111,092.41
Actual debt	$36,607 59
Valuation of town property	237,182.26

[2] The appropriations for that year were as follows: —

For Schools	$54,000
Poor in alms-house	5,000
Poor out of alms-house	3,500
Insane at hospital	2,000
Fire department	10,000
Highways	25,000
Volunteer companies	1,050
Town officers	6,000
Cemeteries	1,500
Instalments and interest	27,000
Interest in anticipation of taxes	5,000
Abatement of taxes	4,000
Lighting streets	6,000
Police and watch	8,000
Incidental expenses	10,000
Removal of engine-house No. 3	2,000
Widening of Hancock Street	5,000
" " Minot "	4,000
" " Adams "	6,000
" " Bird "	3,000
Total	$188,050

roads are in good condition; her schools are among the best in the Commonwealth: and we fail to see that there is anything in her local affairs which cannot be as well provided for by the town as by Boston, and with as great economy." The Legislature accepted the majority report, and passed an act annexing the town, provided that a majority of legal voters in Boston and in Dorchester were in favor of it. A special election was held simultaneously in both places, on June 22, 1869. The whole number of votes cast in Dorchester was 1,654. There were 928 for annexation and 726 against, — a majority of 202. According to the provisions of the act, the annexation took place on the first Monday in January (4th), 1870.

The last town-meeting was held Dec. 28, 1869, when the reports of the selectmen were received, and a vote of thanks tendered to all the town officers. And thus the town-meeting, which Dorchester was the first of the New England settlements to establish, ceased to be held in the parent town; but only when the town itself had no longer an existence. By this act of annexation the area of Boston, which with the annexation of Roxbury amounted to 5,370 acres, was nearly doubled, — Dorchester adding 4,532 acres. If we add the area which Boston acquired by annexing South Boston and Washington Village, 900 acres, the total acreage she obtained from Dorchester was 5,432.

It is now ten years since the annexation, covering a period of long business depression, unfavorable to rapid growth; but the results of the union with Boston are plainly visible. Houses are now springing up on hill and plain. Here and there a long block of brick buildings disturbs with its uniformity the picturesque variety of rural architecture, and reminds the old resident of the spread of the city limits. The work of cutting new streets, extending the sewers and water-pipes, and improving the roads goes steadily on. The stranger to-day who wishes to see how Boston is growing as a place of residence must inspect the Dorchester district. One hundred and seventy-five buildings were erected here in 1880, the greater number of these being dwelling-houses. By the latest census returns, we find that the Dorchester District, as it was before the ward division, has a population of twenty thousand, — an increase of eight thousand in ten years.

Amid all the changes which have been made and those which are still making, there is one spot in the town where the colonial, the provincial, and the national periods are all blended in the associations of the tablets which mark the resting-places of the dead. The old burying-ground is sacredly preserved. New and beautiful cemeteries have been added in other parts of the town, yet here, where the dust of the ancient settlers is gathered together, the iron gate is still open for the funeral cortége.

S. J. Barrows.

CHAPTER XVIII.

BRIGHTON IN THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY FRANCIS S. DRAKE.

A CENTURY ago, Brighton, not yet incorporated as a town, nor known throughout the land as the great cattle-mart of New England, was simply a precinct or ecclesiastical parish of Cambridge, the shire-town of Middlesex County. It was then a thinly-settled farming village, having a single meeting-house and two school-houses, its sixty dwelling houses containing a population of about four hundred souls. When, in 1805, its incorporation as a town was proposed, little opposition was made, public opinion as to the justice and expediency of the measure having for some time steadily gained ground. What rendered the step all the easier was the fact that common cause was made with Brighton by the Second Parish, which also desired a separation from Cambridge. A petition, signed by all the well-known voters of the precinct, presented in a forcible manner many of the reasons which had brought about its separation as a parish, and which were equally applicable at the present juncture. The action of the town was as follows: —

"Cambridge, South Precinct, Feb. 17, 1806.

"At a meeting of the freeholders and other inhabitants on the south side of Charles River, legally warned and assembled, after choosing Mr. Jonathan Winship, moderator, the following votes were passed: First, to petition the honorable General Court to be set off as a town; Second, to choose a committee to wait on the honorable General Court with the petition; Third, that Mr. Samuel Wyllis Pomeroy, Mr. Gorham Parsons, Stephen Dana, Esq., Mr. Thomas English, Mr. Daniel Bowen, compose this committee.

"Attest: HENRY DANA, *Precinct Clerk.*"

By an Act of the Legislature, dated Feb. 24, 1807, the town of Brighton was formally incorporated. The town of West Cambridge, or Menotomy, the Second Parish, was incorporated in the same month, and by the separation of the two Cambridge lost a large portion of her territory. Brighton received another instalment of the mother town by annexation, Jan. 27, 1816.

At the first town-meeting, held May 9, 1807, Henry Dana was chosen town clerk, and Nathaniel Champney, treasurer. Dudley Hardy, Jonathan Livermore, Thomas Gardner (son of the colonel), Benjamin Hill, and Nathaniel Champney were appointed selectmen. Stephen Dana was soon afterward chosen representative to the General Court, and the sum of two thousand dollars was appropriated to defray town charges. Mr. Dana, the first town-clerk, served ten years and until his death. Of his successors, Captain Joseph Warren served eighteen years, and William Warren twenty-two years; the latter's son, William Wirt Warren, succeeded him; and he in turn was followed by a brother, Webster F. Warren. Of the early town treasurers, Nathaniel Champney, the first, served twenty years and until his death, and was succeeded by Deacon Thaddeus Baldwin. Henry Heath Larnard served from 1833 to 1869.[1]

Cambridge Street, an important thoroughfare, was opened in 1808, from Winship's store to the Brookline road (Harvard Street). At a very large and full meeting, held September 12, President Jefferson was memorialized relative to the Embargo law. In 1818 an almshouse was purchased by the town, which, however, seems to have had very few inmates. It contained but one resident pauper at the date of annexation. The old church, after its removal in 1809, continued in use as a town hall until the building of a new and more commodious edifice, dedicated Dec. 30, 1841. Its corner-stone had been laid on the 2d of August previous. Upon annexation in 1874, when town-meetings and town discussions were to give way forever to quiet ward-room elections of city officers, the town hall was appropriated for police purposes and its main hall fitted up as a municipal court-room for the district.

In June, 1825, General Lafayette visited Brighton, and was hospitably entertained by the citizens at the hotel on the corner of Washington and Cambridge streets. This building, which in early times had been the mansion-house of the Winship family, was at that time occupied by Mr. Samuel Dudley. The school children were arranged in two lines, between which the General, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette, passed. Some of those children still remember that bright June day, and fondly cherish the recollection of the kiss bestowed upon them by the gallant Frenchman. A lady who saw him at this time says: "The appearance of Lafayette, with his coat thrown back, his ugly, benevolent, kind, old French face, with the high reddish-brown wig, and the small, beaming eyes, is indelibly fixed in my memory."

On the occasion of Henry Clay's visit to the town in October, 1833, a bountiful collation was spread in the large dining-hall of the recently erected Cattle Fair Hotel. Mr. Clay is said to have recognized in the yards some of his fine steers, which, as it was before the day of railroads, had made the tedious journey from Ashland, Kentucky, on foot. In the following year

[1] The town acknowledged its appreciation of his long and faithful services by presenting him, on his retirement from office, with a massive silver pitcher, bearing an appropriate inscription.

the Boston and Worcester, now the Boston and Albany, Railroad was opened.[1]

On Feb. 24, 1857, half a century of the town's existence was completed, during which it had gained materially in population and in wealth. The day was joyfully celebrated by the glad peal of church bells at sunrise and sunset, by the discharge of cannon, and by brilliant fireworks in the evening. One citizen only, Mr. Edward Sparhawk, was living who had voted for the town's incorporation fifty years before. He was a descendant of Nathaniel Sparhawk, one of the earliest emigrant settlers of Cambridge, and died Sept. 3, 1867, in his ninety-seventh year.

At a town-meeting, May 3, 1861, called for the purpose of raising a volunteer company for the war of the Rebellion which had just begun, two thousand dollars was appropriated to uniform and equip said company, and twenty dollars was also voted to each private when called into active service. July 15, 1862, the town voted to pay one hundred and twenty-five dollars bounty for each volunteer to make up its quota of forty men; the five thousand dollars required, to be raised by a tax on property, poll-tax payers to contribute such sums as they saw fit. The town's quota was filled in three months. October 21, it was voted to pay each nine months' volunteer one hundred dollars, and the town treasurer was authorized to borrow the money. November 26, one thousand two hundred dollars was appropriated by the town to furnish the town's quota under the President's new call. Though not represented in the army by any distinct organization, Brighton furnished three hundred and sixty-five men to aid in suppressing the Rebellion, — a surplus of five over the number required. Fifteen were commissioned officers. The amount of money expended by the town, exclusive of State aid, was seventy-eight thousand and fifty dollars.

The act of incorporation required the town to keep open and support, as she had heretofore done, the bridge over Charles River. This subject, as well as that of the fisheries of the river, — once a matter of considerable pecuniary interest, — was from time to time discussed and acted upon by the town-meeting. By an Act of the Legislature, passed March 11, 1862, the city of Cambridge and the town of Brighton were "authorized and required to rebuild the great bridge over Charles River," the expense to be borne "in proportion to the respective valuations of said city and town;" and it was provided that a draw not less than thirty-two feet wide should be constructed "at an equal distance from each abutment," that "the opening in the middle of said draw" should be the dividing line between Cambridge and Brighton at that point, and that thereafter each corporation should maintain its half part of the whole structure at its own expense. This, with all her other public obligations, was assumed by the city of Boston upon annexation.

After a municipal existence of sixty-seven years, the annexation of Brighton to Boston was effected, Jan. 5, 1874, the Act of the Legislature

[1] [See Mr. C. F. Adams's chapter on Canals and Railroads. — Ed.]

authorizing it, dated May 21, 1873, having been accepted by the city and town, Oct. 8, 1873. To produce this result, the town in January, 1872, memorialized the Legislature for annexation, and its petition was unanimously sustained by a commission appointed by the city to examine and report thereon. To the city the advantages of annexation were to be found in the protection of public health by inspection and supervision of her meat supply, and by organizing under one head a general system of sewerage, in concert of action in projecting improvements of mutual benefit, and in the acquisition of territory for houses at a moderate cost. The needs of Brighton were a more plentiful supply of water, a better system of streets and drainage as well as protection from fire, and better police and health regulations. These desirable ends either have been, or are in a fair way of being, satisfactorily accomplished.[1]

We have elsewhere recorded the gathering of the First Church here in 1780, — some thirty persons in all, including a few from Newton, Menotomy, and Brookline, having thus associated themselves together for religious worship. The present church edifice occupies very nearly the site of the original building of 1744, which stood in front of it, a little to the west. It was begun Sept. 21, 1808, and completed for dedication, June 22, 1809. The old church was then moved to a spot opposite the site of the town house, its lower story converted into two school-rooms, and its upper story into a town hall. Rev. John Foster, D.D., its first pastor, was born in Western, now Warren, Massachusetts, April 19, 1763; graduated at Dartmouth College in 1783; resigned his pastorate here, Oct. 31, 1827, at the close of its forty-third year, and died Sept. 16, 1829. Mr. Foster was a scholarly and kindly man, a good talker, and dwelt more upon the practical than the theoretical side of religion. He resided for a long time in the old parsonage still standing at the foot of Rockland Street. A monument in the ancient burying-ground on Market Street bears an inscription from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Francis, of Watertown, testifying to his piety, fidelity, and usefulness. In 1785 he married Hannah, daughter of Grant Webster. Mrs. Foster was the author of *The Coquette, or History of Eliza Wharton*, one of the earliest of American novels. Two of her daughters, Mrs. Cushing and Mrs. Cheney, are well-known writers.[2] This church is, in sentiment, Congregational Unitarian.

Of the seven churches now in Brighton, the next in order is the Evangelical Congregational church, gathered April 4, 1827. Its first house, dedicated Sept. 13, 1827, was removed in June, 1867, to give place to the new edifice on the same site. Services were held in the old house till November 3, and on December 20 the society worshipped in the vestry of

[1] [See Mr. Bugbee's chapter, "Under the Mayors," in the present volume. — Ed.]

[2] Dr. Foster's successors are named in Dr. Peabody's chapter; one of them, Frederic A. Whitney, son of the Rev. Peter Whitney, was born at Quincy, Massachusetts, Sept. 13, 1812; graduated at Harvard College, 1833; ordained Feb. 21, 1844, and died Oct. 21, 1880.

their new church. Its corner-stone had been laid Aug. 13, 1867, and the church was dedicated May 14, 1868.[1]

Third in the order of time is the Roman Catholic Church. Prior to the building of its first house on Bennett Street in May, 1856, services had been held in private halls by the Rev. J. M. Finotti, minister in charge. This house was destroyed by fire, Dec. 7, 1862. A new building of wood on the same site proving insufficient for the wants of the society, the corner-stone of the large stone edifice on the northwest corner of Market and Arlington streets was laid Sept. 22, 1872. It is not yet completed, but services are held in its vestry by Rev. P. J. Rogers, minister in charge. Saint Columbkille, as this church is named, is one of the largest and most imposing churches of the order.[2]

The Brighton Avenue Baptist Church, in Union Square, was organized Dec. 2, 1853. Its corner-stone was laid Sept. 11, 1855; services were first held in its vestry in January, 1856, and it was dedicated Feb. 10, 1857.[3]

The First Universalist church, in Cambridge Street near Union Square, was organized June 12, 1860. Its chapel was dedicated Aug. 7, 1861.[4]

Services of the Protestant Episcopal Church were first held in Brighton town hall, Sept. 10, 1854, by the Rev. Cyrus F. Knight. They were continued by lay readers and neighboring clergymen until the church of the Epiphany was organized, Jan. 8, 1863, with David Greene Haskins as rector. A church edifice was erected on Washington Street, corner of Church Street, in which services were first held, Sept. 1, 1864. This property was sold in 1872, and a new parish, Saint Margaret's, organized; Charles A. Holbrook being rector. He was succeeded by Thomas Cole. Its present rector is Augustus Prime.

The Methodist Episcopal church, on the corner of Farrington and Harvard avenues, the seventh and last established in Brighton, was organized March 24, 1872, and the corner-stone of its edifice was laid on Christmas day, 1876. During its erection the society worshipped in the Universalist church.[5]

Besides the original school-house of 1722, there was, prior to the year 1800, a second on the west corner of Cambridge and North Harvard streets, which was removed about 1830. The teachers of these early public schools, as well as of the private schools with which the town has always been well provided, were very generally supplied, as was the pulpit here, from those who were in some way associated with the neighboring college. The district

[1] [The succession of the pastors is given in Dr. Tarbox's chapter on "Congregational (Trinitarian) Churches" in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See the chapter on "The Roman Catholic Church." — Ed.]

[3] Its pastors have been: J. M. Graves (Feb. 1, 1854–Jan. 1, 1856; died Jan. 15, 1879, aged 76); J. M. Benham (July 28, 1856–Sept. 1, 1857); J. W. Parker (Nov. 1, 1857–July 1, 1859); S. M. Stimson (Aug. 7, 1859–June 1, 1861); Ralph H. Bowles (Aug. 23, 1861–Jan. 1, 1867); William R. Thompson (Aug 6, 1868–Aug. 31, 1871); F. E. Tower (Jan. 1, 1872 —).

[4] [For the succession of pastors in this church see Dr. Miner's chapter on "The Century of Universalism" in this volume. — Ed.]

[5] Its ministers have been: John P. Otis (1872–74); Willard Taylor Perrin (1874–76); William G. Richardson (1876–79); W. H. Hatch (1879–80); W. G. Leonard (1880 —).

system of schools was superseded here by the graded system soon after its adoption by Cambridge in 1834. A school similar in character to a high school, established by a private corporation on Academy Hill, was kept here in 1839 and 1840 by Josiah Rutter. This was superseded by the public high school kept in the same building, and taught by John Ruggles from 1841 to 1859. Upon the excellent foundation laid by the ripe scholarship and wide experience of Mr. Ruggles, a flourishing institution has been reared.[1] A liberal support was accorded to her schools after the incorporation of the town; and in the years 1842 and 1843 she stood first among the cities and towns of the Commonwealth in the *pro rata* appropriation for each pupil. Two of Brighton's largest school-houses, the Allston and the Bennett schools, are among the finest in the city. The land upon which the latter stands, on Agricultural Hill, was given to the town in 1861 by Stephen H. Bennett.

The private schools of Brighton are often referred to in records of the last century. James, son of Caleb Dana, taught a well-remembered school for boys and girls at the beginning of the century in the old Dana mansion on Washington near Allston streets. Jacob Knapp, a graduate of Harvard in 1802, taught for several years, at his house on Bowen's Hill, a classical school of much repute for boys. Hosea Hildreth, a graduate of 1805, taught a private school, and also gave instruction in singing and music. Major Thomas Hovey, a soldier of the Revolution, — still remembered in tradition, — J. F. Durivage, Teacher Miles, and Jonas Wilder taught private schools here more than fifty years ago. Professor Henry W. Torrey, of Harvard University, and several others, while undergraduates, taught in the public schools at different periods. Until 1795 the schools were generally under the charge of the selectmen of Cambridge. At that time they came under the control of a committee of six, chosen to superintend them and "to carry into effect the School Act." The Rev. John Foster and Jonathan Winship represented Brighton upon this committee. In 1820 there were three public schools in the town, having an attendance of one hundred and seventy children out of two hundred and thirty-three of a suitable age; in 1846 the pupils numbered four hundred.

As early as 1824, when there were as yet few public libraries in the State, the Brighton Social Library was formed by an association of citizens. This institution was in 1858 merged in the Brighton Library Association, incorporated by the legislature for the circulation of books, for public lectures, and for exercises in debate, declamation, and composition. In 1863 Mr. James Holton left a bequest for a public town-library, the provisions of which were fulfilled in 1864 by the election of trustees and the organization of the Holton Public Library. When Brighton was annexed, in 1874, the imposing library building of brick and freestone, on Rockland Street, begun by the town, was completed by the city at a cost of seventy thousand

[1] When he retired, in 1859, a festival in his honor, and a service of silver, testified to the appreciation in which he was held by his numerous friends and pupils.

dollars, and was dedicated, Oct. 29, 1875, as a branch of the Public Library of Boston.[1]

Until the establishment of a post-office in Brighton, in 1817, the people of the town were compelled to go over the river to Cambridge for postal service. The Rev. Noah Worcester, D.D., the first postmaster of the town, was commissioned Feb. 3, 1817, and held the office, assisted by a daughter, until age and infirmity obliged him to resign. He had been a citizen of Brighton, which he had several times represented in the State Legislature, from 1813 till his death, Oct. 31, 1837, aged seventy-nine. For some years he edited in Boston *The Christian Disciple*, subsequently entitled *The Friend of Peace*, of which cause he was commonly called the "Apostle." He was the intimate friend and associate of William Ellery Channing, and was eminent as a thinker and writer on theological and philanthropic subjects. His successors in the office have been J. B. Mason (1837–43), William Warren (1843–57), Timothy Munroe (1857–61), and John F. Day (1861–64), a soldier of the Republic who died of starvation in the rebel prison at Millen, Ga., in October, 1864. His widow, commissioned in 1865, has since had charge of the office. A second post-office, discontinued since annexation, was established in 1868 in the eastern part of Brighton, at the point where the Boston and Albany Railroad crosses Cambridge Street, formerly known as Cambridge Crossing. A new station-house was erected here by that corporation, and named Allston, — a designation which still attaches to this section of the city.

About the year 1810, the brothers Jonathan and Francis Winship began in a small way, on Washington Street, opposite their mansion-house, the trade in seeds and flowers, trees and fruits, which has since become so important a feature in the business of the town. These pioneers have been followed by Joseph Breck & Son, William C. Strong, and many others who have pursued the same healthful and attractive industry. The cultivation of the strawberry has long been a specialty here, — two noted varieties, the Brighton Pine and the Scott's Seedling, having originated in this town. Besides the large area occupied for nurseries in Brighton, about two hundred acres are devoted to market gardening.

The cattle business of Brighton, which dates from the occupation of Cambridge by Washington's forces in 1775, was established by Jonathan Winship, builder of the Winship mansion, a fine old residence of the last century still standing. Cattle were formerly driven from great distances to the Brighton market, and the sales were even then very large, as many as 5,000 beef-cattle being sold and slaughtered in a single week. In 1840 the sales amounted to $2,449,231. Before the day of railroads and the development of Chicago as a rival, most of the Brighton beef was put up in barrels and salted. The running of the Boston and Albany Railroad through the centre

[1] [A pamphlet giving an account of the dedicatory services was issued by the city, with an historical address by the Rev. Frederick A. Whitney. — Ed.]

of this district was the beginning of an era of more speedy and comfortable conveyance, and it at once largely increased the quantity of live-stock brought to market. As much as $2,000,000 per annum has been received by this road for the transportation of cattle, and it has recently expended large sums in increasing its facilities for this important business. For the year 1880, Brighton's receipts of live stock were, — cattle 229,894; sheep and lambs, 470,449; calves, 25,951; hogs, 751,198. The number of cattle slaughtered was 84,487; sheep, 307,126; calves, 13,434. This traffic,

THE WINSHIP MANSION.[1]

of which she once had a monopoly, is now shared with Watertown and North Cambridge. The establishment and successful operation of the abattoir has completely revolutionized this business. By an act of the Massachusetts Legislature, approved June 26, 1870, the Butchers' Slaughtering and Melting Association in Brighton was incorporated, with a capital of $200,000, for bringing the business of slaughtering, melting, and rendering under one general management. A tract of sixty acres of dry and sandy soil lying on the Charles River in the southwest part of the town, equally accessible to this and the Watertown market, was purchased. The work of building, grading, and constructing was begun in 1872, under the sanction

[1] The Winship house, a mansion of considerable importance in its day, was erected in 1780 by Jonathan Winship, a farmer who cultivated a large tract of land in its vicinity, and who died Oct. 3, 1784, aged 65. He was a descendant of Lieutenant Edward Winship (he wrote it Winshipp) who is found in Cambridge in 1635, where he was an active and energetic citizen. Its next occupant was Jonathan Winship, Jr., who also carried on the farm. He contracted for the supply of beef to the French fleet that visited Boston shortly after the Revolutionary War. The building at the right of the picture was used by him as a store.

of the State Board of Health, and business began in June, 1873. The investment in this enterprise of half a million dollars, enabling its projectors to improve in some respects upon the best foreign models, has completely transformed what was once a most repulsive business and a nuisance to everybody. Private slaughtering is prohibited in any section of the ward under heavy penalties. The grounds of the Association are bounded by Market Street and by Winship Avenue, with a frontage of about a thousand feet on Charles River, by which sloops and schooners approach the wharves which have been constructed on the territory. A branch of the Boston and Albany Railroad enters the enclosure.

An annual cattle-show and exhibition of domestic manufactures and agricultural products was established here in June, 1818, by the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. Suitable buildings were erected on Winship Place, Agricultural Hill. The fair was held in the month of October, and an annual address, together with a public dinner, ploughing matches, and various other exercises made the occasion one of great interest and enjoyment. Since the establishment of the numerous county agricultural societies throughout Massachusetts, this State exhibition has been abandoned. Agricultural Hall, the large building in which were held the indoor festivities of the Brighton Fair, now does duty as a hotel on the corner of Chestnut-Hill Avenue and Washington Street. The Cattle-Fair Hotel Corporation, established in 1830, erected in that year their large and handsome building on Market Square.

The first burial-ground in Brighton was laid out in Market Street, near the old meeting-house, in 1764, — that of old Cambridge, opposite the College, dating from 1635. This sufficed for the town until 1850, when it purchased the beautiful, well-wooded tract of fourteen acres on South Street, known as the Aspinwall Woods. The grounds were tastefully laid out and ornamented, and Evergreen Cemetery was publicly consecrated Aug. 7, 1850. Its Egyptian gateway was modelled after the first in Mount Auburn, and is appropriately inscribed. The monument of Holton, founder of the public library, and many other memorials of the dead are here, and it is daily becoming more and more attractive to the living.

At a town-meeting held April 24, 1865, only a few days after the surrender of Lee, it was voted to erect a monument to the Brighton soldiers who had fallen in the war. A committee was appointed to raise the money by voluntary subscriptions from each adult, and from each of the school children in the town. The soldiers' monument in Evergreen Cemetery, one of the first erected in the State, was dedicated July 26, 1866, in the presence of Brighton's surviving soldiers. An address was made by Mr. Bickford, chairman of the selectmen, the Rev. Frederic A. Whitney delivered the oration, prayer was offered by the Rev. Ralph H. Bowles, and original hymns by Anna H. Phillips and Dr. Augustus Mason were sung. The monument is of Quincy granite, and is thirty feet in height. Upon a

square base is placed a pyramidal plinth with inscriptions and names on all sides. Above this is a square shaft with moulded base and capital, upon the top of which is an eagle resting upon a ball. The die of the shaft is decorated with a shield, with stars and flags.

Among the noted men of Brighton not previously mentioned are: Daniel Bowen, who opened the first museum in Boston in 1791, owner of the fine old mansion on Bowen Hill, where he carried on the art of printing as early as 1802; Colonel Isaac Munroe, born here April 26, 1783, founder and editor of the *Baltimore Patriot*, eminent in character as in journalism, and who died Dec. 21, 1859; Rev. Titus Strong, D.D., author of many educational and theological works, forty years rector in Greenfield, Massachusetts, born in Brighton, Jan. 28, 1787; died June 11, 1855; Hon. Joseph Adams Pond, who died president of the Massachusetts Senate, Oct. 28, 1867, at the early age of forty; and Hon. Joseph Breck, florist and horticulturist, president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and a State Senator, who died June 14, 1873, aged 78.

In 1688 Brighton's population consisted of twenty-eight families and thirty-five ratable polls. Her numbers at other periods have been as follows: —

1749 . . 290	1840 . . 1425	1870 . . 4967
1777 . . 326	1850 . . 2356	1875 . . 6200
1810 . . 608	1860 . . 3375	1880 . . 6693
1830 . . 972	1865 . . 3859	

Her valuation in 1865 was $3,812,694; in 1873, $14,548,531,—nearly four times as large. In 1865 the amount of capital invested in the three principal industries of Brighton was $390,942.

Besides the advantages she enjoys in common with the rest of the metropolis, Brighton is said to take the lead of every other town in the Commonwealth in the character of her roads, over which there is constant pleasure travel from Boston proper. Especially is this the case with the beautiful avenue surrounding the Cochituate Water Works at the Chestnut-Hill Reservoir; and since the elimination of the unpleasant slaughter-house odors that once pervaded her precincts, Brighton's many natural advantages and picturesque situations have made her generally known as one of the most attractive and desirable portions of the city for residences.

Francis S. Drake

CHAPTER XIX.

CHELSEA, REVERE, AND WINTHROP, FROM THE CLOSE OF THE PROVINCIAL PERIOD.

BY MELLEN CHAMBERLAIN,

Librarian of the Boston Public Library.

THE first volume of the Town Records of Chelsea ends with the year 1775, and the second opens with a transcript of the Declaration of Independence and the appended order of the Council, dated July 17, 1776, in which it was directed that the document should be printed and a copy sent to the ministers of each parish of every denomination within the State, to be read to their respective congregations at the close of divine service on the afternoon of the first Lord's day after its receipt, and thereafter to be delivered to the town clerk for record in the Town's Book, there to remain as a perpetual memorial. This record is followed, however, by several entries of an earlier date: —

"March 25, 1776. *Voted*, to choose a committee to estimate the damages the town, or any particular person or persons, hath sustained by the king's troops, or by part of the Continental army being stationed in said town.

"June 3, 1776. *Voted*, to instruct their representative, according to a Resolve of the House passed May 10th, that if the Honorable Congress should, for the safety of the said Colonies, declare them independent of the kingdom of Great Britain, they, the said inhabitants, will solemnly engage with their lives and fortunes to support them in the measure.

"Nov. 25. *Voted*, that they would not give their consent that the present House of Representatives of this State, together with the Council, should not [1] enact any form of government for this State. Also, *voted*, that they would choose a member for that business."

At this period, and for many years later, the principal settlement at Chelsea was within the present limits of Revere; and Winnisimmet and Pulling Point, as outlying districts, were obliged to clamor for their share of the public money. They were heard at the town-meeting, March 18, 1777, when it was —

[1] The patriotic and wise spirit of Phillips Payson is discernible in many votes entered on the Chelsea town records; but apparently they were seldom reduced to writing by himself.

"*Voted*, That the school be kept in the Body of the Town y^e^ whole of this present year. *Voted*, to allow Winnisimet and Pulling Point their proportionable part of the school money this present year, provided they lay it out in schooling of their Children, and that their proportion of money be drafted out of the Town's Treasury for the abov-said purpose."

The following votes, selected from many similar to be found in the Town Records, show that the inhabitants of Chelsea, during the Revolutionary period, were not without their share in the common anxiety, distress, and sacrifices: —

"May 26, 1777. *Voted*, no person be allowed to sell any sheep's wool out of the town till the inhabitants of the town be supplied with wool both for their own use and for the use of the soldiers.

"March 30, 1778. *Voted*, not to allow of an Inoculating Hospital for the small-pox to be set up in any house in the town of Chelsea.

"April 2, 1778. *Voted*, to draw money out of the town's treasury for to procure shirts, stockings, and shoes for the use and benefit of the town's quota of soldiers who are inlisted in the Continental army for three years, or during the war; and that each soldier be furnished with one shirt, one pair of stockings, and one pair of shoes, it being agreeable to a Resolve of the General Court of this State.

"The constitution and form of government for the State of Massachusetts agreed upon by the Convention of said State, Feb. 28, 1778, was read at this town-meeting for the town's consideration, to be acted upon at some future meeting." And, "May 29, the vote was called to see if the town would act upon the constitution and form of government; and the town voted by yeas and nays, and the vote passed in the negative by a great majority of the voters present.

"April 8, 1778. *Voted*, to have a smoke-house, or room to smoke persons in, at Winnisimmet Ferry, in order to prevent any person or persons coming out of the town of Boston from spreading the small-pox in any town in the country.

"*Voted*, not to be at any cost or charge to hire any person or persons to tend said smoke-house.

"Sept. 28, 1778. *Voted*, to give Lieut. Silas Clark the sum of eighty pounds, as a present in time past, for the support of his family, as a Continental officer in the army, considering the extraordinary price of the necessaries of life.

"*Voted*, to choose a committee of three persons to apply to the Great and General Court to get an abatement of Chelsea's State tax."

But notwithstanding their distress they voted, Dec. 17, 1778, to give to the Rev. Mr. Phillips Payson the sum of six hundred pounds lawful money, as a consideration for his support on account of the extraordinary prices of the necessaries of life. This vote called forth an affectionate and touching letter from their beloved pastor, which is entered on the records of the town.

The formation of a State constitution engaged a share of their attention; and they voted, Aug. 2, 1779, and chose Captain Jonathan Green "a delegate to meet at Cambridge, the first day of September next, in order to frame a constitution, or form of government, agreeably to a resolve of the General

Court the fifteenth of June last past;" and at the same meeting they chose Lieutenant Thomas Pratt, Samuel Sprague, and Joseph Green as a committee to instruct the town's delegate to the convention. It was also voted, "that the committee of correspondence take care that the Articles of Convention [respecting Burgoyne's army] be strictly complied with."

When the draft of the Constitution was laid before the people, May 9, 1780, a committee, of which Rev. Phillips Payson was chairman, was chosen to consider the same and "make remarks." June 1 the town met, according to the adjournment, and took up the business of the warrant: —

"Then *voted* to accept of the Declaration of Rights by yeas and nays, — eleven yeas and one nay; with this amendment, — p. 12, article 16, add: 'But as its freedom is not such as to exempt the printer or printers from being answerable for false, defamatory, and abusive publication.' *Voted*, to accept the name of this Commonwealth, — Massachusetts. *Voted*, to accept the form of government with the amendment, by yeas and nays, — eleven yeas and one nay. Alterations and corrections in the form of government: First, that all shall be voters for a Representative, Senators, Governor, etc., that pay taxes and are twenty-one years of age. Secondly, that the words 'order' and 'direct,' in the paragraphs respecting the Governor and Council, be changed for the words 'consult' and 'advise.' Thirdly, that the scheme of rotation be adopted in the principal department of government. Fourthly, that the clergy be exempted from all offices in the civil department. Fifthly, that in page 18, l. 24, the words 'at the least' be blotted out. Sixthly, that in page 22, add at the bottom, 'excepting vacancies by the choice of councillors.' Seventhly, that no person shall be a member of Congress for this State unless he possesses a right of freehold, an estate sufficient to qualify him for a seat in the Senate double to a Senator. Eighthly, in page twenty, add, 'or in the town clerk's absence, in the presence of the selectmen only.' *Voted*, if our delegate, Capt. Jonathan Green, shall not be able to procure these alterations and corrections, we leave it to his option to vote in Convention, by the best of his judgment, either for or against [the] frame of Government that shall be finally obtained in the honorable Convention, without referring of it again to the people at large."

At the town-meeting, Sept. 4, 1780, called to elect officers for the new government, twenty votes were cast for John Hancock for governor, and one for James Bowdoin. Benjamin Greenleaf had nineteen votes for the office of lieut.-governor. Jonathan Green was the first representative to the General Court under the Constitution.

But a change in the form of government did not bring about a change in the circumstances of the people. The war continued, and it is piteous to read the almost frantic, and sometimes ludicrous, efforts made by the town to fill their quota. Some of the votes are as follows: —

"Jan. 4, 1781. *Voted*, raised, and granted the sum of twenty thousand pounds, to be assessed on the polls and estates in the town of Chelsea, for the purchase of beef for the army, agreeably to a Resolve of the General Assembly of this State.

"Then *voted*, raised, and granted one thousand Spanish mill dollars as a bounty to eight soldiers that shall enlist into the Continental service for three years, or during the war.

"Then *voted* to choose a committee of three persons to lay out said money in hireing the eight soldiers as cheap as they could."

The meeting adjourned to the fifteenth, and thence to the twenty-ninth of January, when they

"*Voted*, to give to eight soldiers that should enlist into the Continental service for three years, or during the war, to have eight calves a-piece, raised and kept, and to be delivered to each of them at the end of three years.

"*Voted*, that if the Committee should agree to give more than 125 dollars to any other men, then the town voted to give Sam[ll] Cheever more. The meeting then adjourned to Feb. 7th, when it was decided to leave the hiring of soldiers with the Committee to get them in the best manner they could, with stock or money."

The vote of the town for a bounty of too many calves of undiscriminated sex, and too little money, seems to have failed of the desired effect, and led to a special modification of terms on the first of March, as appears in the following vote: —

"To give John Sack one Hundred Hard Dollars and four Hefer Calves, to be kept and to be delivered to him at three years' old, for a Bounty for his Listing into the Continental service for three years for the town of Chelsea, and to pay him down 70 Hard Dollars or the exchange, and the Remainder to be paid to him or his order when call[ed] for by him."

This proposition appears to have been accepted, and led to certain votes of the town three years later: —

"Jan. 17, 1784. *Voted*, not to give John Syckes thirty Dollars in lieu of two of the heffers that the town owe to him. *Voted*, to Reconsider said last vote relative to said heffers. *Voted*, to give said John Syckes thirty Dollars in lieu of two of the heffers or cows that the town of Chelsea owe to him. *Voted*, to raise thirty Dollars to pay to the said John Syckes in lieu of said two cows or heffers that the town owe to him. *Voted*, to raise thirty Dollars to pay for two cows for said John Syckes. *Voted*, to choose a Committee to by said two cows."

As the war drew to a close, the financial difficulties of the town seemed to increase. At the March meeting in 1781 it was voted to raise £11,836 to defray the town charges. This was in the depreciated currency of the day, and seems not to have proved satisfactory; for in September of the same year it was determined to raise £150 in gold and silver money, to be assessed on the polls and estates. This sum, if raised, appears to have been insufficient; for in the January following they voted twenty-five dollars for the same purpose. But the vote was followed by this cry of anguish: "*Voted*, that they think they are almost Duble taxed to other adjasent towns;" and they chose a committee to petition the General Court for the abatement of the taxes. And this state of their affairs led them the next year, July 22, 1783, to choose a committee of five, — of whom the Rev.

Phillips Payson was one, — to address the town of Boston on the subject of reunion. But the citizens of that town evinced no more inclination to pay the debts of Chelsea than have their unfeeling successors on two similar invitations, now within legal memory.

"Jan. 3, 1782. The town voted to instruct their representative to do the best of his abilities to retain the fishery to the Northern States, if there should be a treaty for peace; and

"May 12, 1783. That, in their opinion, it was utterly incompatible with the dignity and safety of the Commonwealth, that any of those persons that justly come under the denomination of Refugees should ever be admitted to the privilege of citizenship among them; and their representative was instructed to act in conformity with this vote in the General Court."

Not long after the close of the war the people of Chelsea found themselves involved in a renewed contest for the estate of Governor Bellingham at Winnisimmet, which had raged with varying fortunes for nearly thirty years, and ended only in 1787 with the defeat of the town. This result subjected the community to the expenses of a protracted law-suit, and also to the necessity of accounting for the rents and profits of such parts of the Bellingham estates as had been in their possession between 1776 and 1787.

The venerable Dr. Phillips Payson died Jan. 11, 1801, and was succeeded in the pastoral office by Rev. Joseph Tuckerman, who was ordained Nov. 4, of the same year, and ministered to the people just a quarter of a century, — preaching his farewell sermon Nov. 4, 1826. Dr. Tuckerman immediately began his service in the "Ministry at Large," in Boston, to which place he soon removed with his family. He died at Havana, April 20, 1840, and his life and distinguished services were duly commemorated by Dr. Channing in a discourse delivered Jan. 31, 1841.

For some years after 1830 Rumney Marsh, Pulling Point, and Winnisimmet maintained their relative importance, — the principal settlement, meeting-house, and town offices being at the first-named of these localities. But the time was approaching when Winnisimmet, instead of being the least in population and wealth, should become the greatest. For two hundred years that precinct had consisted of four great farms, severally now known by the names of their most recent individual proprietors, as the Williams, Shurtleff, Cary, and Carter farms; and the only houses at Winnisimmet — apart from those connected with the Ferry — were the mansions and farm houses attached to these estates. In 1831 the Williams Farm, with the Ferry franchise, was purchased by trustees, who in 1833 conveyed their estate to the Winnisimmet Company, then recently incorporated. This company became the owner of the Shurtleff Farm in 1835; and, by the purchase of several lesser estates, were sole proprietors of a large and compact territory which was carefully resurveyed in 1836, and divided into house lots of convenient size. With increased ferry facilities and the sale of these house lots, a considerable village rapidly grew up, which, March

19, 1846, became the town of Chelsea, — Rumney Marsh and Pulling Point being erected into a separate town by the name of North Chelsea. These were divided March 27, 1852, when Pulling Point was incorporated as the town of Winthrop. Chelsea became a city March 13, 1857; and the name of North Chelsea was changed to Revere, March 24, 1871.

Within a few years past Revere and Winthrop have attracted attention as convenient and salubrious places for summer residence, and the localities of Ocean Spray and Beachmont, bordering on the sea, have grown into considerable villages.

The relative growth of these towns between 1875 and 1880 will be shown by the State and United States Census, respectively, of those years. Chelses, 20,737; 21,785. Revere, 1,603; 2,263. Winthrop, 627; 1,043. The construction of the Narrow-Gauge Railroad has contributed largely to these results.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PRESS AND LITERATURE OF THE LAST HUNDRED YEARS.

BY CHARLES A. CUMMINGS.

OF the five newspapers which were printed in Boston when the war of the Revolution broke out, only two remained in existence at its close. The *Massachusetts Spy* had been at once removed to the safer town of Worcester, where it maintained an honorable and useful existence, not only through the Revolutionary struggle, but continuing even to the present day. The *Boston Gazette* alone from its old office hailed the return of peace, and the triumph of the good cause which it had so bravely aided. Its chief rival at this time was the *Boston Chronicle*, which had been established in 1776 by Powars & Willis as a weekly paper, which had been printed straight through the war, and which found itself, when the war ended, dividing with the *Gazette* such reputation and prosperity as the press of those days was competent to achieve. Several competitors had indeed entered the field, but none of them was able to keep itself alive for any considerable time. The *Independent Ledger*, published on Mondays by Draper & Folsom, was first issued June 15, 1778. Buckingham says, "The latest number of this paper which I have seen is dated Dec. 29, 1783; whether it was continued later I have not been able to ascertain." The partnership of Edes & Gill having been dissolved, and the *Boston Gazette* remaining the property of Edes, Gill began on May 30, 1776, a new weekly paper called the *Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*. Gill died in 1785, having previously sold out his newspaper which apparently soon followed him. There was also the *American Herald*, published for six or seven years previous to 1788 by Edward Eveleth Powars.

A more formidable competitor than these ephemeral sheets appeared during the first year of peace, in *The Massachusetts Centinel and Republican Journal*, published every Wednesday and Saturday by Warden & Russell "at their office in Marlborough Street," and of which the first number appeared on March 24, 1784. The long life of this celebrated newspaper; its management for more than forty years by its original editor, Major Ben. Russell; and the vigor and constancy with which it maintained the principles of public policy which were held by the great majority of well-to-do citizens of Massachusetts and New England during these early years of the repub-

lic, — have made its name more famous than that of any of its numerous contemporaries, from which, however, there was at first little either in its appearance or its contents to distinguish it. Its size was, after the first two years, the same as that of the other papers; and the general aspect of its columns, and the prevailing style of its articles, were not materially different. It may then, since a detailed account of all these newspapers would be both tedious and profitless, be taken as a fair specimen of what was in those days regarded as a satisfactory newspaper. The first number contained naturally the appeal of the publishers "To the candid Publick," [1] which occupied the whole of the first page. The remainder was made up of an unimportant extract or two from "late London papers," the latest bearing date three months back; an official copy of a resolve passed by the Legislature; a summary of domestic news, very barren indeed; "food for sentimentalists," being a moving history of a father rescued from impending ruin by the devotion of a son; a highly artificial poem on "The Newspaper;" a facetious anecdote; a little shipping news; and two advertisements, — one of "Painters' Oils and Colors," by Grant & Dashwood, and another of spelling-books, etc. by Warden & Russell. That is all. The remotest village in the South or West would to-day throw aside such a newspaper as worthless. Yet the publishers in their next issue find it difficult to express their gratitude for the extraordinary favor with which it has been received. "Our hearty thanks but feebly speak the gratitude of our breasts. As a number of our customers were disappointed in not receiving the first number (a sufficiency not being printed to supply the demand), we shall as soon as possible strike off a second edition. As we shall adorn the *Centinel* with the most delicious sentimental sustenance we can obtain, as well the production of our soil as exotick, those who would wish to be supplied with the first numbers to bind up can thus be gratified."

[1] After a high flight of rhetoric declaring that the chief duty of the hour was to second the cherub peace "in shedding her delectable blessings over this New World," and that the surest way to accomplish this end, and at the same time "to obtain a competency for our support," was to set on foot "a Free, Uninfluenced Newspaper," the publishers proceed with the prospectus of their undertaking, as follows: —

"Conditions.

"1. This paper shall be printed with legible type on good paper, to contain four quarto pages, demi.

"2. The price of this paper will be twelve shillings the year, one quarter to be paid on subscribing. If, agreeably to the custom in the cities of London, New York, & Philadelphia, the subscriber should choose to pay per number, the price will be Two Pence.

"3. The papers in the town of Boston shall be delivered to the Subscribers as early as possible on publication days.

"4. Advertisements shall be inserted at as low a price as is demanded by any of their brethren in the art, and continued, if desired, in Six numbers.

"5. Gentlemen in the Country may be supplied with this Paper at the above price (postage excepted), which is cheaper than any other papers if the advantage of receiving them twice in the week is considered.

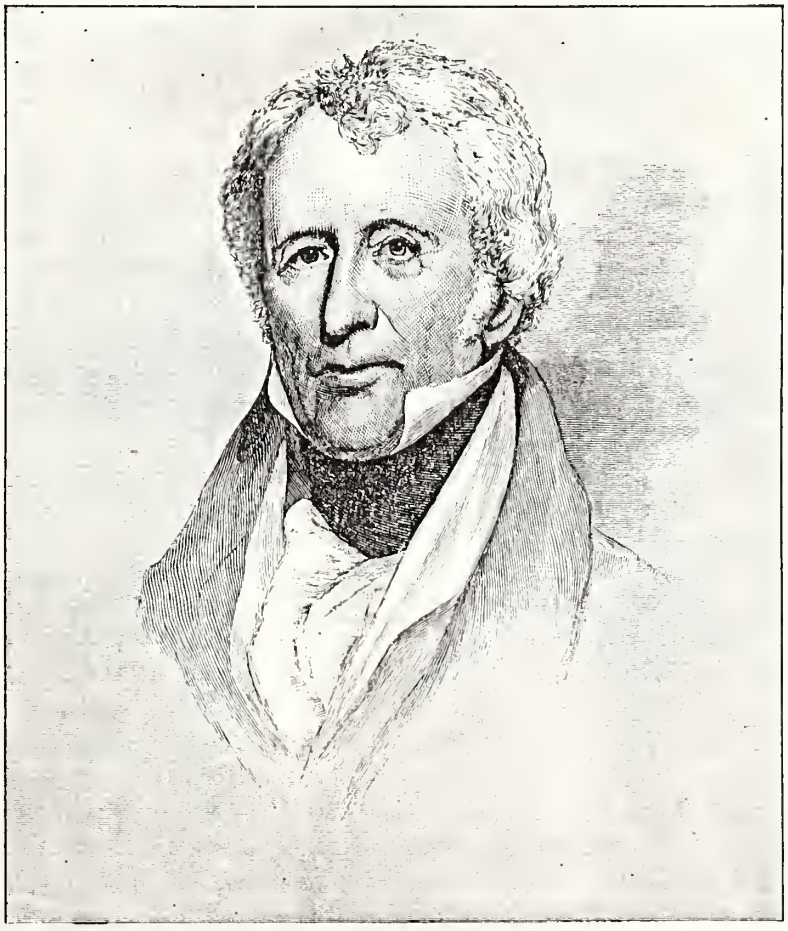
"The publishers engage to use every effort to obtain the most scrutinous circumspection in collecting whatever may be thought of public utility or private amusement. Variety shall be courted in all its shapes, — in the importance of public information, in the sprightliness of mirth; in the playful levity of imagination, in the just severity of satire, in the vivacity of ridicule, in the luxuriance of poetry, and in the simplicity of truth. We shall examine the regulations of office with candor, approve with pleasure, or condemn with boldness. *Uninfluenced by Party, we aim only to be just.*

"The assistance of the learned, the judicious, and the curious is solicited. Productions of public utility, however severe, if consistent with truth shall be admitted, and the modest correspondent may depend on the strictest secrecy. Reservoirs will be established in public houses for the reception of information, whether foreign, local, or poetical.

"Anxious to deserve, they hope a display of that patronage and assistance which the people of these States are celebrated for bestowing on the efforts of young beginners. And finally, if their abilities be inadequate, it will at least be some recompense that such as they have shall be exerted with candour."

"W. Warden,
"B. Russell."

The *Centinel* was from the first peculiar in separating its contents under various highly imaginative headings, which partook of the ambitious and sophomoric flavor of most of the matter which appeared under them. Thus the poetical corner, which was a constant feature of the paper, was headed in the earliest numbers "Sentimental Repast." By the eighth number a



Benj Russell.

more elegant title had occurred to the editor. It was now called "The Helicon Reservoir." Some weeks later this was again changed to "Sentimental Sustenance." Under this head the *Deserted Village* of Goldsmith was published, running through a dozen numbers or so.[1] The "Castalian Fount,"

[1] But the poetry is not often of this order. It is more commonly prefaced by a note like this: "MESSRS PRINTERS,— Your admission of the following in the *Centinel* will implant an agreeable sensation in the breast of a female reader." Then follows a highly sentimental poem beginning,

and the "Cabinet of Apollo" were successively chosen to please the uneasy and fastidious taste of the editor. Under the heading, "Entertainment for the Disciples of Zeno," a department was established containing brief anecdotes, in most of which it would be difficult to discover the qualities which distinguish the stoic philosophy. "Preparation for Sunday" was a department of every Saturday's issue, containing some short extract from a religious book or a sermon. In time the editor, becoming dissatisfied with this heading, made this announcement: "As under that head the great and important subject is too much circumscribed, we propose continuing to teach the principles of piety and morality under the title of 'The Moral Entertainer,' and we hope much benefit may be derived therefrom."

It is quite clear from a glance at these early numbers of the *Centinel* that no reason existed in the nature of things for the establishment of such a newspaper. If newspapers are indeed the mirror of the times which produce them, how portentous was the dulness of this little town! The excitement of the Revolution had died away, leaving a reaction in which the exhaustion consequent on a war in which the whole people had engaged, was not mitigated by the abundant resources or the varied opportunities of a great people. The Province no longer existed; the Nation was not yet created. Trade was prostrate; manufactures were not yet dreamed of; communication was slow and for half the year difficult. A sort of apathy seemed for the moment to possess the minds of the people. These were not the conditions under which a newspaper was likely to make itself either interesting or useful. For the first two years accordingly the *Centinel* struggled for existence; and the same may perhaps be said of its contemporaries. The political questions which a few years later were to divide the people into parties had not yet arisen, and the occasions for newspaper comment or criticism on public affairs were extremely infrequent. A gentle breeze of interest can be seen now and then to have moved over the slumberous surface of Boston life. During this first year a sort of social club, composed of ladies and gentlemen of good position in society, was holding what were called "tea assemblies" at stated intervals at Concert Hall,[1] at which the entertainment was made up of "music, dancing, tea, coffee, chocolate, cards, wine, negus, punch, and lemonade." A severe writer in the *Centinel*, signing himself "Observer," took occasion to criticise without reserve the proceedings and manners of this club, — of which the name, "*Sans Souci*, or Free and Easy," did, it must be confessed, rather invite remark, — declaring that it was "an assembly totally repugnant to virtue, ... throwing aside every necessary restraint; those being esteemed the politest who are the most careless," etc. In the same issue of the paper an advertisement appeared to this effect: "A new Farce. On Monday next will be published

— "When Damon asked me for a kiss," etc., and signed "Clorinda." To which the gallant editor appends this approving note: "Clorinda has our hearty thanks for this effusion of her pen. It is our wish to rescue the fair sex from the obscurity in which the timidity of female delicacy would shelter itself, and to animate the female breast to catch at the laurels due to their vivacity and their merits."

[1] [See Vol. II. p. xvii. — ED.]

'*Sans Souci*, alias Free and Easy, or an Evening's Peep into a Polite Circle.' An entire new entertainment in three acts." In the next number of the *Centinel* the editor takes occasion to state that he has been called upon by Mr. Samuel Jarvis, a member of the *Sans Souci*, and assaulted. This is the opportunity for a long and rhetorical article, occupying nearly the whole paper, on the enormity of this "infringement of the liberty of the press," and the inflexible determination of the injured editor to maintain the position of the *Centinel* as "a Free, Uninfluenced Newspaper, in spite of the threats of sanguinary assassins." The quarrel is taken up by the other newspapers, and communications on both sides are rained upon the fortunate public for some weeks.

A more reasonable excitement was occasioned a little later by the visit of several foreign agents or factors, chiefly from New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, selling the goods of English merchants and manufacturers. Not only the patriotism but the business instincts of the town took offence at this new and most unwelcome enterprise. The indignation and alarm grew the more rapidly, perhaps, from the absence of any law which could be invoked to abate the nuisance; until at length the inflammatory writing in the newspapers culminated in an excited public meeting in Faneuil Hall, at which the merchants and traders pledged themselves to have no dealings with the offensive strangers. The proposal to restore the Tory refugees in the Provinces and elsewhere to their rights as citizens of the United States, excited almost as much anger and alarm as the visits of the factors, and with less excuse.

The watchful jealousy of a people which had but just freed themselves from the restraints and vexations of arbitrary and aristocratic rule, was quick to take alarm at dangers which from our safe distance seem most trivial. The institution of the Cincinnati seems to us as innocent of harm as any association of gentlemen united by community of patriotic memories and associations could well be. Grave danger was, however, at its inception perceived to lurk under this dignified organization, and some of the newspapers, among which the *Chronicle* was the most emphatic, attacked the society with violence. "The institution of the Cincinnati," said one of the correspondents of the *Chronicle*, "is designed to establish a complete and permanent personal distinction between the numerous military dignitaries of their corporation and the whole remaining body of the people, who will be styled Plebeians through the community." These sentiments were shared by the people to such an extent that the citizens of Cambridge, by a vote in town-meeting, instructed their representative in the Legislature to use his best influence to insure the suppression of this society. The *Centinel* poured oil on the waters by reminding the alarmists "that his Excellency, George Washington, Esq., is president of that society, — a circumstance that greatly recommends it."

The Legislature of 1785 passed an act laying a duty of two thirds of a penny upon every newspaper, and a penny on almanacs, all of which were

to be stamped. The words "stamp act" had a horrid sound in the ears of the men of the Revolution, and so violent an opposition to the proposed tax was excited throughout the State that the act was repealed during the same session, and another was substituted laying a duty on all advertisements, — sixpence on each insertion. This was not, in general, much more favorably received, though the *Centinel*, perhaps because its advertisements were then extremely few, excused the new tax on the ground that it "contributed thousands to the exigencies of the State."[1] The *Centinel* was increased in size at the end of the second year, but the conduct of the paper showed no essential improvement. The matter was still trivial. The style was still ambitious and uneasy. The communications, for the most part under grotesque and affected signatures, — as Tantarabogus, Desideratum, Whackum, Whackum Secundus, Moralibus, Mulier, Slap-dash, Publicola, Agricola, and the like, — are generally marked by turgid and pompous rhetoric, savage and brutal personal abuse, and ridiculous attempts at satire, — almost never by calm discussion of any subject.

During the first months of 1787 we find some lively accounts of the progress and ignominious collapse of Shays' Rebellion; and later in the same year interesting reports of the proceedings of the convention in Philadelphia for the adoption of the Federal Constitution. In January of the next year the Massachusetts convention for ratifying the Constitution was held in the meeting-house in Long Lane, and Mr. Russell then made what was probably the first systematic attempt at reporting for any Boston newspaper. The speeches seem to have been, on the whole, very well reported, and the proceedings filled the greater part of every issue of the paper for four weeks. An amusing tribute occurs at the close of one of the reports. "We came in," says the editor, "while the Hon. Judge Dana was speaking; but captivated by the fire, the pathos, and the superior eloquence of his speech, we forgot we came to take minutes, and thought to hear alone was our duty. Our memory will not enable us to do it justice, but we shall attempt a feeble sketch of it."[2]

[1] The *Boston Gazette* thus complained of the burden of the tax, and thus evaded it: —

"While the newspapers of other States are crowded with advertisements (free of duty) those of this State are almost destitute thereof, which justly occasions the oppressed printers of those shackled presses to make their separate complaints, as many do, owing to their being prohibited advertising in their own papers their own books and stationery, without incurring a penalty therefor. We, for the same reason that our brother typographers use, forbear publishing that Bibles, Testaments, Psalters, Spelling-books, Primers, Almanacks, &c., besides Stationery and all kinds of blanks, may be had at No. 42 Cornhill. The duty on advertisements also prevents our publishing that we have lately reprinted an excellent Moral Discourse, entitled 'The Shortness and afflictions of Human Life, illustrated;' for, the price of said book being but eight pence, it will take away the profits of too many, and perhaps encourage government to continue this burthen." — Buckingham's *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*.

[2] In a memorandum quoted by Buckingham (vol. ii. p. 49), Russell says: —

"I had never studied stenography, nor was there any person then in Boston who understood reporting. The presiding officer of the convention sat in the deacon's seat under the pulpit. I took the pulpit for my reporting desk, and a very good one it was. I succeeded well enough in this, my first effort, to give a tolerably fair report in my next paper; but the puritanical notions had not entirely faded away, and I was voted out of the pulpit. A stand was fitted up for me in

Russell's enthusiasm for the new Constitution, and for the "more perfect union" of States which it secured, was strong and enduring, and was the foundation of the steady improvement which may be observed in the *Centinel* from this time onward, and of the full measure of success which followed it. The other papers hailed the new birth of the nation, as in duty bound, with more or less of cordiality; but the steady development of national feeling, the steady consolidation of national power, was not witnessed by all with the same pride and confidence. So long as the issue of the Revolutionary struggle remained undetermined, the press of the country was united by one controlling sentiment, — hatred of Great Britain; and by one controlling purpose, — the successful termination of the war. When the stress of the exigency was past, and the war itself began to recede from men's thoughts, this harmony was disturbed, and the passions and prejudices of men grew more and more fruitful with every year. The separation into parties was not fully accomplished until Washington had retired from public life; but it was already beginning as early as the adoption of the Federal compact, and a man was on one side or another, according as his political sympathies inclined him towards England or France. The frightful spectacle of the French Revolution was now about opening. A considerable portion of the press of the United States followed and recorded its excesses with approval and even with admiration, as inspired by the same love of liberty which had just triumphed on this side the ocean.[1] This was the beginning of the Republican party, which a little later was compacted by a real or pretended fear of centralization and monarchy, as the natural outgrowth of the new Constitution. The Federalists were accused of ingratitude towards France and of subserviency to Great Britain; and the Federal leaders of cherishing aristocratic and monarchical ideas. The *Boston Gazette*, still managed by Benjamin Edes, was perhaps the most ardent friend of the French Revolution, and the most strenuous opponent of the Federal Constitution and the leaders of the Federal party. The *Chronicle*, less pronounced in its opposition to the Constitution, became not less violent in its abuse of the Federal administration. Its opposition to the Alien and Sedition laws, passed by Congress in 1798, was so violent as to cause the arrest of the editor and his trial. But neither party held the monopoly of violence. Frantic vituperation is the most common characteristic of the political communications in most of the newspapers of the time.[2] Such flowers of rhetoric as "native

another place, and I proceeded with my reporting." [See Mr. Lodge's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[1] Cobbett said in 1796: "There is not a single action of the French Revolutionists but has been justified and applauded in our public papers, and many of them in our public assemblies. Anarchy has its open advocates. It is a truth that no one will deny, that the newspapers of this country have become its scourge." — *Porcupine's Works*, ii. 223.

[2] As early as 1782, Franklin, writing from Passy to Francis Hopkinson, says: —

"You do well to avoid being concerned in the species of personal abuse, so scandalously common in our newspapers that I am afraid to lend one of them here until I have examined and laid aside such as would disgrace us, and subject us among strangers to a reflection like that used by a gentleman in a coffee-house to two quarrellers, who, after a mutually free use of the words 'rogue,' 'villain,' 'rascal,' 'scoundrel,' etc., seemed

blackguardism," "spurious exotic," "quill-driving animal," "Jacobin vermin," "mud, filth, and venom," "diabolical malice," and the like flourish on every page. In spite, however, of this ugly feature, the improvement in the general conduct of the principal papers was marked and steady. The march of events, both at home and abroad, was too imposing to permit the editors to limit their interest and attention to the trivial and personal details which had formerly absorbed them. The foreign intelligence was now received with greater regularity and frequency, and became an important feature of all the newspapers. Russell's enterprise was conspicuous both in collecting this intelligence and in digesting it for publication. He had the habit of visiting all vessels, on their arrival from foreign ports, to procure the latest news. At the office of the *Centinel* regular files of the *Moniteur* were kept, which brought Talleyrand and Louis Phillippe as frequent visitors to the office during their stay in Boston. A gold snuff-box from the former and an atlas from the latter were memorials long preserved by the editor; and one of them, at least, was of constant service in preparing his summaries of the military news from the Continent. The proceedings and laws of Congress[1] and of the State Legislature, reports of the meetings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, an occasional debate in Parliament, and more frequent and copious intelligence from other American cities mark the steady growth of the newspaper in importance and interest.

The *Boston Gazette* expired in 1798. It was the last newspaper which went back to the days preceding the Revolution; and its venerable editor, Benjamin Edes, took leave of the public in a pathetic if somewhat high-flown farewell address. Its place as the ultra-Republican organ (the *Chronicle* being generally regarded by the more violent Republicans as not quite pronounced enough in its hostility to the Federalists) was filled the next year by a new paper, the *Constitutional Telegraphe;* which, however, unable to show any reason for its existence, lasted but about three years, its editor following the example of Edes with a farewell address dated "Boston Gaol, March 30, 19th day of imprisonment," having been condemned to a detention of three months for a libel on one of the judges of the Supreme Court. The *Telegraphe* was but one of several papers which the ill-considered enthusiasm of political parties set on foot in the last years of the century, which

as if they would refer their dispute to him. 'I know nothing of you or your affairs,' said he; '*I only perceive that you know one another!*'" Franklin's *Works*, x. 461.

[1] Concerning the publication by the *Centinel* of the laws of Congress, Buckingham has the following, which is creditable alike to the printer and the government: —

"While Congress was holding its first session, Russell wrote to the department of state and offered to publish gratuitously all the laws and other official documents, the country being then almost or quite bankrupt. All laws and other papers emanating from the various departments of the government were accordingly transmitted to him and were published 'by authority.' At the end of several years he was called upon for his bill. It was made out and, in compliance with the pledge, was receipted. On being informed of the fact, General Washington said: 'This must not be. When Mr. Russell offered to publish the laws without pay, we were poor. It was a generous offer. We are now able to pay our debts. This is a debt of honor, and must be discharged.' A few days after, Mr. Russell received a check for $7,000, the full amount of his bill." — *Specimens of Newspaper Literature*, ii. 59.

lived a few months or a few years, and died leaving no sign. One of these, the *Federal Orrery*, established in 1794 by Thomas Paine, — an enthusiastic young Federalist just graduated from Cambridge, from whose accomplishments much was expected, — created a temporary excitement in Boston by a series of papers entitled "Remarks on the Jacobiniad," in which an imaginary poem was reviewed, with extracts, accompanied by satirical criticisms on prominent Republicans. Paine was assaulted in State Street for the publication of these papers, which were attributed — whether rightly or not is, we believe, not known — to the Rev. J. S. J. Gardiner, assistant rector of Trinity Church, who was attacked without mercy in the columns of the *Chronicle* and the *Gazette*. Paine was of an expansive literary turn, and by no means confined himself to his newspaper. His patriotic songs achieved a national reputation, and yielded extraordinary sums to their author, sums unexampled in that day and for many a day after. The most famous of these was "Adams and Liberty," — a flamboyant lyric in ten verses in the metre of the "Star Spangled Banner," written at the request of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society, and from the sale of which Paine is said to have received more than $750. Perhaps even more remarkable was the popularity of a poem in the heroic metre, delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society in 1797, which is declared to have brought its author not less than $1,200.

Russell's *Gazette* was a semi-weekly newspaper established in 1795, strongly Federalist, and a ferocious enemy of France, Jefferson, and the Republican newspapers. It had also its special vanity as an elegant critic and patron of the theatre, then newly established in Boston. Under one ownership and another it survived as late as 1830, always holding its place as a prominent and influential journal.

Another newspaper of much influence at this time was the *Massachusetts Mercury*, established in 1793 by Young & Etheridge; better known by its later title of the *Palladium*, adopted in 1801, when it passed under the control of Warren Dutton as editor, and became the vehicle through which some of the ablest writers of the Federal party addressed the public. Conspicuous among these writers was Fisher Ames, whose contributions were frequent through all the years which intervened between his retirement from public life and his death in 1808.

With the election of Jefferson in 1800 the strife between the two parties took new vigor and fiercer hatred. The history of the newspaper press for the next fifteen years is the history of this strife, and of the suspicions and slanders, the accusations and retorts, of the chiefs of the hostile camps.[1]

[1] John Adams, writing from Quincy, in 1811, to Benjamin Rush, says: — "If I am to judge by the newspapers and pamphlets that have been published in America for twenty years past, I should think that both parties believed me the meanest villain in the world." (*Works*, ix. 636.) And Jefferson writes to Dr. Walter Jones much in the same spirit, but with even stronger disgust: "I deplore with you the putrid state into which our newspapers have passed, and the malignity, the vulgarity, and the mendacious spirit of those who write for them; and I enclose you a recent sample, the production of a New England judge, as a proof of the abyss of

Probably there never was a time in any country when the newspapers of a single small town were enriched with the political contributions of such a number of men of undisputed ability, force of character, and patriotism. Fisher Ames in the *Palladium*, James Sullivan in the *Chronicle*, George Cabot in the *Centinel*, J. Q. Adams, Christopher Gore, John Lowell, Timothy Pickering, Levi Lincoln, William Plumer, and many more of the foremost men of an age rich in political vigor continued to fill the newspapers with those unique compositions, half essay, half harangue, which exerted an incalculable influence in holding the people of Massachusetts and New England to the losing cause of the party whose sun had set when the administration of John Adams came to an end.

The writers of the *Centinel* opposed without discrimination every measure of importance originating with the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. The embargo was characterized as "a bold stroke to starve a people into democracy." The war with Great Britain was declared to be carried on "to afford encouragement to British, Irish, and Jersey runaway sailors to enter on board American vessels, and then to be PROTECTED while they are underworking the native-born American seamen and navigators, and thereby taking the bread from the mouths of their wives and children. This is the great object of this war."

Whatever may have been the object of the war, there can be at the present day no doubt that one of its most marked results was the extinction of the absurd jealousies and hatreds of the past twenty years, the union of the best men of both parties in the support of Monroe, and the inauguration of the "era of good feeling," — a phrase, by the way, which Russell first used on the occasion of the President's visit to Boston in 1817.

That the asperities of party politics had been the meat and drink of the two great party newspapers it would perhaps be too much to say, but the *Chronicle* survived the reconciliation only two years. In 1819 it was sold to the owners of the *Boston Patriot*, and united with that paper. It had managed to live for fifty years, and its influence had been very great. Its great antagonist, the *Centinel*, was also growing rusty with age and peace, but held out yet another ten years under Russell's management, though in a visibly declining condition; until in 1828 it was sold to Adams & Hudson, who published it until 1840, when it was purchased by the proprietors of the *Daily Advertiser*, and was heard of no more. The day of personal newspapers was passing away. While the matter which filled them was small in amount and of no great variety, they were managed without much difficulty by a single editor, who was to all intents and purposes the newspaper. With the growth of business and population, the enlargement of the life of the town, and the multiplication of interests and of topics, the simplicity of such newspaper work became obsolete. In these vastly changed conditions, also, the

degradation into which we are fallen. As a vehicle of information and a curb on our functionaries, they have rendered themselves useless by forfeiting all title to belief."— *Works*, iv. 234. [See further, on these political antagonisms, Mr. Lodge's chapter in this volume.—ED.]

semi-weekly issue became inadequate to the needs of the business world; but it was curiously long before a daily newspaper found a footing in Boston. Attempts were made in this direction as early as 1796 and 1798. The *Polar Star and Boston Daily Advertiser* appeared in the former year, and the *Federal Gazette and Daily Advertiser* in the latter. The one lived six months, the other three. Boston was for once far behind her sister cities in enterprise. The *American Daily Advertiser* had been established in Philadelphia as early as 1784, and the *New York Daily Advertiser* the next year; but it was not until 1813 that the first daily made good its claim to existence in Boston. The *Boston Daily Advertiser*, of which the first number appeared on March 3 of that year, was published by W. W. Clapp, and edited by Horatio Bigelow, who says in his salutatory that the city of New York is now supporting, "besides monthly, weekly, and semi-weekly publications, eight daily newspapers." It was not surprising that the commercial needs of a rapidly growing port like Boston should require a daily newspaper, and the space occupied by advertisements from the first number attests the reasonableness of the new undertaking. Mr. Bigelow remained the editor scarcely more than a year. On the 6th of April, 1814, the paper passed from his hands into those of Nathan Hale, whose conspicuous ability, energy, good judgment, and good taste rapidly raised the *Advertiser* to a high rank among the leading newspapers of the country.

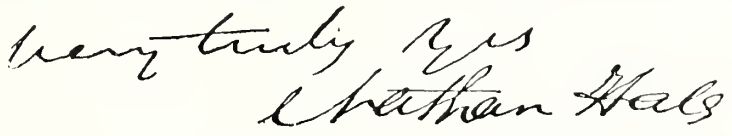
Mr. Hale's introduction of himself upon taking charge of the *Advertiser* was interesting as showing his sense of the inadequacy of the newspapers of that day, and of the responsibility justly attaching to an editor.[1] It was plain, explicit, modest, and manly. He lived to make good all that he undertook. From the first number the *Advertiser* was distinguished by brief comments on prominent topics, having a candid and manly air, and always temperate and just. From these grew the regular "leaders," more full and more considered year by year, which mark the advance from the newspapers of the earlier days, whose commentaries were communicated by writers not connected with the publication, and partook too commonly of the nature of personal criticism.

From the establishment of the morning daily, the old semi-weekly papers became more and more obsolete. The *Chronicle*, the *Gazette*, the *Palladium*,

[1] "Almost the total amount," he says, "of the reading of at least one half the people of this country, and a great part of the reading of a large portion of the other half, is from the daily or weekly newspapers of the country. Many of these readers rely solely upon the amount offered by a single paper. . . . Thus it is manifest that the office of an editor is one of great importance and responsibility; and accordingly we find that if we have any striking traits of national character, their origin may be clearly discerned in our universal relish for newspaper reading, and in the general character of the newspaper which we read." He declares simply and frankly that "he is a Federalist; and if Federalism of the Boston stamp have any distinguishing marks, his is certainly of that impression. Such is his acquaintance with the character, motives, and wishes of the leading Federalist men, in New England in particular, that he places in them an unlimited confidence." He hopes to be able to satisfy the expectations of his readers in the matter of news, both foreign and domestic, as soon as he has become more familiar with the sources of intelligence and the means of collecting it. He promises to care for the mercantile interests of his readers, knowing that he must depend chiefly on merchants and traders for support. [See a further account of Mr. Hale in Mr. Adams's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

and finally the *Centinel* itself were successively absorbed by the *Advertiser*. Repeated enlargements in the size of the sheet were accompanied by corresponding expansion of its work and of its circulation.

The *Advertiser*, as Mr. Hale recognized, was essentially a business paper. Of its twenty-four columns frequently only two or three, seldom more than five, were given to what is known as reading matter. No notice was taken of theatres or concerts, though these were duly advertised in its columns.



There were no book notices, and no correspondence either foreign or domestic. Literature and art were alike ignored. As late even as 1833, when Charles Kemble and his brilliant daughter played their first engagement in Boston, the *Advertiser's* account of their first performances was limited to a single paragraph.[1]

On the other hand the political complexion of the paper was marked and distinct from the outset, and grew more and more emphatic as the issues between the Whig and Democratic parties became more clearly defined. It was a loyal and steadfast adherent of Webster, not only as the great exponent of Whig principles and Whig policy, but also during and after the embittered quarrel in which the splendid prestige of Webster was set against the growing and deepening public sentiment of New England and the North, and which left that great man without the support and without the confidence of the great body of his constituents.

The *Advertiser* was for eleven years the only daily paper published in Boston. But in 1824 Mr. Joseph Tinker Buckingham, who had for some years been the editor, as he was the founder, of the *New England Galaxy*, established a new daily, called the *Boston Courier*,[2] of which the only pronounced political principle was at first the necessity for a protective tariff, but which soon grew to be a very prominent and influential organ of the Whig party, and of its foremost statesman, Daniel Webster. More vivacious and discursive than the *Advertiser;* more hospitable to the ideas and the schemes of social and political reformers, and less exclusively devoted to the mercantile interests of the city, — its columns were frequently enriched with purely literary contributions from authors whose names have since become widely known. Its careful notices of new books and of theatrical performances, and its entertaining Washington correspondence were features then

[1] "Mr. Kemble appeared in *Hamlet* on Monday evening. His acting is chaste and dignified, and made a strong impression on his audience. Last evening Miss Kemble appeared in the character of Bianca in the tragedy of *Fazio*, and was enthusiastically received by a very crowded house. Mr. Kemble sustained that of Fazio with much power."

[2] "The first number was issued on March 2, 1824, with the encouragement of less than two hundred subscribers. There was then one daily paper in the city, and the attempt to establish another was thought to be a reckless experiment." — Buckingham's *Personal Memoirs, and Recollections of Editorial Life* (Boston: 1852), ii. p. 217.

of rare occurrence in any newspaper. It partook of the personal character and temperament of its founder and manager in much the same way that the *Centinel* had done a generation before, and was perhaps the last of the Boston newspapers which can be said to have exhibited this peculiarity. As the organization of a newspaper grows more complex, and calls for the labor and supervision of a larger corps of writers, it is as inevitable as it is desirable that the personality of the individual editor should disappear and be replaced by that of the journal. Mr. Buckingham retired from the management of the *Courier* in 1848, having been for thirty years one of the most conspicuous figures in the literary history of the city.

The increasing importance and population of Boston about the year 1830 greatly stimulated the creation of daily newspapers. The *Boston Post* was established in 1831 as a Democratic organ, and has continued to this day faithful to the varying fortunes of the Democratic party. The next year the two Whig papers were reinforced by a third, the *Boston Atlas*, which became a more pronounced organ than either the *Advertiser* or the *Courier;* and which, for twenty-five years not less constant in its party fealty than its contemporary and adversary the *Post*, did not long survive the dissolution of the Whig party. These were years when the political behavior of the people was not such as can be now looked back upon with complacency. It was with extreme slowness and reluctance that men were brought to acknowledge that anything was of more importance to the well-being of the nation than tariffs and cotton-mills and the protection of slave property. The party press did not help them to learn the lesson, and did its best, as must now be owned, to oppose and countervail the irresistible march of ideas and events which was pressing the nation swiftly to the crisis.[1] When the crisis had once arrived, and all the lesser doubts and tremors, the hopes of compromise, the deprecation of imprudent zeal, the pledges of this or that candidate, the defection of this or that place-holder; all the calculations, in short, of the political chess-board, were forgotten in face of the tremendous exigency, — the newspapers of Boston, like those of other cities, rose with the occasion; and, apart from a few disgraceful exceptions which need not be remembered here, served a nobler purpose in compacting and expressing the popular sentiment and will, and in strengthening the hands of the Government. The stimulus of the Civil War enlarged the scope of the great newspapers to a prodigious extent. The arrangements for the receipt of intelligence by telegraph were perfected by the Associated Press to a degree which would have been more gratifying had there been less frequent cause for suspecting the accuracy of the information. The multiplication of correspondents at important points; the necessity for detailed reports of everything said or done, or written or sung; the growth of the habit of "interviewing" any personage possessing even a momentary importance in the public eye, — do but indicate a few of the many directions in which the attention of newspaper managers must now be turned.

[1] [See James Freeman Clarke's chapter in the present volume. — Ed.]

Of the evening dailies the *Transcript*, established in 1830, and the *Journal*, in 1833, were the earliest. These were not political newspapers, but made themselves first of all purveyors of news, pure and simple, — the first named, which was for a while in the editorial charge of Epes Sargent, adding to this a certain distinction, maintained to the present day, as a dispenser of light and lively gossip and small-talk. Avoiding topics of weight upon which opinions were earnest, its many contributors amused their readers with harmless questions of fashion, of the weather, of the theatre, with watering-place correspondence, and copies of verses. More earnest matters mingled with all this, as the years went on and public affairs grew ever graver. The *Boston Traveller* was published as a weekly paper as early as 1825. In 1845 it became a daily, and completed the list of established and permanent daily newspapers of reputation. The growth of the penny press dates from about this time. The cheap dailies rapidly multiplied; and the *Herald*, *Times*, *Bee*, *Mail*, and others of the same stamp, substantially alike in their appearance and in the matter which filled their columns, found a large though fluctuating circulation. They were, however, in their nature ephemeral, and disappeared one after another, — with the exception of the *Times*, which was kept alive for twenty years, and the *Herald*, which maintained its ground with even greater persistency, until, reinforced a dozen years ago in capital, intelligence, and character, but retaining still the characteristics which secure to the cheap newspaper its wide distribution, it has taken a more and more influential position among the dailies of the city.

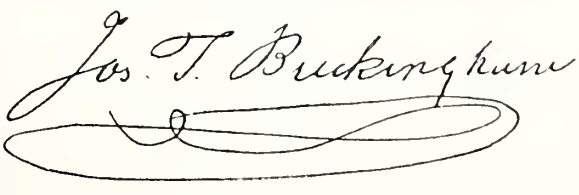
For good or for evil, the newspaper press of the United States has attained an importance and an influence unparalleled in any other country. Nowhere else does the number of newspapers bear so large a proportion to the population,[1] nowhere else are the newspapers so universally read. If it must be added that nowhere else is the standard of veracity, of public morality, and of decency — as exhibited in the general tone of the newspaper press — so debased, we may at least qualify the charge in a way which twenty years ago would have been impossible, by saying that a marked improvement is to be observed in every one of these respects.[2] The purification of

[1] As early as 1841, the number of newspapers in the United States exceeded the number in all the countries of Europe with two hundred and thirty-three millions of population. *Journal of Statistical Society, of London*, vol. iv.

[2] To take a single but most conspicuous example, — for a dozen years preceding the outbreak of the Rebellion the debasing influence of the *New York Herald* upon the people of the country was to be measured not alone by its enormous circulation, but also by the example it offered to the managers of all other newspapers as the most successful enterprise in the history of journalism. Smaller editors in smaller cities emulated its cynicism, its ribaldry, its abuse of the best men, its complicity with the worst; and found their account in such a course. The *New York Herald* of to-day is a respectable and useful newspaper, conducted with all its old enterprise and ability, and doubtless more prosperous than at any previous period of its career; and it would probably be impossible now to find in the country any example of the same contempt of decency and moral principle which conferred such bad eminence upon it a generation ago.

the political atmosphere, brought about by the war of the Rebellion, has produced no more extraordinary or encouraging result than this amelioration of the newspaper press. To say that it is not yet the leader in morals or politics, is simply to say that newspapers are business enterprises, depending for their success on the favor and patronage of their readers. When the newspapers of the country shall be seen to reflect the instincts and principles and opinions of the best classes of the population, they will constitute the most powerful and efficient force in correcting that tendency to a "levelling downward," which one of the most intelligent and friendly of our foreign critics has pointed out as among the most dangerous traits of the American people.

The weekly newspapers, of which the name is legion, stand on a quite different footing from the dailies. In the important matter of news, and the expression of critical opinions on current events, political or other, they can of course not attempt to rival the daily sheets. They are, therefore, for the most part either devoted to the interests of a special class, professional, religious, or philanthropic; or else to the dissemination of society gossip, or literary contributions from correspondents, and selections from books, magazines, and such other sources as may be open to the editor. The earliest of the modern Boston weeklies belonged to the latter category. Of these the most conspicuous was the *New England Galaxy*, established in 1817 by Joseph T. Buckingham, and conducted by him until 1828 with great vigor and success. The *Galaxy* had at the outset its own specialty, indicated by its subtitle, the *Masonic Magazine*. This was, however, made small account of after the first few numbers, and the paper soon made itself felt in the little community by the variety and occasional brilliancy of its literary contributions, and still more by the sharpness of its comments on whatever might be for the moment the subject of popular attention. For several years Mr. Buckingham was not without one or more libel suits on his hands, the result of his indiscreet vivacity in personal criticism. The number of contributors he was enabled to rely on gave great variety to the pages of the *Galaxy*, especially in its earlier years.



The *Saturday Evening Gazette*, established in the same year with the *Advertiser*, was, like the *Galaxy*, a vehicle for the lighter news and gossip of the day; but it was not illuminated by the vivacity and individual energy which gave interest to the older sheet. Issued nominally on Saturday evening, it has always been distributed on Sunday morning, and has probably owed to this circumstance its long and prosperous existence, which still continues.

On the first of January, 1831, appeared the first number of what may now be regarded as, in its history, characteristics, and influence, one of the most

remarkable newspapers ever printed. The *Liberator* was, from its inception to its close, — a period of thirty-five years, — substantially the work of a single man; and there is no more impressive example, in the history of journalism, of an inflexible purpose pursued for a full generation with zeal which never flagged, with courage which never flinched, with steadiness which never wavered. The first intention of Mr. Garrison was to publish his paper in the city of Washington. From this purpose he was dissuaded by his friends, who convinced him that in such a war as he was entering on his chances of success — slender enough at the best — would be reduced to nothing if he stationed himself within the lines of the enemy. He therefore on New Year's Day sent forth his first paper from Boston, without a single subscriber, a single coadjutor, or a single dollar of capital. He was his own editor, publisher, and printer. He lived in his printing-office, — a small attic in Congress Street. It is difficult to understand how he could have got his paper under the eyes of his readers, for the customary courtesy of exchange was not extended to this new comer, and the facilities for distributing printed matter at a distance were very different fifty years ago from those of the present day. But the paper was read, and produced an immediate and striking effect all over the country. At the South laws were passed making it a penal offence for any free negro to take the *Liberator* from the post-office, offering rewards for the apprehension of any person detected in circulating it; and in the State of Georgia a reward of five thousand dollars, "to be paid by the Governor to any person or persons arresting and bringing to trial under the laws of the State, and prosecuting to conviction, the editor and publisher of the *Liberator*, or any other person who shall utter, publish, or circulate said paper in Georgia." At the North, even in Boston, it was seriously proposed to enact a special law under which the paper could be suppressed and its editor punished. In the midst of these dangers the *Liberator* held its course, and was only discontinued when the abolition of slavery in the United States had become an accomplished fact.[1]

The earliest of the class newspapers were those devoted to the interests of the various religious denominations. The idea of a distinctively religious newspaper first took definite form in the mind of Nathaniel Willis, son of the printer of the *Boston Chronicle*, and himself a printer, who had served his apprenticeship at the end of the last century in the printing-office of his father.[2] By him, as early as 1816, the *Boston Recorder* was established, with the aid of Sidney Edwards Morse, who became its first editor. The *Recorder* was the representative of the Orthodox Congregationalists, and

[1] [See Dr. Clarke's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] "The subject of a religious newspaper still rested heavily on my mind. I talked with Christians in Boston often about it. Many, though they liked the plan, objected to it as impracticable, especially in the hard times occasioned by the war. Dr. Griffin said he never heard of such a thing as religion in a newspaper; it would do in a mgaazine. I said I had some experience in publishing a newspaper, and believed it could be done if Christians would encourage it." — *Autobiography of a Journalist*, by Nathaniel Willis, 1858.

was sustained by that body with much steadfastness until its union with the *Congregationalist* in 1867; the latter having been established in 1849.

The establishment of one denominational organ naturally led to others. The Baptists were next in the field with the *Watchman and Reflector*, which followed the *Recorder* after an interval of three years, and which has perhaps reached a larger circulation than any of its rivals. It was followed in 1821 by the *Christian Register*, established by David Reed as the exponent of the principles of Unitarianism, and as a vehicle for the continued discussion of the points in theology raised some years before by the Unitarian controversy, so called. The intellectual superiority of the new sect enabled Mr. Reed to avail himself of the advice and assistance of many men of distinguished ability.[1]

Zion's Herald, the Methodist organ, was established in 1824; the *Universalist*, in 1829; and the *Christian Witness*, the representative of the Episcopal Church, in 1835, — completing the list of denominational weeklies, so far as the Protestants were concerned. The Catholics, not to be singular, in 1838 established a Catholic organ, the *Pilot*. All these sectarian newspapers have been maintained in apparent prosperity up to the present time.[2]

A class of newspapers of great importance to the material prosperity of the country is that of the agricultural papers. The earliest of these was published at Boston in 1816, the *Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal*. The next were the *American Farmer*, established in Baltimore in 1818, and the *Ploughboy*, in Albany in 1821. The fourth was established in Boston in 1822, under the title of the *New England Farmer*, by Thomas Green Fessenden, who conducted it with ability and discretion until his death in 1837. Transferred in 1846 to Albany, and continued there under a change of name, it was some years later revived in Boston, where it has continued without interruption to the present day. The evident usefulness of a well managed newspaper for farmers, — a class of home-keeping men, always much given to adhering to old and established methods, — caused this class of papers to multiply with great rapidity. Farmers' journals sprang up all over the country; and, in addition to these, almost all the weekly papers found it for their interest to make up for every issue a farmers' column. It is difficult to estimate the influence of all this information in improving the methods of agriculture in a country like our own; in introducing machines for farm work; in improving the breed of cattle and horses; in explaining systems of drainage, and the treatment of poor

[1] In a sketch of the history of the *Register*, read by Mr. W. H. Reed, at a dinner commemorative of its fiftieth anniversary, Mr. Reed says of his father: "His chief advisers in the earlier years of the *Christian Register*, were Dr. Channing, Dr. Ware, Professor Norton, and other gentlemen of equal ability outside the ministerial profession. Among those who contributed to its columns were President Kirkland, Dr. Noah Worcester, Judge Story, Dr. Greenwood, Dr. Bancroft, President Sparks, and Mr. Edward Everett."

[2] [See more or less mention of them in the chapters in this volume on the various denominations. The *Pilot* was the earliest *permanent* Catholic organ. — ED.]

land; in broadening the minds and enlarging the resources of one of the most important classes of the population.

The example set by the religious and the agricultural newspapers has been followed by innumerable journals established in the interest of other professions and classes. Law, medicine, commerce, natural and mechanical science, mining, architecture, music, are represented each by its special journal, which faithfully reports whatever of interest in its own line transpires all over the world. Temperance, spiritualism, the rights of woman, — whatever new movement of reform or progress, whether real or imaginary, is set on foot, is at once furnished with its organ in the form of a newspaper, through which its friends may assert and defend its claims; until it seems as if, in spite of the enormous and ever increasing accumulation of books, the remark of Mr. Hale upon taking charge of the *Advertiser* in 1814, concerning the dependence of the vast majority of the people on their newspaper, and the small amount of any other reading accomplished, must be nearly as true to-day as it was two generations ago.

Having finished this rapid survey of the growth of the newspaper press for a hundred years, let us go back to the beginning and look at the condition and progress of general literature during the same period.

It is obvious that every condition of political and social existence a hundred years ago was unfavorable to intellectual production. The absorbing interests and labors of the war were followed by the depression of property, and later by the excitement of a new government and the strife of parties, which engrossed the attention of nearly all of that class capable of literary work. Of this class, as of the whole population in fact, the intellectual stamp was severely practical and even prosaic, with little imagination or vivacity. Admirably developed on the side of political aptitude, of public and private virtue, of good sense and sound judgment, of personal independence, they were deficient on the side of the genial virtues, of taste, friendship, the capacity for recreation. With a Puritan ancestry so close behind them, they could not well have been otherwise. And yet the distinctive features of that ancestry — the Puritan quaintness, hardness, rigidity, theologic style — had, in fifty years of political excitement and struggle, well nigh disappeared. Where there is a man of conspicuous intellectual force, he does not waste himself in his closet nor in the pulpit; he is busy with affairs of state. Astonishing as has been the development of mind, the enlargement and emancipation of thought, the journalism and the literary work of these years is distinctly inferior to that of the colonial period. That the literary ability is not wanting is shown by the state-papers of the day, which are models of clear, vigorous, and often elegant writing. That the literary instinct is not wanting is shown in the early establishment (in the one instance at the darkest hour of the Revolutionary War) of such institutions as the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Massachusetts Historical Society. The American Academy was founded in 1780, with

Governor Bowdoin as its first president; and was of great service in promoting a love of scientific observation, and in preserving and making known such observations and discoveries as were made.[1]

The Massachusetts Historical Society was founded in 1790, — ten years after the American Academy, — chiefly through the enthusiasm of Jeremy Belknap, for the purpose of "collecting, preserving, and communicating the antiquities of America."[2] Its collections were at first published in the form of a weekly periodical called the *American Apollo*, and published by Belknap & Young. This method was continued for nine months. The collections were then issued monthly, and collected into volumes as often as they accumulated to a sufficient mass. After 1799 they were published only in volumes at intervals averaging about two years. The interest and value of these collections, and of the published proceedings of the Society now covering nearly a century of active life, are quite inestimable. They are, however, by their nature works of limited circulation, and in the early days of the Society their influence was confined to a very narrow circle of readers and students.

Of miscellaneous literature at this time there was next to none. Of the books which this serious people read at this period some idea may be gathered from the infrequent booksellers' advertisements in the newspapers.[3]

The appetite for a lighter and more attractive literature than the booksellers provided was, however, not absolutely wanting. By the year 1789 it was sufficient to produce a genuine monthly magazine, highly miscellaneous indeed as to its contents, and with no very elevated standard of style or matter, but sufficient unto its day, and ominous of better things to come. The first number of the *Massachusetts Magazine, or Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment*, was issued in January, 1789.[4] It

[1] [An account of the Academy is given in Mr. Dillaway's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] In a letter to Mr. Hazard, asking him to become a member, Belknap writes: "We have now formed our society, and it is dubbed not the Antiquarian but the Historical Society. It consists of only eight, and is limited to twenty-five. It is intended to be an *active* not a *passive* literary body; not to lie waiting like a bed of oysters for the tide of communication to flow in upon us, but to seek and find, to preserve and communicate literary intelligence, especially in the historical way." — *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, i. xv.

[3] Here is one from the *Independent Chronicle* of Feb. 17, 1780: "The following books may be had of J. Boyle, in Marlborough Street, as cheap as the times will allow, — viz., Lord Chesterfield's celebrated letters; Sherlock's *Discourses*, 4 vols.; Doddridge's *Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul;* Watts's Lyric Poems; Stickney's Singing-Books; Josephus's *Works*, 4 vols.; Kennet's *Roman Antiquities;* Bundy's *Roman History*, 6 vols. folio; Mrs. Rowe's *Devout Exercises;* English Grammar; *Complete Housewife;* Crosby's *Mariner's Guide;* Dodd on *Death; Lives of Criminals*, 3 vols.; etc." A few Latin classics, and books on physics and surgery are added. The same paper advertises: "In a neat pocket volume, the whole of the orations that have been delivered on the fifth day of March annually, to perpetuate the memory of the horrid massacre perpetrated on the 5th of March, 1770. There will be ten orations in the volume, and the price will be 20 dollars, sewed, in blue."

[4] This is, however, by no means to be supposed the first venture of this sort in Boston, though it was the first which seemed to establish itself on something like a permanent footing. Mr. Tudor appends to his account of the *An-*

was an octavo of sixty-four pages, made up of brief articles seldom extending beyond two or three pages, and as varied in character as may be inferred from the title-page, which promises "Poetry, Musick, Biography, History, Physick, Geography, Morality, Criticism, Philosophy, Mathematicks, Agriculture, Architecture, Chymistry, Novels, Tales, News, Marriages, Deaths, Meteorological Observations, etc.;" with this motto from Horace: —

> "Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci,
> Lectorem delectando, pariterque monendo."

It does not appear that anything was omitted from this comprehensive programme. The editors congratulate themselves at the outset on being able to work in "a soil which Genius has marked for her own, and in which literary flowers continually bud and blossom;" and at the end of the first year are glad to assure themselves that in their first volume "stoical severity can find nothing incompatible with pure morality, nor adverse to the grand principles of religion; neither has the blush of sensibility crimsoned the cheek, nor the lovers of wit received gratification at the pain of innocence." They promise "a sedulous attention to matter and manner, "lest a failure of this kind might discourage Hope from any further attendance, extort an indignant frown from the smiling Apollo, and wrest the prophetick scroll from the hand of Fame, — all which is most seriously deprecated."

During this same year the newspapers print an advertisement of the "First American Novel," *The Power of Sympathy, or the Triumph of Nature: A novel founded in truth, and dedicated to the young ladies of America.* The new magazine printed elegant extracts from this production which time has mercifully swallowed up, but which we can well enough imagine to have been a tearful history overcharged with sentiment and romance, and loaded down with moral essays and reflections on suicide and seduction. A stronger omen of the sensational school was issued two or three years later. In the *Massachusetts Mercury*, April 4, 1793, appears the advertisement of *The Helpless Orphan, or Innocent Victim of Revenge: A novel founded on incidents in real life. By an American lady.* This also has happily disappeared.

thology, and the club which conducted it, the following list, which he says "contains (1821) the titles of all the magazines that have been published in Massachusetts": —

American Magazine and Hist. Chronicle.	3	vols.	1740–43.
Royal American Magazine	1	,,	1774.
Boston Magazine	1	,,	1784.
Massachusetts Magazine	8	,,	1789–96.
Columbian Phœnix and Bnston Review	1	,,	1800.
New England Quarterly Magazine	1	,,	1802.
Monthly Anthology	10	,,	1803–11.
Literary Miscellany	2	,,	1805–6
Emerald, or Miscellany of Literature	2	,,	1806–8.
Ordeal	1	,,	1809.
Something by Nemo Nobody	1	,,	1809.
Omnium Gatherum	1	,,	1810.
Cabinet and Repos'y of Light Literature	1	,,	1811.
General Repository and Review	4	,,	1812–13.
Panoplist — Calvinistic Monthly	28	,,	1806–20.

[The *Boston Magazine*, begun with November, 1783, was published by Norman & White; later by Greenleaf & Freeman; and then by Edmund Freeman. Sabine says it extended to 1789. Imperfect sets are in the Public Library and in Harvard College Library. — Ed.]

Of the periodicals still in existence in 1821 he gives the following list: —

New England Med. Journal (quarterly).	Established,	1812.
North American Review	,,	1815.
Athenæum (selections from foreign magazines)	,,	1816
Massachusetts Agricultural Repository and Journal	,,	1816
The Christian Disciple, Unitarian (every two months).		
The Gospel Advocate, Episcopalian (monthly).		
American Baptist Magazine (monthly).		
The Missionary Herald (continued Panoplist).		

But Mrs. Hannah Foster's "Novel, founded on fact," entitled *The Coquette; Or the History of Eliza Wharton*, published originally in 1797, ran through half-a-dozen editions, continuing for a generation to move the sympathy of tender readers by its vapid and high-flown sentiment, and is still attainable.

Eight volumes of the *Massachusetts Magazine*, running over as many years, brought it to the end of its career. Its work was taken up, though in a somewhat different spirit and style, a few years later, by an association of literary gentlemen calling themselves the Anthology Club,[1] who in 1804 assumed the conduct of the *Monthly Anthology, or Magazine of Polite Literature*, of which the first number had been issued in the preceding November. Of this little club of active-minded young men, — a modest centre of literary radiance in the little town, — and of the periodical which it sustained with a worthy pertinacity for eight years, the memory is surely worth preserving. One of its members, William Tudor, has left us an account of it, of which so much as space will allow shall be here transcribed. Its founder was the Rev. William Emerson, who became the editor of the *Anthology* after six numbers had been issued by his predecessor, Mr. Phinehas Adams, and "who induced two or three gentlemen to join with him in the care of the work, and laid the foundation of the Anthology Club."

"The club was regularly organized, and governed by certain rules; the number of resident members varied from seven or eight to fifteen or sixteen; there were a few honorary members in other towns or states, who occasionally contributed to its pages. It was one of the rules that every member should write for the work; the contributions were in some cases voluntary, in others were assigned by vote, which was the usual practice in regard to reviews. . . . Nothing was published without the consent of the society. . . .

"The following gentlemen were members of the club, some of them for a short time only, the rest during the greater part of its existence: Rev. Drs. Gardiner, McKean, Kirkland; Rev. Messrs. Emerson, Buckminster, S. C. Thacher, and Tuckerman; Drs. Jackson, Warren, Gorham, and Bigelow; Messrs. W. S. Shaw, P. Thacher, W. Tudor, A. M. Walter, E. J. Dana, William Wells, R. H. Gardiner, B. Wells, James Savage, J. Feild, Professor Willard, Winthrop Sargent, J. Stickney, Alexander H. Everett, J. Head, Jr., George Ticknor.[2]

"The club met once a week, in the evening; and, after deciding on the manuscripts that were offered, partook of a plain supper, and enjoyed the full pleasure of literary chat. . . . The meetings were often prolonged into the middle watch, and the member who went away too soon was a subject of pity. It is observed in the records of one evening: 'Mr. ——, as usual, went away early, on which Mr. —— remarked that he was like Mercutio, always killed in the second act.' The concluding minutes of another evening are: 'The society broke up (*credite posteri*) before eleven o'clock.' . . . The pages of the *Anthology* were very unequal, but . . . the work undoubtedly

[1] [The records of the Anthology Club, 1805–11, are in the cabinet of the Historical Society. See Lee's *Lives of the Buckminsters*, 128, 323, 407. — Ed.]

[2] Many other names, since widely known, added brilliancy to the pages of the *Anthology*. W. E. Channing, then in the first year of his pastorate at Federal Street, had a paper in the first number, on "Ambition." Andrews Norton was a frequent writer; Nathaniel Bowditch, John Quincy Adams, R. H. Dana, were occasional contributors.

rendered service to our literature and aided the diffusion of good taste in the community. It was one of the first efforts of regular criticism on American books, and it suffered few productions of the day to escape its notice."[1] . . .

But the publication of their magazine, which was discontinued at the end of its tenth year, in 1811, was by no means the greatest service which the members of this little club were able to render to the community in which it flourished.[2] It was proposed among them to form an Anthology Reading-room and Library. The plan was taken up with spirit; several of the members made generous gifts of books; and the enterprise, once set on its feet, commended itself so strongly to the friends of letters outside the club, that a subscription of money was obtained which assured its immediate success. This was the origin of the Boston Athenæum, — a private institution sustained and fostered by private benefactions, but conducted from the first with an enlightened liberality which has placed it among the most important and useful educational institutions of the city.[3]

The *Anthology*, in its turn, expired; and around the pleasant board of the little club (if, indeed, the club survived its parent) other questions exercised the minds of its members than the composition of the next number of the magazine. It had, however, served a good purpose, and the literary taste of its members was now free to employ itself in other fields. An opportunity was not long in arriving. Mr. Tudor, whose reminiscences of the *Anthology* I have just quoted, confident that there was by this time enough of literary skill in the community to warrant such an undertaking, began in May, 1815, the publication of the *North American Review and Miscellaneous Journal*. "It was originally intended," says Mr. Tudor, "to combine the properties of a magazine and a review, and was issued every two months. It continued in this manner until 1818, when it was changed to a quarterly publication. . . . My motives in this publication were not wholly selfish. I thought such a work would be of public utility, and that there was talent enough in this vicinity to give it ample support. I began it without sufficient arrangement for aid from others, and was, in consequence, obliged to write more myself than was suitable for a work of this description, which requires a variety of style, and much more elaborate investigation of the subjects discussed than any one person can possibly give. I was, however, occasionally assisted by some of the ablest writers we possess."[4]

The confidence of Mr. Tudor was more than justified by the result. Under a succession of editors, — of whom Willard Phillips, Edward T.

[1] *Miscellanies*, by the author of "Letters on the Eastern States." Boston: 1821.

[2] Josiah Quincy said of this club, with most or all of whose members he was more or less intimately acquainted: "Its labors may be considered as a true revival of polite learning in this country, after that decay and neglect which resulted from the distractions of the Revolutionary War, and as forming an epoch in the intellectual history of the United States." — *History of the Boston Athenæum*.

[3] [See the Chapter on "Libraries" in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[4] Of the first four volumes, three quarters are known to be wholly from his pen. Quincy's *Boston Athenæum*, app. p. 59.

Channing, Edward Everett, and Jared Sparks were the earliest followers of its originator, — the *North American Review* maintained its place for more than fifty years at the head of the periodical literature of the country. In the range of subjects treated, in the ability and learning brought to the discussion of them, in the soundness and justness of its criticisms on the current literature of the day, in the general temperance, right-mindedness, and consistency of its tone, it established a standard of literary performance of which it is not easy to measure the influence, but which we shall not be likely to value too highly. Among its writers may be found the name of almost every man who has ennobled the literature or the statesmanship of Massachusetts. John Adams, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, and A. H. Everett were among the contributors of the first three years. Bancroft, Palfrey, Prescott, among historians; Bryant, Longfellow, Dana, Emerson, among poets; Norton, Sparks, Ticknor, Parsons, Story, Savage, among scholars; Jacob Bigelow, Bowditch, Peirce, Gray, among men of science, — such were the names which in the early history of the *North American*, before the rapid multiplication of books had begun, upheld in its pages the cause of sound letters, and answered conclusively the question as to the possibility of a national literature in America. The day of quarterlies has passed; the pace of the world of letters, as of the world of business, has grown too rapid to comport with their deliberate and long-drawn articles, and their long intervals of torpor, during which a book may almost be said to be made, read, and forgotten. The habits of these later days require reviews to be prompt, frequent, compact, open to all comers, making less account of dignity than of point, and less of consistency than of a nimble wit. We shall be fortunate if the light-armed successors of the *North American* are able to hold their ground with so much tenacity, and to give, after half a century of work, so good an account of themselves.

The three periodicals I have noticed are interesting as showing the steady rise of the taste and capacity for letters in Boston in the early years of the century, and the gradual formation of a literary class, — small indeed in numbers, and limited in scope and strength, and wholly imitative of English models; but exhibiting, year by year, a firmer confidence, a steadier grasp of subject, a more independent spirit in criticism, and a hopeful impatience of their own limitations. A very small proportion of this class were able to command sufficient leisure for extended literary work; the hospitable pages of the magazine or review offered them an opportunity for literary recreation of which they were not slow in availing themselves.[1]

The number of books by native authors, published at this period, is

[1] Judge Story, writing in 1819 to Sir William Scott, describes with emphasis this condition of American life: —

"So great is the call for talents of all sorts in the active pursuit of professional and other business in America, that few of our ablest men have leisure to devote exclusively to literature or the fine arts, or to composition or abstract science. This obvious reason . . . will explain why we have few professional authors, and these not among our ablest men." And in the same letter, speaking of having forwarded to his correspond-

very small. The publishers, of whom at the opening of the century there were already a half-dozen in the city, showed a commendable enterprise in the reprinting of the English classics. The monthly lists of the *Anthology* include the names of Shakespeare,[1] Pope, Goldsmith, Scott, Southey, Burke, Adam Smith, Boswell's Johnson, Bacon, Bunyan, Campbell, Paley, Hume, and perhaps others. But except in one department there is but a scanty sprinkling of American writers. That exception consists in the sermons which were poured forth in portentous numbers, without ceasing, — sermons and replies to sermons; orations, addresses, and sermons again. These were the mists of the dawn, through which the promise of the day was not undiscernible.[2]

Even before the beginning of the present century works of more than transient interest and value began to make their appearance at intervals, and examples of sustained literary labor are not wholly wanting. Jeremy Belknap's comprehensive *History of New Hampshire*, published between the years 1784 and 1792, — of which the first volume was issued at Philadelphia and the other two at Boston, and which, far from limiting itself to the bare recital of historical incidents, treated broadly of the physical geography and the natural history of the State and of the social condition of its people, — was a work of real and substantial value, and was separated from all previous American histories — as of Hubbard, Hutchinson, Prince, Mather, and lesser writers[3] — by a mental revolution not less marked and decisive than the political revolution of which it was largely the result. The Puritan tone has disappeared, and if the modern philosophic note has not been struck, its hour is visibly at hand. In 1794, Dr. Belknap began in his *American Biography* the publication of a collection of short biographical memoirs "of those persons who have been distinguished in America as adventurers, statesmen, philosophers, divines, warriors, authors, and other remarkable characters, comprehending a recital of the events connected with their lives and actions." Beginning with the earliest explorers and continuing with the English settlers of Virginia and New England, the work was interrupted by the author's too early death before the appearance of the second volume.

ent some numbers of a "review published in Boston," presumably the *North American*, he says: "The review is edited by gentlemen young in life, engaged in active business, and who have scarcely a moment of leisure to devote to these pursuits. The labor, too, is voluntary, and without profit to themselves." — Story's *Life and Letters*, i. 320.

[1] [See a note to Mr. Clapp's chapter on "The Drama," in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] As early as 1786, an enthusiastic writer in the *Centinel* had discovered that the sun was even then risen. "This," he exclaims, "is certainly the age of American literature. The original performances which have lately appeared in the United States are such as must excite very pleasant emotions in every philanthropick breast. The memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences do great honour to the gentlemen who compose it, and to the taste of our country. 'The Conquest of Canaan,' by Mr. Dwight; 'McFingal,' supposed by Mr. Trumbull; the tragedy of 'The Patriot Chief;' the poems of Arouet; and a collection of twenty-four poems just published in the Southern States, — are instances which prove the prophetick inspiration of the Bishop of Cloane to be other than Utopian, who, sixty years since, speaking of America, said: —

> "'There shall be sung another golden age,
> The rise of Empire and of Arts,
> The good and great inspiring epick rage
> The wisest heads and noblest hearts.'"

[3] [See Vol. II. — Ed.]

Miss Hannah Adams is perhaps the earliest instance in our history of a woman who deliberately devoted herself to a life of literary study and production. Her *View of Religions* was published as early as 1784, and met with great success. Her *Summary History of New England* appeared in 1799, after prolonged research rendered difficult and painful by an impaired eyesight, which did not, however, prevent her from undertaking a still more laborious project, the *History of the Jews*. Her *History of New England* was afterward published in an abridged form for the use of schools, — an enterprise which finally involved the good lady in a controversy of prodigious length and growing exasperation with the Rev. Jedediah Morse, who after publishing his *American Geography* and his *Gazetteer* composed in his turn a *Compendious History of New England*, also for the use of schools, which Miss Adams maintained to be an infringement upon her own abridgement. The quarrel enlisted a great number of disputants, and extended with more or less vivacity over a period of ten years. Nathaniel Bowditch issued, in 1800, his *Practical Navigator*, and was perhaps even then consciously preparing himself for the great work which was to make his name as famous in Europe as in America.[1] Dr. Abiel Holmes had published, in 1798, his *Biography of President Stiles*. In 1805 he published his *American Annals*, a work which, admirable as it is in comprehensiveness, accuracy, clearness, and compactness of statement, is singular in the strictness of its abstinence from so much as a comment on the events recorded. These are annals only, but very full and complete annals of all that was known eighty years ago concerning the history of the American continent from its discovery by Columbus to the time at which the book was written.[2]

Mrs. Mercy Warren's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the American Revolution* was published in the same year with Dr. Holmes's work, to which it forms a striking contrast. Mrs. Warren's book, published in her seventy-seventh year, though written some years earlier, is a record of recent events of the most exciting character, in which the writer had the most personal interest, and with many of the actors in which she had an intimate personal acquaintance. The pages glow with a woman's enthusiasm, admiration, indignation, and triumph, and are enlivened by the animation, vigor, and wit which had made their author one of the most interesting and most influential of the women of the Revolutionary era.[3]

In 1803 Thaddeus Mason Harris,[4] — a man who possessed the true literary spirit, who was one of the earliest members of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and who had held from 1791 to 1793 the office of librarian of

[1] [See Professor Lovering's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] Jared Sparks, in a review of the second edition, published in 1826, says of this work: "It is the best repository of historical, biographical, and chronological knowledge respecting America that can be found embodied in any one work."

[3] [See Mrs. Cheney's chapter in Vol. IV. John Adams took exception to Mrs. Warren's account of him in this book, sometimes with justice, but too often with an ill-concealed and offensive temper; and his correspondence with her is printed in 5 *Mass. Hist. Coll.* iv. — Ed.]

[4] [See portrait and note in the chapter on "Dorchester," in this volume. — Ed.]

Harvard College, — published a compilation of general information called *The Minor Encyclopædia*, in four small volumes; which served a useful purpose as a substitute for the more voluminous *Cyclopædia* of Rees, then the standard work of its class, and which remained in general use a generation later. In 1805 Mr. Harris published a volume on a topic, then untouched: *A Journal of a Tour into the Territory Northwest of the Alleghany Mountains: Including a geographical and historical account of the State of Ohio.*

The letters of John Adams, which had been printed in the *Boston Patriot*, were collected and published in a volume in 1809; and in the same year the works of Fisher Ames,[1] who had died the year before, were published with a brief memoir. This volume was the subject of a cordial review in the *Anthology*, by Josiah Quincy.

The biographical dictionaries of Dr. John Eliot and William Allen were published, as it happened, almost simultaneously in 1809. The former work was limited in its scope to "a brief account of the first settlers and other eminent characters among the magistrates, ministers, literary and worthy men in New England." Mr. Allen's dictionary was more general, bringing his biographies down to the time at which he wrote, and including a concise history of the thirteen colonies. During the next year Dr. Trumbull's *General History of the United States* appeared, — the last of the histories written in the rigid Puritan temper, with the faith in special providences to a chosen people still unshaken.

The *Lectures on Rhetoric and Oratory* of John Quincy Adams, delivered to the students of Harvard College during his brief professorship, and which became widely celebrated as examples of the art of which they treated, were published in two large volumes in 1810. In the same year appeared Isaiah Thomas's not less celebrated *History of Printing*. Thomas, long a prosperous printer in Worcester, established himself in 1788 in Boston with Ebenezer T. Andrews, where the business increased so rapidly that in a few years they had established branch houses in Baltimore, Albany, and perhaps one or two other cities. They were the publishers of the *Massachusetts Magazine*. In the publication of school-books they acquired something like a monopoly, and most of those used throughout the United States for a generation bore the familiar imprint of Thomas & Andrews. Of the *History of Printing*, the constant references to it in the chapters of this work[2] which treat of the Press and Literature of the earlier periods are sufficient evidence of the value and interest. Thomas was an enlightened and liberal-minded man, and his love and appreciation of good literature are abundantly exhibited in all that we know of his honorable and successful career. He was one of the most active of the founders of the American Antiquarian Society in 1812; was president of the society till his death in 1831, and

J. Q. Adams.

[1] [See note to Mr. Lodge's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

[2] [See Vol. II. p. 410, for Thomas's portrait. — Ed.]

endowed it by his will, bequeathing to it his valuable library and a building for its use.

If we look through these early years for works of imagination, whether of poetry or prose fiction, we shall find little to cheer us. Fiction is long represented by Mrs. Susannah Rowson, prominent during the first twenty years of this century as a successful teacher of young ladies in Boston and Medford, as she had been prominent at an earlier age as a sprightly and graceful actress. She was the editor of the *Boston Weekly Magazine*, a periodical in quarto form, published by Samuel Gilbert and Thomas Dean, and which had an existence of three years. For this magazine Mrs. Rowson wrote a serial story, running through thirty-three numbers, called "Sincerity," and published in 1813 in book form, by Charles Williams, under the new title of *Sarah, the Exemplary Wife*. *Charlotte Temple* and *Reuben and Rachel* were novels of which perhaps the most that can be said is that they were the best produced as yet on these shores; yet of the former Buckingham says twenty-five thousand copies were sold in a few years.

As to poetry, — Joseph Story,[1] then twenty-five years old, printed in 1804[2] a poem in heroic metre, entitled the *Power of Solitude*, with some fugitive verses added; but I have seen it stated that at a maturer age he burned all the copies he could get possession of. The only other poetical publication I know of, belonging to these early years, is a thin volume which appeared in 1808, called *The Embargo, or Sketches of the Times*, — a ferocious attack on the administration of Jefferson and the statesmen connected with it. This was the singular beginning of the poetical life of William Cullen Byrant. He was but fourteen years old when this little poem was published; and the second edition of it, issued the next year, contained a note from his father, drawn from him by some doubts which had been expressed as to the age of the author, and certifying that the poem was written before his son had completed his fourteenth year.

As regards the production of literary works, the century since the close of the Revolutionary War divides itself naturally enough into four periods, not very unequal in point of time, — the first extending to the establishment of the *North American Review;* the second ending with the first publication of the *Dial*, in 1840; the third with the breaking out of the Rebellion. Of the first period we have already made a review which, however hasty and superficial, is sufficient to show that, along with a lamentable but not unnatural poverty of literary resources, there existed the material for rapid and substantial improvement in the future. We shall see, as we go on, how steady was the growth of the literary spirit as the complement of the national growth in wealth and material consequence.

Taking, then, the establishment of the *North American Review* as the beginning of our second period, it is evident that at that time there

[1] [See his portrait and references in Mr. Morse's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[2] The same year in which he published his first legal work, *Pleadings in Civil Actions.*

existed no general literary culture outside the small circles of educated and well-to-do persons like that from which this *Review* and its forerunner, the *Anthology*, had sprung. It was to these circles that the publishers commended the slender editions of the foreign and domestic authors which they ventured to send forth. Dwellers in the country, and to a large extent dwellers in the city as well, were content to depend on the semi-weekly newspaper, with its poor little budget of news, its borrowed fragment of tale or essay, and its bit of watery poetry in the corner of the last page. A copy of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, or the *Saints' Rest*, might not improbably find its place with the family Bible on the table of the best room, and a well used copy of the spelling-book or *Farmer's Almanack* lay more ready to hand in the family living-room or kitchen. Of the limited extent to which the diffusion of wholesome literature had proceeded, we have an illustration in the works which were from time to time compiled, to serve as reading-books in the schools. Of these books, the most successful and widely used at the time we are considering were perhaps the two published by Caleb Bingham, — the *American Preceptor*, of which the first edition was published in 1794, and the *Columbian Orator*, which followed two years later. Successive editions of both these works were issued, and for a full generation they continued in general use in the district schools of New England. Of the two, the *Columbian Orator* was perhaps the more popular, and held its place the longer. It contained, in the words of the title-page, "a variety of original and selected pieces, together with rules calculated to improve youth and others in the ornamental and useful art of eloquence." It was a forbidding and gloomy compilation. Of eighty pieces here brought together, four were on the Day of Judgment; thirteen were fragments of speeches in Parliament, on topics which had for the most part long lost their interest for American readers. Speeches in Congress, speeches to the Roman Senate and people, civic and academic orations on the greatness of the United States, on the power of eloquence, on the glory of independence, furnished another large proportion of the whole. There were thirteen poetical extracts from such sources as the *David and Goliath* or the *Moses in the Bulrushes* of the excellent Hannah More, from Addison's *Cato*, from Rowe's *Tamerlane*. To all this dismal entertainment the only relief was a scene from a farce of Garrick, and a bit of Miss Burney's *Camilla*, turned into a dialogue. Nothing illustrates more forcibly the forlorn condition of mind in which our forefathers walked through this vale of tears than such a collection of their children's school-pieces.[1] From the *Columbian Orator* of Caleb Bingham to the *American First-Class Book* of John Pierpont is but a few years in time; but what an advance in breadth and capacity of understanding! The amelioration in the mental and spiritual condition of the people

[1] A venerable lady has told me with a remembrance half amused, half painful, of having, as the eldest child of the family, and the most proficient in her studies at the district school, been called by her grandmother, on the occasion of the minister's visit at the house, to stand up and read to him from the *Columbian Orator* the fragment beginning, "Let us endeavor to realize the majesty and terror of the universal alarm on the final judgment day," etc.

is now proceeding at an accelerated rate. Many causes can be seen to have worked together in producing this change, — the rapid decline of the Puritan spirit, and the emancipation of the people from the theological straight-jacket which had cramped and stifled them so long; the improvement in their material condition; the leaven of the neighboring university; the increased ease of communication between town and country; the more abundant distribution of the reprints of English books which were now rapidly multiplying.

An Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology, by Professor Parker Cleaveland of Bowdoin College, published in 1817, was a work of great scientific value, which brought its author at once into intimate relations and correspondence with Davy, Brewster, Cuvier, and many other eminent men of science in England and on the Continent, where he was at once made a member of no less than sixteen learned societies.[1]

Dr. Jacob Bigelow's *Florula Bostoniensis* belongs properly to the first of our periods, the first edition having been published in 1814. His second work, *American Medical Botany*, — a collection of the native medical plants of the United States, with their properties and uses in medicine, diet, and the arts, — was published in 1819–20, in three volumes, and was everywhere recognized as a work of great practical as well as scientific value.

The writings of Alexander H. Everett, which began to appear about this time, are of two quite distinct kinds, corresponding with the two distinct lines of life which he followed alternately. Mr. Everett was Minister of the United States, successively at the Hague and at Madrid, at a period when the relations of the European powers among each other were in a very uncertain state. While occupying the former position he wrote an essay, which was published at London and Boston in 1821, entitled *Europe, a General Survey of the Political Situation of the Principal Powers*, etc., in which he took a somewhat optimistic view of the prospects of European politics, which appears, curiously enough, to be based chiefly on what he expected from Russia. This work was translated into French, German, and Spanish, and was followed in 1827 by a work of similar character, on the situation and prospects of America; in which the author states with force the fortunate conditions attending the growth and development of the United States, and answers, without exaggeration or excess of pride, the cavils of unfriendly foreign critics. Upon Mr. Everett's return to Boston in 1829, he became the editor of the *North American Review*, and one of its most constant writers upon purely literary topics. Two volumes of his *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, including some poems, were published in 1845.

In 1824 the *North American* welcomed an efficient coadjutor in the *Christian Examiner*. The *Examiner* took up the work of the *Christian*

[1] A second edition of his work was called for in 1822, and another in 1836, — a longevity remarkable in a treatise on a natural science in which so many discoveries have since been made and so many new theories promulgated. [See Professor Lovering's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

Disciple, a monthly Unitarian Magazine, begun in 1813 under the charge of Dr. Noah Worcester, and continued later in the hands of the Rev. Henry Ware, Jr. The *Examiner* was at first edited by John G. Palfrey, and was long remarkable among the denominational journals for the high literary character of its articles, in which the theological bias was not allowed to stand in the way of sound philosophic discussion of topics quite distinct from all theologic connection. It was in the first year of the *Examiner* that the literary ability of Channing was first brought to the general notice, by his articles on Milton, Napoleon, and Fénelon. The Unitarian denomination was young, fresh, vigorous, and had, through much hard fighting, made good its claim to a place among the Christian sects of the day. The enthusiasm of the contest was not yet cooled, and the foremost men among the denomination (young men almost without exception) believed its mission was to be accomplished by work.[1] Channing, in an article on "National Literature," printed in the seventh volume of the *Examiner*, explained the Unitarian idea of the connection of sound literature with a sound theology in these most explicit words: "Our chief hopes of an improved literature rest on our hopes of an improved religion. From the prevalent theology which has come down to us from the dark ages we can hope nothing. It has done its best. All that can grow up under its sad shade has been already brought forth. True faith is of another lineage." On the other hand the *Missionary Herald*, successor of the *Panoplist*, the earliest sectarian magazine established in Boston, sustained with vigor the cause of the declining ancient faith; but it sustained that cause with theologic weapons exclusively. Into the domain of pure literature its champions did not enter. The faith of Channing was justified; and from that early day to the present the literature of this country has been the work of men to whom the old New England theology was but a tradition.[2]

About 1825 an increase of productiveness is apparent, though the increase was not immediately sustained. In this year first appeared, in its complete form, the *History of New England*, by John Winthrop, of which a portion, comprising all that was then known to be in existence, had been printed in 1790, at Hartford, under the auspices of Governor Trumbull. In the spring of 1816 the missing volume of Winthrop's manuscript was accidentally discovered in the tower of the Old South Meeting-house, and placed in the keeping of the Massachusetts Historical Society, which at once took measures looking to its publication. A somewhat serious difficulty stood in the way of this enterprise. The handwriting of the first governor was as hieroglyphics to his successors. But "the labor we delight in physics pain." James Savage gladly undertook the work of deciphering the manuscript and preparing it for the press;[3] and, after many delays and

[1] "In beginning the publication of the *Christian Disciple*, five years ago, we announced our intention to use it in defence of controverted religious truth." — Preface to first number of the *Christian Examiner*, 1824.

[2] [See Mr. Bradford's chapter on "Philosophic Thought in Boston," in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

[3] "The difficulty of transcribing it for the press seemed to appall several of the most competent members. The task appeared inviting to

accidents, the entire diary was worthily published by him in 1825, with abundant notes.

Jared Sparks, who had become for a second time the editor of the *North American Review* in 1822, began, shortly after, his laborious researches among the state papers at Washington and in the capitals of all the original States of the Union, with a view of publishing a collection, as nearly complete as possible, of the writings of Washington. The papers at Mount Vernon were put into his hands; and in 1828 he obtained, by the friendly influence of members of the British Cabinet and of Lafayette, permission to transcribe such documents as he might find of use in the state-paper offices of London and Paris. The publication of this work, which extended to twelve volumes, covered the years from 1834 to 1837. Its success was immediate and gratifying.[1] This was but the beginning of an imposing series of compilations, involving prolonged and tedious if not difficult research, requiring the exercise of judgment in the selection and skill in the arrangement of voluminous material which would have appalled at the outset all but the stoutest of literary workers. In 1829 Mr. Sparks brought out the *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*, also in twelve volumes octavo, of which the material was derived mostly from the archives of the State Department at Washington, though the foreign offices furnished as before a considerable portion. From 1835 to 1840 he published a collection of the *Works of Franklin* with a memoir of his life, taken up where the autobiography stopped. In addition to these labors he wrote and published, in 1832, a *Biography of Gouverneur Morris*; he originated the *American Almanac*, of which, in 1830, he edited the first volume; he projected and carried out a *Library of American Biography*, of which one series, covering the years from 1835 to 1839 and comprising ten 12mo volumes, was so successful that another series was begun at once, which extended to fifteen volumes, of which the last was published in 1846. Of the sixty brief biographies included in these twenty-five volumes, eight were written by Mr. Sparks. Perhaps no other American writer has added so great a mass of valuable matter to the libraries of his country. His work, if not brilliant, is enduring; and all laborers in the field of American history and biography will owe to his patient and long-continued labors their own comparative exemption from the drudgery of research.[2]

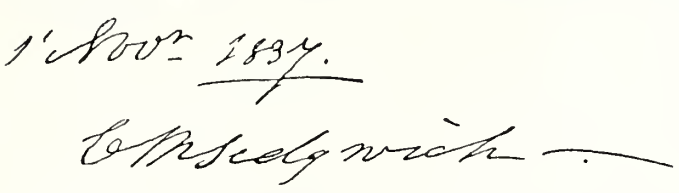
In a lighter walk of literature, also, a greater activity is observable. Miss Catherine Sedgwick's stories were among the first works of fiction which can be said to possess any considerable merit. *A New England Tale*, published anonymously, appeared in 1822. It was followed, two years

me."— Savage's preface. [See Vol. I. p. xvii. 109, 463. — Ed.]

[1] A selection of the letters was published in Paris by Guizot; and at Leipsic, Von Raumer published a translation of the entire work.

[2] [The library of Mr. Sparks, rich in works on American history, is now in Cornell University, except his manuscript collections which are in Harvard College Library. A catalogue of it, prepared by C. A. Cutter, has been printed.— Ed.]

later, by *Redwood*, which achieved great popularity both at home and abroad, being reprinted in England and translated into French, German, Italian, and Swedish. Within the next eleven years Miss Sedgwick produced *Hope Leslie*, *Clarence*, *Le Bossu*, *The Linwoods*, and a series of children's books. They are for the most part placid stories of New England country life, with vivacity enough to retain a gentle hold on the attention, and with a refinement and grace of style which carry the reader not unwillingly over the long descriptive or reflective passages, during which the action of the story comes to a halt.



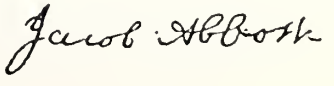
The first stories of Lydia Maria Child followed close upon those of Miss Sedgwick, which in their chief characteristics they much resemble. *Hobomok*, an Indian novel, appeared in 1824, and *The Rebels* the next year. But Mrs. Child's extraordinary versatility and untiring industry would not let her be content with a single line of work. She set on foot in 1826 a children's magazine called the the *Juvenile Miscellany*, of which she remained for eight years the editor, writing for it such stories as children enjoy and profit by at once, — short, lively, picturesque in character and incident, and with a moral not too obtrusive. She was at the same time the editor of a collection of biographies called the *Ladies' Family Library*, for which she wrote the lives of Madame de Stael and Madame Roland, of Lady Rachel Russell and Madame Guyon, *Biographies of Good Wives*, and the *History of the Condition of Women in All Ages* in two volumes. *The Mothers' Book*, *The Girl's Book*, and the *Frugal Housewife*, are works of which the character is indicated by their titles. A genial good sense, and practical, convincing wisdom, gave both charm and influence to these simple lessons in the essentials of home life, not less needed by the present generation than by that for which they were written. But the books thus enumerated, various as they are, were far from exhausting the lines in which Mrs. Child's activity found its exercise. She was an ardent reformer. Her compact and vigorous *Appeal for that class of Americans called Africans*, published in 1833, was one of the earliest books to help on the Antislavery movement, which was then beginning to acquire momentum; and her noble enthusiasm in this cause never flagged to the end of her long life.[1] In 1841 she became, with her husband, an editor of the *National Antislavery Standard*, published in New York, to which city they had lately removed. Twenty years later, when John Brown lay under sentence of death in Charlestown (Va.) jail, Mrs. Child sent him a letter of sympathy which involved her in a correspondence with Governor Wise and Mr. Mason, of Virginia.

[1] [See Dr. James Freeman Clarke's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

This correspondence was published in a pamphlet, of which three hundred thousand copies were circulated,[1] — a striking illustration of the excited state of public feeling at that crisis. The "Letters from New York," contributed at short intervals to the *Boston Courier*, in 1841–42, probably did more for the immediate popularity of Mrs. Child than any of her more laborious works. Depicting with rare tenderness and observation, and with a lively and graceful style, the thousand contrasted aspects of human life in a great city, the letters were greatly admired and copied into newspapers all over the country. They were afterward collected and published in two volumes. Her last important work, the most ambitious of all her undertakings, was issued in 1855, in three volumes, with the title, *The Progress of Religious Ideas*.

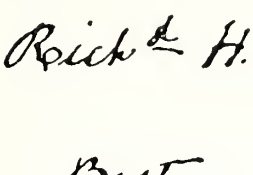
Two remarkable series of books for children were commenced nearly simultaneously in 1825; the one by S. G. Goodrich, afterwards much more widely known by the *pseudonym* of Peter Parley, attached to his first books. Mr. Goodrich was a Boston publisher, and began in 1828 an illustrated annual called the *Token*, which was continued until 1842. Mr. Goodrich was the chief contributor, but was assisted with an occasional paper from other hands, among whom was Nathaniel Hawthorne, then quite unknown to fame. Many of the *Twice Told Tales* appeared in the *Token*, where they attracted little or no attention, and where, but for the splendor of his greater works, they would have doubtless remained decently interred. The books of Peter Parley are upon all imaginable subjects within the comprehension of children, from the elementary arithmetic and geography of the primary school, to travels, biography, natural history, astronomy, and political economy, and the young reader has his choice of subjects. Mr. Goodrich's own count of the number of his published works runs up to one hundred and seventy, of which one hundred and sixteen were issued under the name of Peter Parley. "Of all these, about seven millions of volumes have been sold. About three hundred thousand volumes are now sold annually."[2]

The works of Jacob Abbot are not less voluminous than those of Mr. Goodrich. The *Young Christian* series of books for boys, issued in 1825, comprises four volumes. The *Rollo Books*, begun in 1830, extended to twenty-four volumes. Later came the *Mareo Paul Series* and the *Franconia Stories;* the one of six volumes, the other of ten. Then followed a long succession of illustrated histories, ancient and modern; then more story books, twelve series; and finally a course of *Science for the Young*, treating, in separate volumes, of Light, Heat, Electricity, Water, Land, etc. Very many of these books are even now in active circulation, and are as much admired by the boys and girls of to-day as they were by their grandfathers and grandmothers fifty years ago.

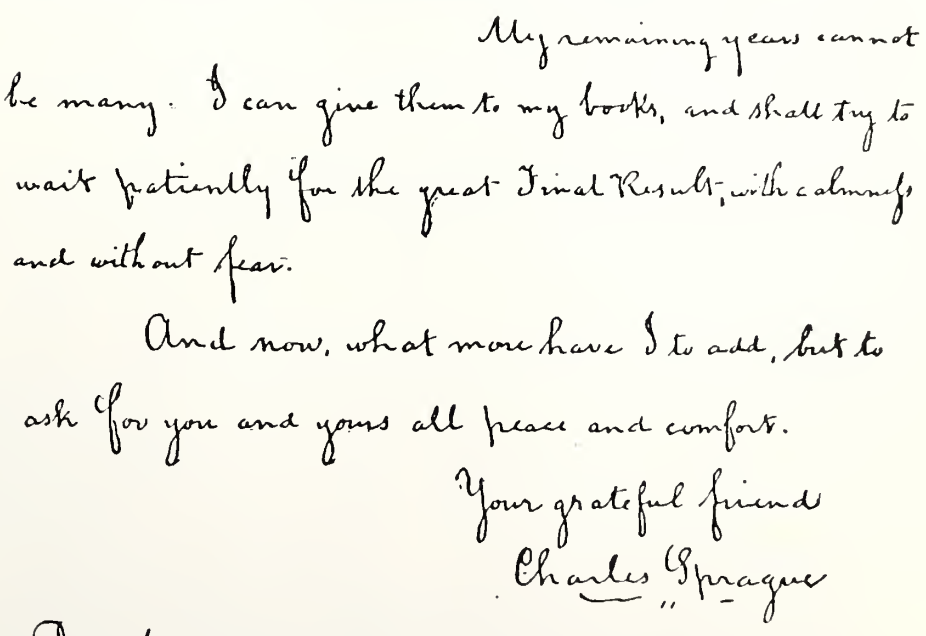


[1] *New American Cyclopædia.* [2] Goodrich's *Recollections of a Lifetime*, 1856.

Of poetry, the production during the second period was very slender in quantity. There was, however, now and then something in that direction worth considering. "Going into town one day," writes Richard H. Dana, "while assisting E. T. Channing in the *North American Review*, he read to me a couple of pieces of poetry which had just been sent to the *Review*,— the 'Thanatopsis' and the 'Inscription for the Entrance to a Wood.' While Channing was reading one of them I broke out, saying, 'That was never written on this side the water;' and naturally enough, considering what American poetry had been up to that moment."



It was ten years after these early poems of Bryant were published before Dana (who had contributed some slighter pieces to the *New York Review*) published, in 1827, *The Buccaneer, and other small poems*. In 1833 he issued a larger volume, which included some later poems and the papers written many years before for *The Idle Man*. In the same year Longfellow has published his first modest volume, the grave and tender translation of the *Coplas de Manrique*. Whittier, editor of a small newspaper in Hart-



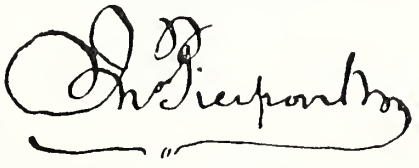
AUTOGRAPH OF CHARLES SPRAGUE.[1]

[1] [An extract from his "Centennial Ode" is given in *fac-simile* in Vol. I., p. 246. For Mr. Waterston's notice of Charles Sprague, see *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.*, February, 1875, p. 427. The present fac-simile is from a letter lent by his son, Mr. C. J. Sprague. — ED.]

ford, has printed two years before his *Legends of New England*, and in 1836 will publish *Mogg Megone*. In the latter year Holmes's first volume will appear. There is even a moment when it seems possible that an ex-president may devote to the service of poetry the powers which have raised him to the heights of statesmanship. In 1832 there appears a poem, in heroic verse, entitled *Dermot McMorrogh; Or the Conquest of Ireland*, — an historical tale in four cantos, by John Quincy Adams, which owed its existence to the author's admiration for Byron's *Don Juan*, and which, as his son suggests, "would probably have met with a better reception from the public had the expectation been less high, and its model not have overshadowed it altogether."

Charles Sprague, whose occasional poems, — notably the *Shakespeare Ode*, written for the festival at the Boston Theatre, in 1823, the *Ode for the Centennial Celebration of Boston*, in 1830, and the Phi Beta Kappa poem on *Curiosity*, — had struck a note of grace unusual in productions of that character, was also the author of many minor poems in which the tenderness and purity of thought were matched by the grace and felicity of expression.

Of the poetry of John Pierpont, the greater portion perhaps consists of occasional verses for the dedication of churches, for the ordinations of ministers, for the meetings of temperance societies, for anniversary celebrations, for the laying of corner-stones, and the like, — fugitive verses, of which the interest passed away with the occasions which called them forth. Another considerable portion consists of patriotic and political pieces which blaze with the ardent spirit of the reformer, much as those of Whittier did, twenty years later. There are, however, a small number of poems of a wholly different and superior order, — poems filled with a soft and tender fancy, like the "Passing Away," or with grave and lofty reflection, like "The Exile at Rest," — which indicated a poetic gift which would doubtless have borne more abundant fruit but for the pressure of the stormy times on which it fell.



A new magazine was established in 1831. Mr. Edwin Buckingham, son of the renowned editor of the *Galaxy* and the *Courier*, — who had served an apprenticeship in the office of the last named paper, during which he had shown a marked aptitude for literary work, and who had afterward been made an assistant-editor of the *Courier*, — ventured, with his father's assistance, to set on foot the *New England Magazine*. At the death of its young projector, two years later, his father became its editor; but finding the double charge of a monthly magazine and a daily newspaper too much even for his vigorous powers, it was sold, in 1834, to Dr. S. G. Howe and John O. Sargent. In a literary point of view the enterprise was a successful one. Since the discontinuance of the *Anthology*, there had been in Boston no vehicle for the lighter forms of periodical writing; except per-

haps the *Galaxy*, which, however, was a newspaper and not a magazine, and which was now extinct. A new generation had grown up since the days of the *Anthology;* and the opportunity furnished by the new monthly for the publication of miscellaneous papers, however varied in subject or style, was not neglected. Mr. Buckingham, in his reminiscences, gives, among the more or less frequent contributors to the *New England Magazine*, the names of Edward Everett, Judge Story, Dr. Holmes, Hillard, Hildreth, Longfellow, Dr. Howe, and Miss H. F. Gould.[1] "One dollar a page," says Buckingham, "was offered for such original communications as might be accepted and published; and this, insignificant as the sum may seem to those whose talents and popularity are in demand at a much higher price, brought communications from almost every State in the Union." In 1835 the magazine was purchased by Park Benjamin, who, the next year, united it with the *American Monthly Magazine*, of New York.

During the years from 1830 to 1840, although the production of literary works of importance was not very considerable, there was an increasing activity of mind which was to bear manifest results in succeeding years. Along-side the growing intellectual cultivation of the people, great social, moral, and political questions began to agitate the public mind, which were to temper and shape the literature of the next generation. The tremendous question of Slavery, feared and hated all over the country, was now rising steadily into prominence. Of the Antislavery movement, Boston was long the centre. Such an element in the national politics was a perpetual stimulus to the best minds of the whole country, but its influence was here especially strong and pervasive. No department of literature escaped it. The total-abstinence movement, the reform of diet, the subject of imprisonment for debt, were topics of less exigency, but which had their share of attention and discussion.[2] The subject of public-school education had been hitherto more a matter of local pride and self-gratulation than of intelligent study. It was now to be discussed in a way which left little to be said but much to be done. In 1837 Horace Mann became Secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education; and in the eleven years during which he held that position he put forth, in place of the formal and complacent reports which the incumbents of similar offices are wont to lay before a satisfied public, a series of formidable documents, which it is safe to say will long remain unexampled in the records of official literature. No conviction was ever

[1] This must have been one of the earliest periodicals to offer compensation to its writers. Mr. Congdon, in his *Reminiscences*, says of literary remuneration: "Fifty years ago, apart from the money paid to preachers and perhaps the writers of school-books, there was no such thing. I should be surprised to find that Bryant received any money whatever for 'Thanatopsis,' which was published in the *North American Review* for 1817. Out of Boston in 1820 I question if any Massachusetts editor received so much as $500 a year, for most writing in newspapers was done by lawyers and other men of education, as a matter of love or political fealty. The first magazines paid nobody; and much later there were respectable periodicals which never ran the risk of hurting a young writer's pride by offering him sordid wages. Mr. Willis was the first magazine writer who was tolerably well paid; at one time, about 1832, he was writing four articles monthly for four magazines, and receiving $100 for each" (p. 126).

[2] [See Mr. George P. Bradford's chapter, in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

more firmly rooted in the minds of the people of Massachusetts than that of the excellence of their public school system and the efficiency of its administration. But no system of public administration, however excellent, was ever without abuses. Mann spent fifteen hours a day in travelling up and down over the State, — making himself acquainted with the schools, the studies pursued in them, the competency of the teachers, and the progress of the scholars; collecting information of the condition and efficiency of about three thousand different public schools and several hundred private schools and academies;[1] and whenever an abuse, whether little or large, fell under his eye, it was proclaimed without reserve and without mercy. But this severity was in the interest of the public whom he served, and was but the logical and necessary outcome of enthusiasm in his work, which alone could have carried him at once through the prodigious labors and the embittered personal controversies in which it involved him. His reports are treatises on almost every subject which bears even remotely on the main topic. In the very first of those reports he thus states the divisions into which the general topic had arranged itself in his mind: 1. The number and condition of school-houses; 2. The manner in which school committeemen discharge their duties; 3. The interest felt by the community in the education of all its children; 4. The competency of teachers. In considering the first of these divisions, he discovered at once that it would carry him far beyond reasonable limits, and he therefore laid it aside and submitted later, as a supplementary report, a careful essay on the planning of school-houses, illustrated with numerous plans. His observations of the incompetency of the teachers in most of the schools, — an incompetency arising in most cases, not so much from inability as from lack of training, — led him to recommend the immediate establishment of normal schools to provide the training needed; a recommendation which was at once carried into effect. His reports were commonly accompanied with letters from scientific or medical experts, sustaining or elaborating some important point upon which he perhaps anticipated objections. Letters from Dr. S. G. Howe, Dr. James Jackson, Dr. S. B. Wood, and others appear in these documents, which are in themselves valuable contributions to the public knowledge in the matters of detail of which they treat. I must not be tempted into even a brief review of the services of this admirable public character; that belongs to another chapter: but any account of the literary achievements of Boston would be ludicrously incomplete which should fail to take account of the intellectual vigor, the mastery of subject, and the terseness and polish of style which distinguish these remarkable reports.[2]

The literature of Germany was now beginning to exert a manifest influence on studious minds in New England. Among the scholars of a generation before, a knowledge of Latin and Greek was far more common than a knowledge of French and German. And long after French became a matter of course, the great German writers remained practically unknown

[1] First *Report*, 1838.

[2] [See Mr. Dillaway's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

on these shores. As early as 1824, indeed, George Bancroft, newly returned from the schools and the scholars of Germany, had published in the *North American Review* translations of the minor poems of Schiller and Goethe. But we find no further indication of interest in this direction until 1831, when a professorship of German language and literature was created at Harvard College. The place was fortunately filled by the appointment of Charles Follen, who, upon assuming the duties of his office, delivered an inaugural address, setting forth the high and varied character of the literature of Germany, as well as its strong claims on the attention of readers in America. During the next year Professor Follen delivered a course of public lectures in Boston on Schiller. In 1833 Andrews Norton and Charles Folsom established the *Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature*, in which papers appeared on Goethe, Fichte, Jean Paul, and Heine. Papers began to appear also, from time to time, in the *Christian Examiner*, by F. H. Hedge, George Ripley, Theodore Parker, and others, on Schiller, Swedenborg, Herder, Strauss, Schelling, and Kant.

Such articles of Carlyle and Coleridge as found their way to this country greatly helped on the growing appreciation of German writers, until it seemed for a time as if the long-cherished English models, upon which the early literature of the country had been exclusively fashioned, were to be superseded by this new and strong Teutonic influence. "What work nobler," said many enthusiastic students in the words of Carlyle, "than transplanting foreign thought into the barren domestic soil?"

It was under such conditions that there grew up in Boston a little coterie of literary persons, not all producers of literature, in whom a lively dissatisfaction with the too practical and unimaginative life of the little New England city, not yet quite emancipated from the joyless traditions of its founders, was mingled with a somewhat indefinite notion of the processes by which the better life might be achieved. They have left plentiful testimony concerning their attitude towards the prevailing conditions, and their desires and hopes of amelioration.

"Transcendentalism," says W. H. Channing, "was an assertion of the inalienable integrity of man, of the immanence of divinity in instinct. On the somewhat stunted stock of Unitarianism, whose characteristic dogma was trust in individual reason as correlative to supreme wisdom, had been grafted German idealism as taught by masters of most different schools, — by Kant and Jacobi, Fichte and Novalis, Schelling and Hegel, Schleiermacher and DeWette; by Madame de Stael, Cousin, Coleridge, and Carlyle; and the result was a vague, yet exalting conception of the godlike nature of the human spirit."[1]

"They see," said Margaret Fuller, "that political freedom does not necessarily produce liberality of mind; nor freedom in church institutions, vital religion. And seeing that these changes cannot be wrought from without inward, they are trying to quicken the soul, that they may work from

[1] *Memoir of Margaret Fuller*, vol. ii. p. 12.

within outward. Disgusted with the vulgarity of a commercial aristocracy, they become radicals; disgusted with the materialistic working of rational religion, they become mystics. They quarrel with all that is, because it is not spiritual enough."

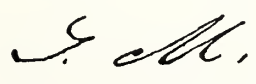
The first public utterances of the new faith were in three remarkable addresses by Ralph Waldo Emerson. Two of these — read, the one before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, in July, 1837; the other a year later, before the literary societies of Dartmouth College — are substantially identical in subject; both treating of the opportunities, the resources, privileges, and duties of the American scholar; summoning, as with the blast of a trumpet, the thinking man of the New World to come out from the empty ways of classic and European tradition, and take his rightful place at the head of the tumultuous army of workers. The scholar must live not alone in the world of books, but in the world of men. "Inaction is cowardice, and there can be no scholar without the heroic mind." He must study and guide the life of to-day, not overvaluing the methods of the past. "Our day of dependence, our long apprenticeship to the learning of other lands, draws to a close. Neither Greece nor Rome, nor the three unities of Aristotle, nor the three kings of Cologne, nor the College of the Sorbonne, nor the *Edinburgh Review*, is to command any longer." He must trust his own intuitions, his own insight. "Let him not quit his belief that a pop-gun is a pop-gun, though the ancient and honorable of the earth affirm it to be the crack of doom!" He must be free and brave. "Fear is a thing which the scholar, by his very function, puts behind him. Fear always springs from ignorance." He must respect himself and his calling, despising alike the praise and the blame of men. "How mean to go blazing, a gaudy butterfly, in fashionable or political saloons, the fool of society, the fool of notoriety, a topic for newspapers, a piece of the street, and forfeiting the real prerogative of the russet coat, the privacy and the true and warm heart of the citizen!" "Fatal to the man of letters, fatal to man, is the lust of display, the seeming that unmakes our being."

This was high teaching, unexampled in quality and force in the literature of college festivals. The third address applied the same principles to the test, not of the scholar, but of the preacher. This was the memorable address to the graduating class of the Divinity School at Cambridge, in the midsummer of 1838, of which the accents still linger in the ears that listened to it. The principles insisted on in the two discourses above spoken of, as necessary to the true scholar, are here insisted on with even loftier eloquence as vital to the true preacher, — sincerity, truth, courage, and a serene faith in the divine order of creation which provides that all the forces of Nature work with him who honestly endeavors. "Whilst a man seeks good ends, he is strong by the whole strength of Nature." "Character is always known; thefts never enrich; alms never impoverish; murder will speak out of stone walls. The least admixture of a lie — for example, the taint of vanity, any attempt to make a good impression, a favorable appear-

ance — will instantly vitiate the effect. But speak the truth, and all Nature and all spirits help you with unexpected furtherance. Speak the truth, and all things, alive or brute, are vouchers; and the very roots of the grass underground there do seem to stir and move to bear you witness."

These noble discourses, in which the elevation of thought is matched by the vigor and picturesqueness of style, determined the position of Mr. Emerson, not only as the leader of the Transcendentalists, but as the head of the literary class in this country. How steadily he has maintained that position through all the mental growth and development of forty years need not here be told. The first series of his collected essays was published in 1841; the second series in 1844. A volume of poems appeared in 1847. More than any other writer who has permanently enriched our literature, Mr. Emerson's relations with the public have been those of personal teaching. By far the greater portion of his writings have been first read from the lyceum platform; but the lecture — which more than any other form of literary work, if we except the sermon, tempts to diffuseness, to inaccuracy, to commonplace — has never carried him beyond the temperance and concentration of his earlier academic addresses.

Among the earnest men and women who welcomed the "new views," perhaps there was no one who did more to stimulate their growth and, however indirectly, to promote their diffusion than Margaret Fuller. She



wrote little for the printer, but the testimony to her inspiring influence in teaching, in correspondence, and in conversation above all, is abundant and unanimous. Her studies of German literature had begun in 1832, or thereabout, under the influence of Carlyle's papers in *Fraser's Magazine*, and elsewhere. In 1839 she published a translation of Eckermann's *Conversations with Goethe;* and, two years later, a portion of the letters of Gunderode and Bettine.[1] When, in 1840, the Transcendentalists had got so far as to desire an organ through which they could give a readier and wider publicity to their views than they were likely to attain through any of the established and more conservative periodicals, Miss Fuller was looked to on all sides to become the editor of the new journal. Mr. Emerson's account of the origin and career of the *Dial* is at once so concise and so comprehensive that I cannot do better than cite it here: —

"This work, which when it began concentrated a good deal of hope and affection, had its origin in a club of speculative students, who found the air in America getting a little close and stagnant; and the agitation had perhaps the fault of being too secondary or bookish in its origin, or caught, not from primary instincts, but from English and still more from German books. The journal was commenced with much hope and liberal promises of many co-operators; but the workmen of sufficient culture for a political and philosophical magazine were too few; and as the pages were filled by unpaid

[1] [See chapters by Mr. Bradford and Mrs. Cheney in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

contributors, each of whom had, according to the usage and necessity of this country, some paying employment, the journal did not get his best work, but his second-best. . . . For these reasons it never had a large circulation, and was discontinued after four years. But the *Dial* betrayed, through all its juvenility, timidity, and conventional rubbish, some sparks of the true love and hope, and of the piety and spiritual law which had moved its friends and founders; and it was received by its early subscribers with almost a religious welcome. Many years after it was brought to a close, Margaret was surprised in England by very warm testimony to its merits; and in 1848 the writer of these pages found it holding the same affectionate place in many a private book-shelf in England and Scotland which it had secured at home. Good or bad, it cost a good deal of precious labor from those who served it, and from Margaret most of all." [1]

The contents of the first number of the *Dial* for January, 1841, are hardly less interesting to-day than they were forty years ago. The address "from the Editors to the Reader," with which it opened, was by Mr. Emerson, and was a strong and stirring statement of the motives which urged the founders of the new journal. "They have obeyed with great joy the strong current of thought and feeling which for a few years past has led many sincere persons in New England to make new demands upon literature, and to reprobate that rigor of our conventions of literature and education which is turning us to stone, which renounces hope, which looks only backward, which asks only such a future as the past, which suspects improvement, and holds nothing in so much horror as new views and the dreams of youth." Margaret Fuller contributed "A short essay on Critics" and an account of a recent exhibition of Allston's pictures; Theodore Parker, a paper on "The Divine Presence in Nature and the Soul;" George Ripley, a review of Brownson's writings; W. H. Channing, a psychological study called "Ernest the Seeker;" Bronson Alcott, a heterogeneous collection of "Orphic Sayings;" J. S. Dwight, a paper on "The Religion of Beauty" and a brief review of "The Concerts of the past Winter;" and Mr. William D. Wilson, a notice of Channing's translation of Jouffroy. The poetry of the number included "The Problem," by Mr. Emerson, and lesser poems by Thoreau, C. P. Cranch, and Charles Emerson. Few magazines, we imagine, have set out for their readers a more inviting table.

Of the *Dial* writers, the greater part were little given to frequent publishing. Mr. Emerson, writing slowly, has in the course of a generation happily accumulated a considerable body of enduring literature. Mr. Alcott, after his *Conversations with Children*, published in 1836, and the little volume on *Spiritual Culture*, printed little or nothing until the *Atlantic* offered him, twenty years later, the opportunity of publishing such fragmentary and miscellaneous reflections as he was fond of putting forth. Margaret Fuller's fame rests not so much on her books, *Summer on the Lakes*, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, or her letters to the *Tribune*, as on the traditions of her extraordinary conversation, her insatiable appetite

[1] *Memoir of Margaret Fuller*, i. 323.

for knowledge and study, and her personal influence over all who were brought into her society. Thoreau, indeed, did not disdain, in spite of his small opinion of his fellow-men, to set down his impressions of Nature for their edification; and his books are characteristic of his most eccentric and non-conforming disposition. His *Record of a Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* and *Walden, or Life in the Woods*, both published eight or ten years after the experiences which they describe, were all that he himself sent to the press; but from his manuscripts his friends were able to prepare and publish after his death several volumes, to the first of which, *Excursions in Field and Forest*, Mr. Emerson prefixed a tender and enthusiastic memoir of his friend. *The Maine Woods* and *Cape Cod* are interesting additions to a list of writings which only partially reveal a soul of singular and fascinating individuality.

Transcendentalism had its day and passed. Ardently believed in and upheld by the little band of the faithful, a target for much good-natured raillery from the unregenerate, in no great time it ceased to be proclaimed. Perhaps its atmosphere was a little thin and chill for the sustenance of a hard-working New England community; but the ideas and sentiments of the Transcendentalists were neither abandoned nor lost sight of, and their mark was long visible in the literature, the theology, the politics, and the art of New England.[1]

Literary production was now visibly increasing, and the distribution of books was accomplished to an extent not before known through the medium of circulating libraries. Another important medium of communication between the writer and the public now comes into prominence. The lecture system, instantly successful in the cities, was swiftly extended through the country, until no considerable town could afford to be without its annual course of lectures extending more or less through the winter months, and enlisting the aid of writers more or less famous according to the resources of the place. The Lowell Institute of Boston, inaugurated on the first of December, 1839, by an address from Edward Everett, has maintained to this day from six to ten courses of lectures every year, in which many of the most eminent men of this country and England, in literature, science, and theology, have read careful essays on almost every conceivable topic related to those departments.[2] "It has been ascertained," said Mr. Everett in the opening address above alluded to, "that twenty-six courses were delivered in Boston during the last season, not including those which consisted of less than eight lectures. . . . These lectures were attended in the aggregate by about thirteen thousand five hundred persons, at an expense of less than twelve thousand dollars. This is probably a greater

[1] [The reader may compare a parallel view of the rise and decline of Transcendentalism in Mr. George P. Bradford's continuation of Dr. Ripley's chapter on "Philosophic Thought in Boston," in Vol. IV., treated in its relation to living and believing, and so a good counterpart to the present sketch. — Ed.]

[2] [See an account of the Institute in Mr. Dillaway's chapter on "Education," etc., in Boston, in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

number of lectures than was ever delivered in any previous year, but the number of courses has been steadily increasing from the time of their first commencement on the present footing, about twenty years ago." [1]

The lecture system, in its best estate an admirable educational instrument, has been subject to dreadful abuse. The unbounded appetite of the New England communities for this form of intellectual nourishment has tempted vast hordes of charlatans and pretenders to try their fortunes in this profitable field. "The hungry sheep look up and are not fed." The pay of the lecturer has grown more exorbitant in proportion to the dilution of his mixture, until professional jokers have usurped the places once graced by philosophers and poets; and to-day the lyceums are served by a new species of broker, who ekes out the failing literary material with the better entertainment of music and play-acting.

But the lecture has been, and perhaps will yet be again, of immense value in the education of the people, — less perhaps by the actual communication of knowledge, which is too easily taken in to be long remembered, than by cultivating a general taste for it, and by pointing out the avenues to it. The extent of the influence exerted year after year by the popular lectures of Agassiz, in diffusing among the people not only a knowledge and comprehension of the elementary facts of those branches of natural science which he had made his own, but a taste and inclination for serious study in them, cannot be estimated. The extent of the influence of Mr. Emerson on the tone of public opinion and sentiment in New England is to be best conceived when we remember that his delightful and ennobling lectures were read, winter after winter, to audiences composed by no means chiefly of scholars and highly cultivated persons, but of earnest people in the common walks of life, who loved to sweeten their unromantic lives with such entertainment. For ten years the lectures of Theodore Parker varied in number from forty to eighty during the season.[2]

[1] These figures were taken from Horace Mann's third report as secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education, which further adds, "that in the State of Massachusetts, outside of Suffolk County, there were found in operation one hundred and thirty-seven lyceums, etc., maintaining annual courses, at which the average attendance for the year had been thirty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-eight." Mr. Mann adds this remark: "It has often been repeated by numerous and accurate observers that in the city of Boston the general topics of conversation, and the mode of treating them, have been greatly improved since what may be called the reign of popular lectures." — *Report of Secretary of Board of Education*, 1839, p. 74.

[2] Mr. Parker has left us the most emphatic judgment as to the value of the lecture system to the mental development of the people. In a letter dated "Northern New York, railroad cars, March 12, 1857," during the last of his great western lecture tours, he writes thus: "This business of lecturing is an original contrivance for educating the people. The world has nothing like it. In it are combined the best things of the church (*i. e.*, the preaching) and of the college (*i. e.*, the informing thought) with some of the fun of the theatre. Besides, it gives the 'rural districts' a chance to see the men they read about; to see the lions, — for the lecture is also a show to the eyes. Now I think this one of the most admirable means of educating the people. For ten years past, six or eight of the most progressive and powerful minds in America have been lecturing fifty to a hundred times in the year. Surely some must dance after so much piping, and that of so moving a sort!" Feb. 11, 1858, Mr. Parker writes to S. J. May: "This has been a stupid winter to me. I have less than half my old joyous power of work. I have lectured seventy-three times, always close at hand, and have done for

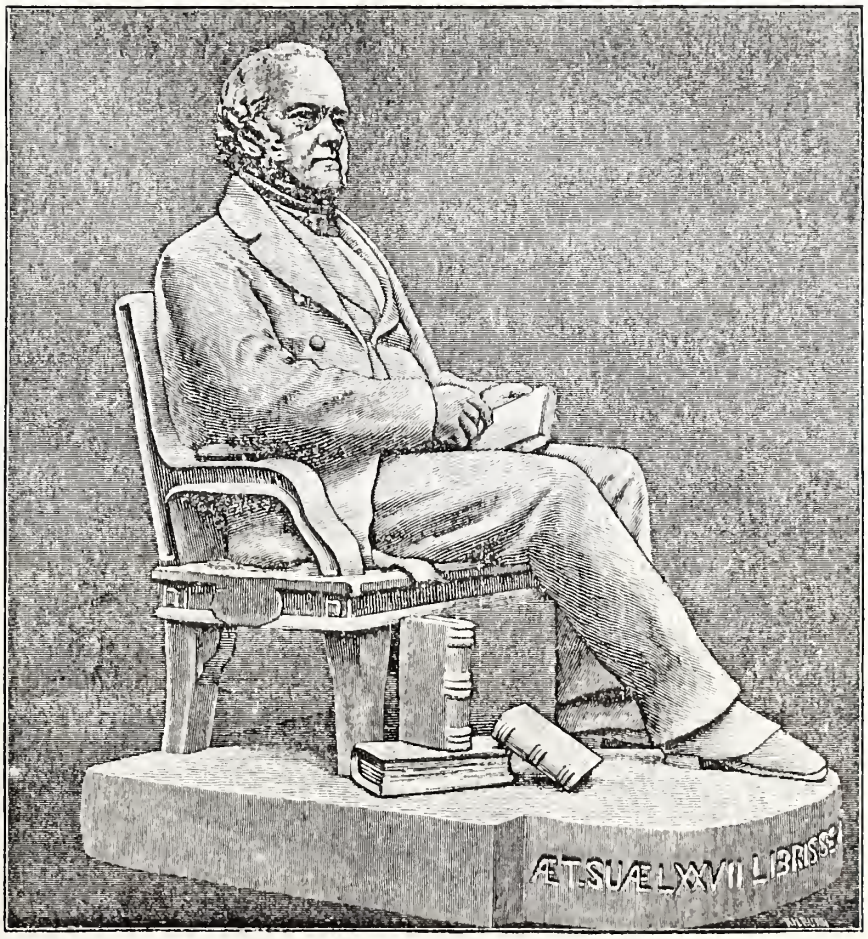
A curious instance of the mental activity which was generated in the days of the Transcendental movement is furnished by the erratic career of Orestes A. Brownson, who, having been reared among the influences of a rigid Presbyterianism, had freed himself from them when he came to man's estate, and had gone, as so often happens, to the other extreme of general negation. From this dismal condition he shortly emerged as a Unitarian, taking, some years later, the charge of an independent religious society in Boston. He had the restless energy, the personal independence, and dislike of personal accountability which belong to the free-lance in literature; and he added to this a mind unusually well equipped for polemical discussion and philosophic inquiry. He had been a frequent writer in the *Christian Examiner*, but he chafed under the mildest editorial control; and in 1838 established, with characteristic confidence, a review of his own, the *Boston Quarterly Review*, which he maintained almost single-handed for five years.[1] In 1842 Mr. Brownson united his *Quarterly* with the *Democratic Review* of New York, of which he became an editor; but the connection proved to be neither congenial nor profitable, and in less than two years he returned to Boston and established a new personal organ under the title of *Brownson's Quarterly Review*. The philosophic radicalism of the old organ had now yielded to a reactionary influence which had carried Mr. Brownson at a bound all the way from rationalism to Romanism, and the old allies were now targets for the sharpest arrows of the new and zealous convert. The *Quarterly* was maintained with unabated vigor, and still with scarcely any assistance from other writers, until 1864, and was so far from exhausting the productive ability of its extraordinary conductor that he found time to write and publish a succession of books on various subjects of a philosophic character, of which some were in the form of novels, and others in the more usual guise of a learned treatise, but all displaying in full measure the vivacity and mental resource which had marked his earlier writings. In 1873 he recommenced the *Review*, but his death, two years later, put a final stop to it.

The study of German literature, once effectively introduced among us, became rapidly, as a matter of course, a part of every educational scheme which pretended to comprehensiveness. For some years, however, the reading in this language was mostly confined to the poets. In 1848 Frederick H. Hedge published in an octavo volume a collection of extracts from the *Prose Writers of Germany*, including, besides Goethe and Schiller, many writers now familiar enough in this country, but of whom at that time little more was known than the names. Kant, Lessing, Wieland, Jean Paul,

the season. Last year I lectured eighty times, all the way from the Mississippi to the Penobscot."

[1] Of this work Mr. Ripley said in the *Dial*: "This journal stands alone in the history of periodical works. It was undertaken by a single individual, without the co-operation of friends, with no external patronage, supported by no sectarian interests, and called for by no motives but the inward promptings of the author's own soul. . . . The best indication of the culture of philosophy in this country, and the application of its speculative results to the theory of religion, the criticism of literary productions, and the institutions of society, we presume no one will dispute, is to be found in this journal."

Hegel, Fichte, Schlegel, Tieck, Novalis, Hoffman, and others were represented by selections more or less ample, accompanied with brief biographical notices; and the work was not only an interesting and valuable addition to the libraries of readers, but had a sensible influence in widening the range and confirming the taste for German studies.



Geo: Ticknor.[1]

The next year after the publication of Dr. Hedge's German selections appeared the *History of Spanish Literature*, by Mr. George Ticknor, — a scholarly and conscientious work, and a monument of persistent and long continued labor, but dealing with a literature for the most part not only

[1] [This statuette of Mr. Ticknor, made by Mr. Martin Milmore "as a compliment and expression of gratitude" (*Life, Letters, and Journals of Geo. Ticknor*, ii. 492), is inscribed: "Aet. Suæ, lxxvii. Libris semper amicis," — Mr. Ticknor selecting the motto. It was made in 1868. It is shown on a table in his library, in the engraving on the next page. A life-size bust of Mr. Ticknor, likewise by Milmore, was presented to the Boston Public Library in 1868. — Ed.]

MR. TICKNOR'S LIBRARY.[1]

unknown, but singularly undeserving of attention amid the multitude of more important claims.

There is something pathetic in the confidence with which, at intervals of a few years, some earnest soul, or perhaps a group of them, sets on foot a new periodical; starting forth with a full stock of enthusiasm and a comfortable pile of contributed material of just the required stamp, only to repeat, after a declining volume or two, the dismal story, — of enthusiasm

[1] [This cut follows a photograph taken since Mr. Ticknor's death, kindly lent by Mrs. Ticknor. The house in its present condition is shown in an engraving of Park Street, given in Mr. Bugbee's chapter in this volume; and also, as it stood a few years after its erection, in the heliotype given in Mr. Stanwood's chapter in Vol. IV. Of the above view Mr. Ticknor's daughter has furnished, by request, the following description: —

"The portrait over the fireplace is that of Sir Walter Scott, painted by Leslie for my father, mentioned in the *Life, Letters, etc. of G. Ticknor*, vol. i. pp. 388, 389, and 407; and also in Leslie's *Reminiscences*. The books visible in the cases, on the left of the spectator, are, successively, of German, French, and English literature, until the press next the fireplace is reached, which contains works on history. Between the fireplace and window are works of biography and theology. The cupboards below are all filled with books.

"The large chair by the fireplace, on the right of the spectator, is that in which Mr. Ticknor habitually sat.

"The appearance of the room, as seen in this view, is absolutely the same as when he was living, except for the addition of one or two small pieces of furniture. The Spanish books, removed after Mr. Ticknor's death, occupied the whole end of the room opposite the fireplace; and their places have been filled by Greek, Latin, Italian, and other books, which had at different times been crowded out and exiled to another part of the house." — ANNA ELIOT TICKNOR, June, 1881. — ED.]

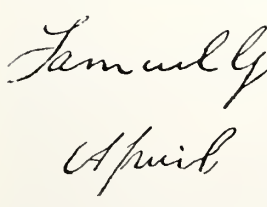
quenched by hard work and lack of support, and of contributions laboriously extorted from indifferent or reluctant friends, and perhaps not of just the required stamp any longer. The *Dial* kept itself alive for four years. While it was yet comparatively prosperous, in 1842 a new magazine was established, called the *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion.* Its editor was Nathan Hale, Jr., who drew contributions from Dr. Channing, Alexander H. Everett, Edward Everett, Nathaniel Hawthorne, W. W. Story, J. R. Lowell, N. P. Willis, and many others. A charming periodical was the result, which did not survive its first year.

After the discontinuance of the *Dial*, some of its most eminent supporters and contributors, chief among whom was George Ripley, the head of the Brook Farm Community, devised a new journal, — half magazine, half newspaper, — to take up, in some sort, its work as an organ of advanced thought. The new journal was called the *Harbinger*, a large octavo of sixteen pages, "published by the Brook Farm Phalanx" once a week at Boston and New York, and with an admirable list of writers, nearly equally divided between the two cities, including the names of Ripley, W. H. Channing, G. W. Curtis, Lowell, Whittier, Story, Horace Greeley, J. S. Dwight, and many more. Mr. Francis G. Shaw's translation of *Consuelo* was printed in the *Harbinger*, beginning in the first number of the paper. Attractions enough were here combined to have secured for the paper a long, prosperous, and useful existence. It was not too philosophic or too aggressive to commend itself to steady-going people who still held by the old ways, while its tone was thoroughly liberal, earnest, and progressive; but it was discontinued at the end of the fifth year.[1]

The last attempt at establishing a journal in the interest at once of good letters and of reform was the work chiefly of Theodore Parker, who in 1846 had taken charge of the society in Boston, and found his influence necessarily much enlarged by the change. Mr. Parker had never been a contributor to the *North American Review*, and that journal, under the management of Francis Bowen, was then in its most conservative phase. To the *Christian Examiner* he had been a frequent and welcome contributor; but the *Examiner* was a theological review, published in the interest of a sect, and that sect one of the least numerous of all. It was felt by Mr. Parker, as well as by many other scholars of liberal instincts, that the condition of the country was such as ought to receive more attention and sterner comment than any existing review would admit to its pages. "We want a tremendous journal," said Parker, "with ability in its arms and piety in its heart. It should be literary, philosophical, poetical, theological; above all human, — human even to divinity. I think we may find help in unexpected quarters." Many conferences were held with Emerson, Dr. Howe, J. E. Cabot, and other friends; and the first number of the *Massachusetts Quarterly Review* appeared in December, 1847. Mr. Emerson wrote the editor's address, as he had done seven years before for the *Dial;* but in the tone

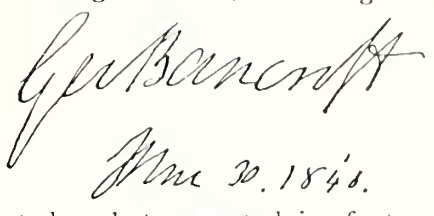
[1] [See Mr. Bradford's chapter in Vol. IV. — Ed.]

of the two addresses there is a difference as wide as in the motives of the two journals. The new review was certainly not "secondary or bookish in its origin;" and its inspiration was very clearly "caught from primary instincts." The ambition here was not for culture or self-development, — the transcendental phraseology was laid aside; the desire was to move the conscience and heart of the nation, and awaken them to a more earnest interest in the national affairs. The overwhelming and stifling materialism of the people, the brutal and reckless behavior of their chosen rulers, are the points most strongly emphasized in the address of the new editors. The war with Mexico was now at its height. "We see that reckless and destructive fury which characterizes the lower classes of American society, and which is pampered by hundreds of profligate presses. The young intriguers who drive in bar-rooms and town-meetings the trade of politics, sagacious only to seize the victorious side, have put the country into the position of an overgrown bully; and Massachusetts finds no heart nor head to give weight and efficacy to her contrary judgment." A voice must be raised on behalf of decent government. But politics is not the only important matter. "A journal that would meet the real wants of this time must have a courage and power sufficient to solve the problems which the great, groping society around us, stupid with perplexity, is dumbly exploring. Let it not show its astuteness by dodging each difficult question, and arguing diffusely every point on which men are long ago unanimous." Socialism, slavery, the new questions in natural science, the new heresies in theology, invited candid and fearless discussion. It is praise enough for the new *Review* to say that it did not discredit this programme. An article of great severity on the Mexican War, by Mr. Parker; a paper by Dr. Howe, on the condition and prospects of Greece; another, by Mr. Weiss, on the life and writings of Agassiz, who had just accepted the Harvard professorship; and a thoughtful paper by Mr. Cabot, on the influence of modern civilization on the fine arts, suggested by Mr. Powers's statue of the Greek Slave; with some pages of short reviews and notices, — made up the opening number. Mr. Parker was from the first, though much against his wish, the laboring editor, receiving occasional assistance from Wendell Phillips, Henry James, Edouard Desor, and others, besides those just named as contributing to the first number. But the usual disappointments of the editor were not long in arriving. Too large a proportion of the writing fell upon him for lack of adequate help. Twelve quarterly numbers were issued, and the undertaking was then reluctantly abandoned.



In the department of history, Boston has contributed to the literature of the country some works of distinguished excellence. In 1840 the two

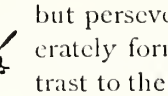
authors who were the first, in later days, to make this department a conspicuous one, were already in full career. George Bancroft, in his long and crowded life, has shown us a remarkable example of a type not uncommon in Europe, — the union of the man of letters with the statesman. He seems from early youth to have foreseen and prepared himself for a high career.



Graduating at the age of seventeen he went abroad at once, studying for two years at Göttingen, and passing several years in alternate study and travel in Germany, Italy, and France; enjoying in all those countries, to an unusual extent, the acquaintance and friendship of men of the first eminence in scholarship, — of Schleiermacher, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Varnhagen von Ense, in Germany; Bunsen, Niebuhr, and Manzoni, in Rome; Cousin, Benjamin Constant, and Alexander von Humboldt, in Paris. In Heidelberg he pursued his historical studies with Schlosser. Upon his return to America he became a frequent contributor to the *North American Review*, then under the charge of Jared Sparks. In 1823 he published a translation of Heeren's *Politics of Ancient Greece*. He was not long in getting at work on the history which he had early determined to undertake; but he worked with patience and deliberation, and it was not until 1834 that his first volume was ready for publication. The second and third volumes followed in 1838 and 1840, while he held the responsible, if not yet exacting, position of Collector of the port of Boston, — a position which, in the present days, we should regard as ludicrously incongruous with the quiet prosecution of literary or historical studies. *Aux vaillants cœurs, rien impossible.* Mr. Bancroft's labors on his great work were often interrupted by business of too great moment to be put by. Successive appointments to high public office, while they left him diminished leisure, saved him, perhaps, from the characteristic defect of the writer who mixes little with men. He was Secretary of the Navy in 1845; and the next year was Minister of the United States at London, holding this post until 1849. This interval was, however, of inestimable advantage to him. The public offices, both of London and Paris, opened their doors to the American Minister; and, in addition to the exhaustless records thus made available, immense collections of letters and manuscripts, which had come down from the English statesmen of the Revolutionary era and had remained in the possession of their families, were put at his disposal. The fourth volume of the history appeared in 1852; the fifth and sixth in 1854; bringing the work down to the opening of the Revolution. The period of the war, and the organization of the government under the Federal Constitution, occupied four volumes more, of which the last was issued in 1875. Finished under the pressure of advancing age, the later volumes show no decline in vivacity of style or strength and firmness of thought.

Four years after Mr. Bancroft published the first volume of his history,

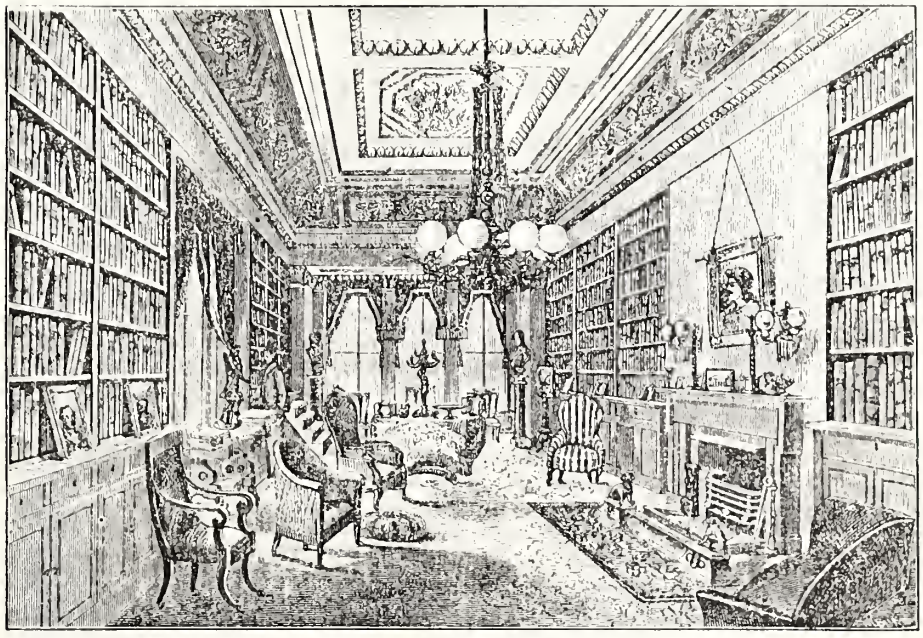
there appeared the first of a series of historical works whose picturesqueness and novelty of subject won for them a popularity which no American work had as yet achieved. The career of William H. Prescott offers, in all



but perseverance and steadfast adherence to a deliberately formed purpose, a strong and pathetic contrast to the busy and conspicuous life of Mr. Bancroft. Graduating in 1814, he spent two years in travel abroad, but without any special aim beyond diversion and the restoration of his impaired eyesight. He was strongly interested in French and Italian literature, and made conscientious studies in this field, even cherishing at one time, we are told, an ambition to write a comprehensive history of the literature of one or the other of those countries; but the undertaking, on a nearer view, appeared too great, and was relinquished. The only direct result of his studies in this direction appeared in some papers contributed chiefly to the *North American Review*, and which were collected in a volume of *Miscellanies*, published in Boston and London in 1845. He had, however, conceived the desire to become a historian, and in the absence of strong predilections appears to have cast about for a subject. An entry in his diary in 1819, when he was twenty-three years old, shows the deliberation of his purpose. He there assigns ten years for general preparatory studies, and ten years more for the composition of the work, whatever it might prove to be. He made a fortunate choice of subject, in the *Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella* of Spain, and sent to Madrid for the necessary materials, which, through the influence of Mr. A. H. Everett, then United States Minister at that Court, he readily obtained. An imposing mass of manuscripts and printed works was forwarded to Boston, but found the eager student incapable of reading so much as a titlepage. The story of the trials by which Mr. Prescott was beset through his partial blindness, and of the patience, determination, and ingenuity through which he overcame them, is too familiar to need repetition. The history, spite of all obstacles, was published within the ten years which the writer had assigned for the work, and its reception was doubtless ample compensation for the fatigues it had cost him. It was at once republished in London, and translated into French, German, Spanish, and Italian. Twelve editions have been printed in the United States, and four in England. Far from resting content with this triumph, Mr. Prescott set to work without delay upon the history of the *Conquest of Mexico*. In this case, as before, he spared himself the labor of personal research through the state-paper offices, but availed himself of the assistance of willing friends, through whom he received in due time a mass of documents from the Royal Academy of Madrid, from the family archives of the descendants of Cortes, and from Mexican sources, covering some eight thousand folio pages.[1] His infirmity of eyesight did not mend, and he was forced to employ the same methods of reading and writing as in his first work. Long practice had, however, given facility both to author

[1] Griswold's *Prose Writers of America*.

and secretary. The work was finished in less than five years from its commencement, and was received not less favorably than its predecessor. It was published in 1843. The third history, the *Conquest of Peru*, appeared in 1847, after a still shorter interval. Mr. Prescott then entered on a work of much greater difficulty. The period of Philip II. was a subject involving not merely a continuous narrative of successive and obviously connected events, but the story of vast and obscure complications with almost every Court in Europe. This was the last great undertaking of Mr. Prescott, and was destined to remain a fragment. Two volumes were issued in 1855, and



PRESCOTT'S LIBRARY.

a third in 1858; and much had been done on succeeding portions of the work, when the author's patient labors were brought to a sudden close by his death, in 1859.[1]

The line of historical writers was worthily continued by Richard Hildreth, who had been one of the contributors to the *New England Magazine* in 1832, and who was for some years after that date the successful manager of the *Boston Atlas*. In 1840, having retired from that position, he devoted himself to literature. His productions were, for the most part, in the nature

[1] [The tributes published in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proc.* of that year testify to the honor in which he was held. A few years later, in 1864, appeared a *Life of Prescott*, prepared by his life-long friend, George Ticknor. Before beginning on his Spanish subjects, Prescott had contemplated a work on Molière, and the books he collected, becoming the property of Mr. Ticknor, were given by him to the Public Library. Mr. Prescott left by his will the manuscripts collected for the writing of his *Ferdinand and Isabella* to Harvard College Library. After some years the bulk of his library was sold at public auction; but not till the marks of his ownership had been generally and unfortunately removed. — ED.]

of moral or political treatises. Of these, the first to attract general notice was *Despotism in America*, a vigorous though temperate and argumentative arraignment of the system of slavery in the Southern States. In 1844 he published a purely philosophical treatise called the *Theory of Morals*, followed some years later by another on the *Theory of Politics*. These works were colored by a more advanced radicalism than had before been ventured on, except, perhaps, in the columns of the *Liberator*; and their reception by the organs of criticism was surprisingly warm. This was particularly the case with the *Theory of Morals*, as to which the *North American Review* for once joined hands with *Brownson's Quarterly* in what must now be admitted to have been not so much criticism as abuse. Mr. Hildreth now began a comprehensive *History of the United States*. The work of Mr. Bancroft had reached its third volume, but was for the time interrupted by the author's official position in London. Mr. Hildreth was not satisfied with Mr. Bancroft's treatment of some portions of his subject, and tried his hand at a different plan. Less diffuse in detailed description, less enthusiastic and demonstrative in his patriotism, Mr. Hildreth passed briefly over many points on which his predecessor had delighted to linger, while he gave much attention to certain others which the earlier history had scarcely touched at all. The work was pursued with steadfast industry. Three volumes, published in 1849, carried the history as far as the adoption of the Federal Constitution; and the remaining three, bringing it down to the close of Monroe's first term, were completed and issued within three years from the appearance of the first volume.

In 1851 Mr. Francis Parkman gave to the public the first fruits of his studies in a field which, lying straight in the path of every historian of the United States, had hitherto been strangely neglected by them all. The exploits of the Spanish adventurers and the English settlers had received abundant attention at various hands; but the story of the determined and long-continued resistance of the Indian tribes, and of the French attempts at colonization, North and South, — with the experiences, heroic, pathetic, fanatic, picturesque, of the religious *entrepreneurs*, — had been left for the fortunate hand of a new writer. Mr. Parkman was not an unknown writer. The admirable papers he had contributed to the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, descriptive of his sojourn among the Indian tribes on the plains of the Platte River, and published later under the title of *The Oregon Trail*, had sufficiently introduced him as a vigorous and graceful narrator, possessing a keen relish for the wholesome and unconventional life of the camp and a generous sympathy with all forms of simple manliness, without much respect to race or color. The *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac* was published in a single octavo volume, and at once attracted much attention, at first from the unaccustomed subject, and then from the visible merit and value of the work. Mr. Parkman next occupied himself with the attempts of the earliest French explorers; but, working under the disadvantage of a physical infirmity curiously similar to Mr. Prescott's, a long interval necessarily

elapsed before the first of the series of books was issued which are now so well known under the comprehensive title of *France and England in the New World;* and which embrace under separate titles[1] accounts of the explorations and strifes of the Spaniards and Huguenots in Florida, of Champlain on the Northern border, of La Salle on the Mississippi, the missions of Lejeune, Brébœuf, Lallemant, and Jogues on the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, and other phases of French-Canadian history. To the sombre and depressing details of New England Puritan history these romantic and picturesque narratives of gallant struggle, of heroic sacrifice, of steadfast endurance, — the more pathetic because for the most part futile, — afford a remarkable contrast and relief.

If the literature of Boston is rich in historical works, it is not less rich in those collections of biographical memoranda, and of the speeches, correspondence, and diaries of public men which furnish the materials for historical studies. Such collections have, in several instances, been the grateful work of proud and loving descendants; but scarcely one of the great men who have given to Massachusetts her just prominence in the history of the country has lacked a friend to whom such a task was a pleasure, adding to the long list of pious memorials, of widely-varying interest and literary importance, but animated by the same generous motive, — to preserve and hand down the remembrance of the men who in the stress of angry and turbulent politics have kept the faith, that their successors may not be without the benefit of their example. Thus, in 1809, the works of Fisher Ames were brought together and published, with a brief memoir, within a year of his death; but not so completely but that his son, Seth Ames, was able, forty-five years after, to make a much more perfect collection, including a considerable part of the correspondence of that eminent statesman. Thus William Tudor published, in 1823, his *Life of James Otis;* and J. T. Austin, five years later, his *Life of Elbridge Gerry.* Thus Josiah Quincy, in 1825, published the Life of his father, Josiah Quincy, Jr., of Revolutionary fame; and William W. Story, in 1851, the Life and Letters of his father, Judge Story; and Edmund Quincy, in 1867, the Life of his father, Josiah Quincy; and Robert C. Winthrop, in 1864, the Life and Letters of John Winthrop. The Life of John Adams, begun by his son, John Quincy Adams, was finished by his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, and printed in the first of ten octavo volumes containing the works and correspondence of the second President, and issued at intervals from 1851 to 1856. A memoir of the Life of John Quincy Adams was written by Josiah Quincy and published in 1858; but a more detailed account, composed in great measure of his diary from 1795 until his death in 1848, was compiled by Charles Francis Adams, and published in ten volumes from 1874 to 1877. The Life of James Sullivan by Thomas C. Amory; the Life of Samuel Adams by William V. Wells; of Joseph Warren by Richard Froth-

[1] *Pioneers of France in the New World; Jesuits in North America; Discovery of the Great West* (later called *La Salle*, when largely rewritten because of Margry's documentary publications); *Old Régime in Canada;* and *Frontenac.*

ingham; of Timothy Pickering by Octavius Pickering and Charles W. Upham; of Count Rumford by Dr. George E. Ellis, — are later additions.

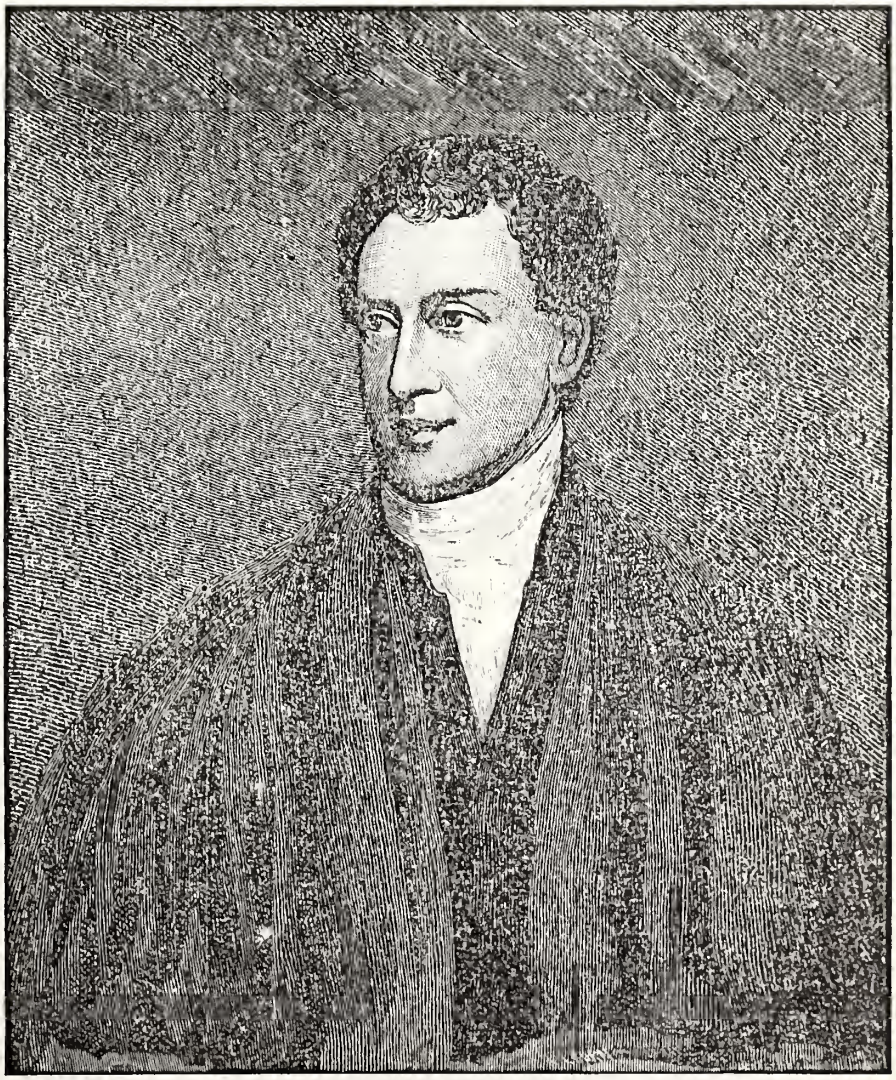
The orators on the other hand have, for the most part, not waited for posterity, but have themselves collected and revised their speeches for publication. A volume of the public addresses of Daniel Webster was issued as early as 1830, containing the noble commemorative addresses at Plymouth and Bunker Hill, and that delivered in Faneuil Hall in 1826 on the occasion of the death of Adams and Jefferson, the great speech in the Senate on Foote's resolution, with other Congressional speeches, and the famous argument in the trial of Knapp at Salem. A brief memoir of Webster, written by Edward Everett, was prefixed to the volume. Other volumes of Mr. Webster's speeches were issued from time to time during his life, and a complete edition was in course of publication at the time of his death in 1852.

Of Mr. Everett's orations, a collection in a single volume was published in 1836, and reprinted, with additions filling a second volume, in 1850. A third volume was added by Mr. Everett in 1859, and a fourth by his sons in 1868, the last containing, among others, the remarkable address on the character of Washington, — remarkable in itself, but even more so in its extraordinary popularity, the number of its repetitions, and the sums it was made to yield to a national enterprise which was miserably defeated after all.

Collections of the speeches of Charles Sumner, of Robert C. Winthrop, of Wendell Phillips, and other prominent orators, have also been published.

When Mr. Prescott's history of Phillip II. was interrupted by his too early death, his subject was, to a certain extent, covered by a younger writer, who, like Prescott himself, had achieved a high place among the historians by his first work. Mr. John Lothrop Motley's history of *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* made its appearance only a year after the first two volumes of Mr. Prescott's *Philip*. No portion of the portentous reign of that monarch was more important in its relations to the civilization and welfare of Europe than that which was occupied by his desperate struggle with the people of Holland, and his treacherous dealings with the English queens. Of all this the story was as fully and satisfactorily told from Mr. Motley's point of view as it could have been from Mr. Prescott's. Mr. Motley had been as fortunate in the advantages he had enjoyed in composing his history as Mr. Prescott had been unfortunate. His long residence abroad gave him ample opportunity to use to the fullest the abundant materials which existed at the various courts of Germany, as well as in Spain, England, and Holland, — some of the most interesting of which had been but recently brought to light. His use of this material was not only conscientious but extremely skilful, and gave to his work a vivacity and human interest of which, until then, the only exam-

ple was to be found in the pages of Macaulay. The history, when it appeared in 1856, was a delightful surprise. Its welcome was not less warm in England and Holland than in the United States. A Dutch translation



Edward Everett[1]

was at once prepared, with an introduction by Backhuysen van den Brink. A French translation followed shortly, with an introduction by Guizot. The work was also translated into German and Russian. The author went on

[1] [This cut follows a portrait by G. Stuart Newton, painted in 1818 in London, and now owned by his nephew, the Rev. Edward E. Hale, D.D. A view of the monument on his grave in Mount Auburn is given in the *Harvard Register*, July, 1881. — Ed.]

with his studies, and published in 1861 two volumes of the *History of the United Netherlands*, the remaining two volumes of which appeared in 1867, bringing the history down to the recognition of the independence of the Republic in 1609. The mournful story of the *Life and Death of John of Barnevelde*, published in 1874, brought the writer to the threshold of the Thirty Years' War. The history of this dismal period, in which the civilization of Europe seemed about to be obscured, was the difficult labor which Mr. Motley next proposed to himself. On retiring from the office of Minister to England in 1870, he took up his residence at The Hague, in the private villa of the Queen of Holland, and employed himself once more in the congenial task of collecting and arranging his materials. He was not, however, destined to publish any portion of the work, which was interrupted by his death in 1877.[1]

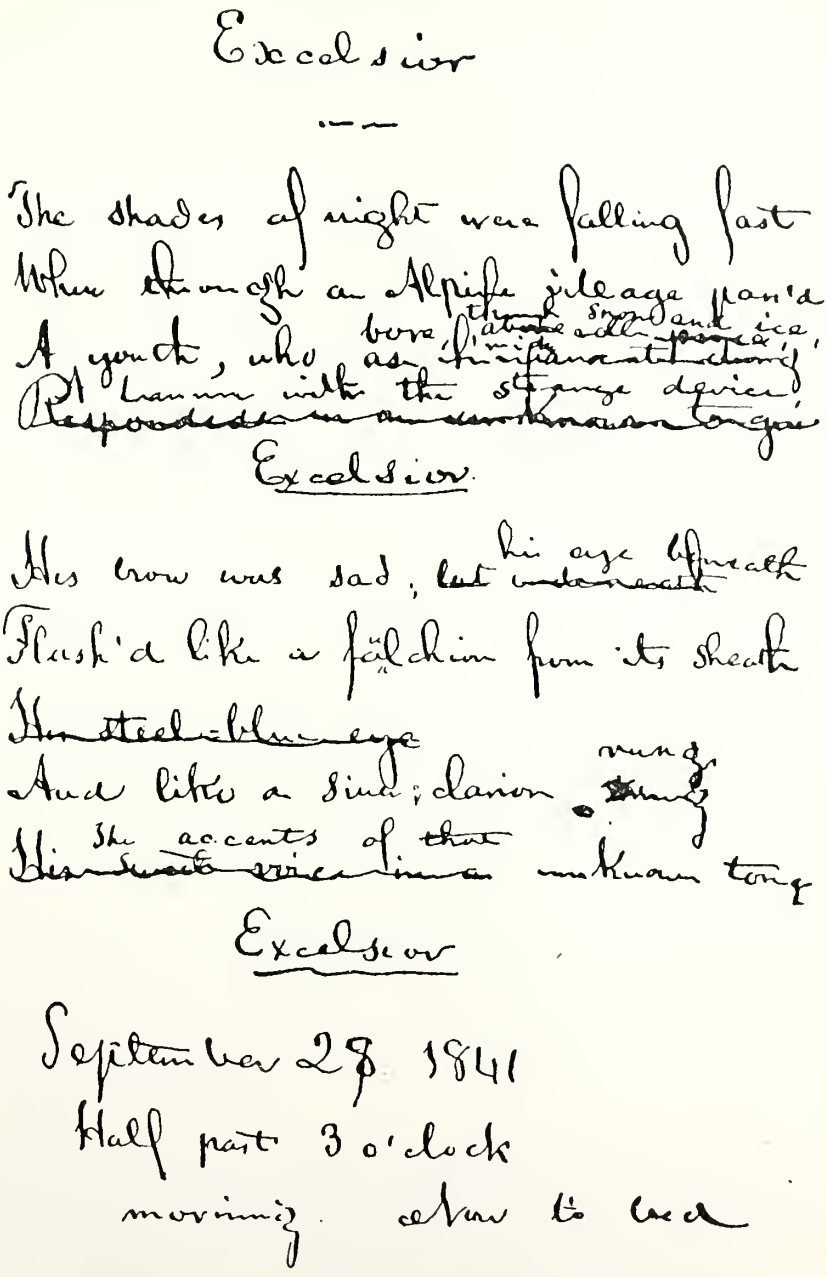
The poetical promise discernible in the literature of the second period was abundantly realized in the third. Mr. Longfellow had published his *Voices of the Night* in 1839. For the next thirty years his poems were issued with frequency. He has been through life the most industrious and productive of all American poets, and both his industry and productiveness have increased since he has passed the period of middle life, when effort, unless quickened by the spur of necessity, is apt to slacken. Mr. Longfellow's later productions are far more ambitious and labored than his earlier, and they are also more sombre, — the gentle, pensive sadness of his earlier verse has deepened its tone. The melancholy of the *Christus* and of the *New England Tragedies* is quite distinct from anything to be found in his poems prior to 1860. But the minor poems of the later years have gained greatly in strength of thought and force of expression, while retaining all the sweetness and tenderness of sentiment which characterize the earlier poems.

Mr. Emerson's earliest poems enriched the pages of the *Dial*, but are preserved in a small volume published in 1847. From time to time, notably since the establishment of the *Atlantic Monthly*, specimens of this rare and thoughtful poetry were given to the public, which received them with a curious mixture of reverence and amusement, often, it must be confessed, taking their admirable qualities on trust, but charmed unaffectedly, now and then, by the commanding beauty and depth of thought. But most of Mr. Emerson's warmest admirers would doubtless agree with the judgment of Theodore Parker, that "his best poetry is in his prose, and his poorest, thinnest, and least musical prose is in his poems."[2]

Mr. James Russell Lowell printed his first volume, *A Year's Life*, in 1841. His second, *A Legend of Brittany*, with which were printed some smaller pieces, — "Rhœcus" among them, — appeared in 1844. *The Vision of Sir*

[1] [The Massachusetts Historical Society appointed Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes to prepare the customary memoir for their *Proceedings*. The subject grew on the friendly biographer's hands, and resulted in a separate volume, whose text was subsequently abridged for the Society's record. See *Proceedings*, December, 1878. — Ed.]

[2] *Massachusetts Quarterly Review*, March, 1850.

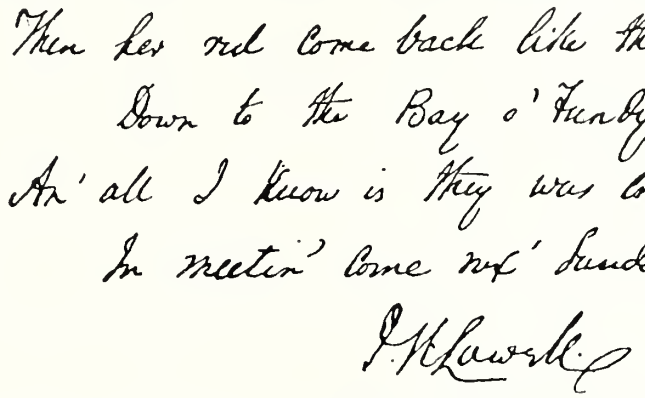


THE FIRST DRAFT OF LONGFELLOW'S "EXCELSIOR."[1]

Launfal, in which the best qualities of Mr. Lowell's genius are visible, was published in 1848, and was followed within the year by the *Fable for Critics*

[1] [The original of this manuscript, of which the cut gives but a portion, is written on the back of a letter from Charles Sumner to Longfellow, and was bequeathed, with his other autographs, by Mr. Sumner to Harvard College Library. — Ed.]

and *The Biglow Papers*. The transcendental movement, in which Mr. Lowell had been somewhat interested, had produced many eccentricities in its disciples which invited raillery, — and these traits were hit off in the *Fable for Critics* with a nimble wit and skilful touch, in which no suspicion of ill-nature mingled. In the *Biglow Papers* a new vein was opened. The speech of the Yankee on his native heath might be picturesque, but had



never been called poetic. Mr. Lowell, in these papers, married it to immortal verse, and used it with great effect in satire, in denunciation, in warning, in pathetic appeal, to move the heart of the people to indignation and shame against the Mexican War and the schemes of the slave-power. A second series of "Biglow Papers," mostly contributed to the *Atlantic Monthly* during the Rebellion, satirized with righteous severity the politics of that period, but the old vein was not to be re-opened with success. In 1869 a volume of collected poems was issued, called *Under the Willows*, which included most of the verses which had appeared in the magazines of the past ten years; and with them the noble ode spoken at the Harvard Commemoration, in 1865, of those of her sons who had fallen in the war of the Rebellion. The style of Mr. Lowell's later poems shows, generally speaking, a distinct loss of simplicity. Some of them are marked by an involved complexity of style, amounting even to obscurity, and which suggests the influence of Browning.

Oliver Wendell Holmes[1] was in 1830, while an undergraduate at Harvard, a contributor of verses to a magazine of light literature, maintained wholly by the students, and called the *Collegian*. For this magazine he wrote some twenty-five pieces, mostly running over with extravagant fun,

but showing the turn for easy and graceful versification which has distinguished his more deliberate productions. Most of these juvenile pieces have been abandoned to oblivion by the author; but some few examples of them, as "Evening by a Tailor," "The Meeting of the Dryads," "The Spectre Pig," and others, have been admitted to a place among his acknowledged works.

[1] [There is a portrait and sketch of Dr. Holmes in the *Harvard Register*, April, 1881. — Ed.]

On the establishment of the *New England Magazine* in 1831, Mr. Holmes, then studying law, became a frequent contributor of verses, generally of much the same character as those in the *Collegian*. In 1836 these pieces, with others, including a poem read before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Cambridge, called *Poetry, a Metrical Essay*, were published in a volume. This was the beginning of a brilliant career. Dr. Holmes's occasional poems, read before societies on anniversary days, at public dinners, and wherever men have met together for enjoyment or commemoration, have been more numerous and more admired than those of any other poet. To strike exactly the right note, to hit and emphasize just the emotion of the hour, be it grave or gay, to say the very word that every man at the table or on the benches would say if he could; and to say it with a turn of grace, a sparkle, a spirit which moved serious men to laughter, or frivolous men to tears,—this has been the felicity of Dr. Holmes. Most of his poems for the last quarter of a century have been first printed in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

In 1840 Mr. Whittier, having exercised himself in a variety of situations, —as farmer, shoemaker, editor at Boston, at Hartford, at Philadelphia; and having already been a contributor of prose and verse to newspapers and periodicals in all those cities, and published two or three small volumes of poetry, — abandoned the active walks of business, and fixed his residence at Amesbury, on the banks of the Merrimack. From this calm retreat he sent forth, mostly through the columns of the *National Era*, published at Washington, the vigorous and stirring Antislavery poems by which he became most widely known. He had been greatly moved by the brave crusade of Garrison, and was early enrolled among the active and avowed adherents of the Antislavery movement. His poems against slavery took a more fiery and aggressive tone about the time of the Mexican War, and several of the pieces inspired by that nefarious enterprise remain to this day unsurpassed in eloquence and vigor of denunciation, not unrelieved by the truest pathos. This is one side of Whittier's nature, the side earliest known by the public. There was another side, not less remarkable and more fully represented at a later period, of which the main feature is a genuine love of Nature and a keen appreciation and sympathy for every aspect in which she shows herself to the New England eye. The fields and woods, the rocks and streams of his native State, — her ice and snows as well, — are to him a constantly inspiring theme; and not less so are the homely virtues, the artless graces, the latent heroism of her sons and daughters. *Snow-Bound, Maud Muller, The Barefoot Boy, In School-Days*, are instances not more marked than scores of others of this warmth of loyal affection. The first collection of his poems was published in 1838, but his productiveness increased with his years, and

was greatest at about and after the close of the Rebellion. "Eight volumes of poems," says the memoir in Duyckinck's *Cyclopædia*, "were added by Mr. Whittier to his works in as many years (1864–72), one of which was a series of selections."

To account for all the poets in a community where no man with pretensions to the calling of a man of letters thinks his position assured without at least an occasional copy of verses, would here be impossible. Among the writers less known than those above noticed, are Thomas William Parsons and William W. Story. Born in the same year, the latter put forth a small volume of poems in 1847, the former in 1854 Mr. Parsons had, however, published ten years before his translation of the first ten cantos of Dante's *Inferno*, whose excellence had attracted the attention of scholars. His careful and continued study of Dante had colored visibly the style of all his minor works, the best of which are marked by reserve and purity of expression, and by gravity of thought and feeling. They exhibit, however, a certain narrowness of range and restricted sympathies; while the verses of Story are the recreations of a busy man, versatile and unequal, much more varied in style and subject than those of Parsons, with the animation and interest which come of various relations and pursuits.

In fiction, beyond the pleasant stories of Miss Sedgwick and Mrs. Child, and the Eastern tales of William Ware, little had been done which retains a place in New England literature until the publication, in 1843, of Sylvester Judd's remarkable story of *Margaret*, — a production in its main features so genuine that to the present day it holds the place which Mr. Lowell assigned to it a few years after its first appearance, as "the most emphatically American book ever written." Nobody has ever caught more exactly the spirit, at once grim and humorous, of New England country life, before its hardships were mitigated by a measure of material prosperity and by emancipation from priestly rule and the superstitions which accompanied it. Nobody has ever more lovingly observed or more accurately described the natural aspect of the New England summer and winter, and its influence on the character and temperament of the inhabitants. The book is often crude, extravagant, repelling; but its charm is neither to be denied nor resisted.

Three years after the publication of *Margaret*, a yet more remarkable story appeared. The name of Nathaniel Hawthorne had been slowly growing familiar to a limited circle of readers through the *Twice Told Tales*, of which a portion had been collected and published in 1837, and a second series in 1842; but which, keenly appreciated by a few, had left the author, as he has himself remarked, "the obscurest man of letters in America." "These stories were published in magazines and annuals, extending over a period of ten or twelve years, and comprising the whole of the writer's

young manhood, without making (so far as he has ever been aware) the slightest impression on the public."

With the appearance of *The Scarlet Letter*, in 1846, Mr. Hawthorne found himself promptly raised to as much conspicuousness as the most exacting author could desire. Criticism was silenced. Here was a book as faithful to a single phase of the New England character as Judd's had been, but informed with an imagination and creative power quite new in American literature. With a subject as sombre and revolting as any in the whole range of modern fiction, with a succession of incidents and experiences scarcely relieved by so much as a gleam of human joy or mental health, this story, like all which followed it from the same hand, but more strongly than any other, impresses the reader with a certain uneasy sense of a preternatural influence about him, yet an influence from which he is by no means anxious to escape. The author seems to have fixed on the dark ages of New England history a gaze so intense, an attention so profound and searching, as to have pierced the veil of the past, and to have seen "the very age and body of the time." This makes the commanding power of the book; its charm lies in the air of poetry and mystery with which the characters of the story are invested, and in the incomparable beauty of the style. Here, one would say, are all the essential elements of true poetry, — creative imagination, the poetic atmosphere, and exquisiteness of expression. These qualities, it is no exaggeration to say, exist in a more eminent degree in the works of Hawthorne than in any American poetry either before or since his time.

The works which followed *The Scarlet Letter*, — *The House of the Seven Gables; The Blithedale Romance; The Marble Faun; Septimius Felton*, — are all, with the exception, perhaps, of the second, more agreeable, since in them the dismal and morbid psychology, which in all is the most salient characteristic, is relieved at intervals by the sweetest and purest human sunshine.

In *The Marble Faun* Mr. Hawthorne made, for the first time, a wide departure from the field in which he had worked so long and brilliantly, only to return to it again in *The Dolliver Romance*, his last work, of which but a few chapters had been finished at the time of his death. Those few chapters were, however, enough to show the powers of the writer at their highest, with an added grace and tenderness which was full of the most alluring promise.

In 1850 and the following year, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe (known to the public only through a little series of tales published a year or two before, called *The Mayflower, or Sketches of the Pilgrims*) contributed to the *National Era*, a weekly Antislavery newspaper in Washington, a serial story with the title of *Uncle Tom's Cabin, or Life Among the Lowly*. The circulation of the newspaper was limited, and the story was brought to the attention of few beyond the usual readers. When the serial was completed, its author proposed publishing it in a volume, but found much difficulty in getting any publisher to accept it. Its publication was at length undertaken by Messrs. John P.

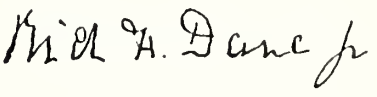
Jewett & Co., of Boston, and the book appeared in 1852. Its instant and extraordinary popularity must always remain one of the most remarkable among the curiosities of literature. It has been stated that more than two hundred thousand copies of the Boston edition were sold within a year from its first appearance. Its reception in England was much more astonishing. "The sale of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," says the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1855, "is the most marvellous literary phenomenon that the world has ever witnessed. . . . The first London edition was published in May, 1852, and was not large. But in the following September the London publishers furnished to one house ten thousand copies per day for about four weeks, and had to employ a thousand persons in preparing copies to supply the general demand. We cannot follow it beyond 1852; but it is probable that by the end of that year more than a million copies were sold in England." The undoubted cleverness of this book; its variety, vivacity, and fulness of incident; its broad and striking contrasts, of exuberant fun with the most genuine and moving pathos; its picturesque description; its vivid characterizations,—are still not enough to account for such an unprecedented success. We may, perhaps, explain its popularity in the United States by remembering that the book fell upon a time when the people North and South were intensely excited upon the portentous question of slavery, then getting visibly hotter and more dangerous year by year. This book represents every form of opposition to slavery, — argument, wit, ridicule, pathos, satire, and the bullet, — and appeals with force and enthusiasm to every phase and every degree of Antislavery sentiment and opinion. And it was, strange to say, with the exception of Hildreth's *White Slave*, the first book which had attempted such a thing. For its enormous circulation abroad, its translation into every language of Europe,[1] its dramatization in twenty different forms, and its representation in the theatres of every European capital, it is less easy to account, further than as an illustration of the solidarity of the race, in virtue of which whatever stirs profoundly one portion of mankind becomes forthwith matter of interest to all the rest.

It would have been strange if such an achievement had not stimulated the author to new enterprises. In 1856 Mrs. Stowe published *Dred, a Tale of the Great Dismal Swamp*. This was, like its great predecessor, a story of slave-life, but the moral purpose of the book as an Antislavery tract was more constantly and directly enforced, and with less relief in the way of incident and variety of character. All the prestige of the author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* was insufficient to procure for *Dred* more than a moderate and ordinary circulation. This was the last of Mrs. Stowe's Antislavery novels. She continued to write with persevering industry, but her stories were no longer stories of slavery, and were widely various in subject. *The Minister's Wooing*, *The Pearl of Orr's Island*, *Agnes of Sorrento*, *Pink and White Tyranny*, were successively printed, in part as serial stories

[1] [See note to Dr. Clarke's chapter in this volume. — Ed.]

in the *Atlantic Monthly*, and afterward in book form, but without any unusual degree of favor.

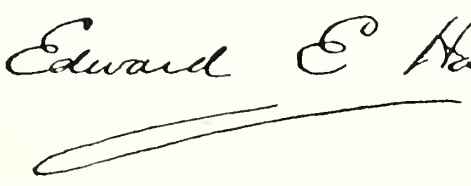
Of miscellaneous works, conprising biography, travels, essays, etc., the production during the period with which we are at present concerned was, in the absence of the stimulus afforded by a prosperous and well conducted magazine, somewhat limited. Mr. R. H. Dana, Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast*, which first appeared in 1840, was one of the first books of travel and adventure to be published in this unadventurous community, as it has remained one of the best. Mr. Hillard's *Six Months in Italy*, a graceful, scholarly, and appreciative account of the most familiar portions of that much described country, was published in 1853; and Mr. Charles Eliot Norton's *Notes of Travel and Study in Italy*, in 1860. The latter was less the work of a tourist than Mr. Hillard's work, and more the work of a student in the by-ways of Italian art and literature, and the social and ecclesiastical history of the Italian cities. Perhaps the first contribution to the literature of Fine Art was the publication in 1850, under the editorship of R. H. Dana, Jr., of Washington Allston's *Lectures on Art*. These lectures were never read in public, and they formed but a portion of a course which was intended to cover the whole field of the theory and practice of painting.



The last literary division of the century, dating from the establishment of the *Atlantic Monthly*, has been vastly more prolific than any of the preceding divisions; too prolific, indeed, to permit so much as an enumeration here of all the writers who have sprung up and flourished. As in the second period the *North American Review* furnished the stimulus and the opportunity for the young writers of that early day, so forty years later the *Atlantic* gathered into its more varied pages the work, less formal for the most part, but more spirited and confident, of the newer generation. The new magazine was established in 1857; the first number appeared in November of that year.[1] It took at once a leading position among the literary periodicals of the country, and has steadily maintained that position. It had from the first not only the firm and judicious management of able and accomplished editors, but the cordial support of the best writers in the country on the one hand and of a large and appreciative body of readers on the other. The philosophy of Emerson; the poetry of Longfellow, Lowell, Whittier, and

[1] It was published by Messrs. Phillips and Sampson, under the editorship of James Russell Lowell. "Four volumes," says Mr. Scudder, in his preface to the index of the first twenty volumes, "covering two years and two months, were issued by this firm, when the deaths successively of Mr. Phillips and Mr. Sampson were followed by a dissolution of the firm, and the magazine passed into the hands of Messrs. Ticknor & Fields. This firm, under successive styles, continued to issue it till the close of 1873. Professor Lowell was succeeded by Mr. Fields, with whom at a later day was associated Mr. W. D. Howells, who in his turn became editor-in-chief in 1874," and in 1881 he in turn was succeeded by Mr. Thomas B. Aldrich.

Bryant; the science of Agassiz; the criticism of Weiss and Whipple, — were at its service from the beginning. Dr. Holmes, whose youthful contributions to the *New England Magazine* twenty years before were dimly remembered by the older readers, revived in the very first number of the *Atlantic* the series of papers then begun under the title of *The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table*, but revived then with the sobered wit and matured wisdom of middle age. For the first two years these delightful papers, continued under the title of *The Professor at the Breakfast Table*, and touching one after another, with wit, satire, pathos or grave reflection, every passing folly and every serious interest of the day, were to the *Atlantic* what the recreations of Christopher North were to *Blackwood*. Imbedded in them are many of the most admirable of the serious poems of Dr. Holmes, as well as many of the most amusing. They were followed by *The Professor's Story*, published later under the title of *Elsie Venner;* and this again by *The Guardian Angel*,— stories in which the interest which comes from picturesque situations and stirring incidents is by no means wanting, but in which the peculiar attraction lies in a certain curious analysis of abnormal and hereditary twists of character and disposition, which show the hand of the Professor, to whom all this pleasant story-telling is but an avocation. Dr. Holmes's contributions also included single papers on a great variety of topics, — social, scientific, biographical, — all marked by the same bright alertness, wit, and good sense.



[1]

The list of *Atlantic* story-writers is a long one, and includes some names which will long remain on the most familiar shelves. A little story which appeared in its second year, running over with delightful absurdity, purporting to be written by the Rev. F. Ingham, and called "My Double, and how he undid me," excited much curiosity as to its author, who however remained generally unknown, perhaps even till the appearance some years later of "The Man without a Country," — a sketch so vivid in its characterization, so vigorous in style, and so exactly timed to its opportunity (in the most anxious year of the Rebellion), that the *incognito* was not long preserved. Mr. Hale remained a frequent contributor to the *Atlantic* until the establishment of a magazine of his own, *Old and New*, in 1869.

Of the *Atlantic* writers, there are three who may be said to have represented in its pages not unfairly the modern school of American fiction. Of Mr. Howells and Mr. Aldrich, the first contributions to this magazine appeared in the same volume in 1860. Mr. James began some five years later. All have been constant contributors ever since of stories more or less elaborate, which have sufficient likeness to distinguish them as a group from all the earlier writers of fiction, while they have certain differences which

[1] [There is a good likeness and a sketch of Mr. Hale's career in the *Harvard Register*, May, 1881. — Ed.]

distinguish them clearly enough one from another. If Mr. Howells has more vigor of style and more incident, Mr. Aldrich has more sentiment and a more delicate touch; while Mr. James differs from both in a certain critical attitude which he maintains toward his characters, — an attitude which savors sometimes of contemptuousness or at least of a cold superiority, which is but a poor substitute for the loving sympathy which the great story-tellers have felt for the children of their imagination. More than either of the other two, more perhaps than any predecessor in the same field, his stories abound in minute details of character and manners, — of manners even more than character. But this is a peculiarity which Mr. James shares with most of the writers of fiction of our time and country, and which makes the chief element in the contrast between the modern American novel and the robust and healthy novels of English life with which Thackeray, Trollope, Reade, and Hardy, to say nothing of lesser names, have entertained the world.

The *Atlantic* has been even richer in essays than in fiction. The essays of Mr. Lowell, now on some absorbing issue of the war, or the politics of war time, now on some placid topic of curious literary study; the essays of Mr. Norton on Italian poetry or archæology; of Mr. Whipple[1] on the Elizabethan poets and philosophers; of Mr. Henry James on speculative philosophy and sociology; of Mr. C. C. Hazewell on contemporary foreign politics; of Mr. Parton on the picturesque passages of American history, biography, and manners; the admirable papers of Colonel Higginson on all sorts of familiar subjects connected with the war, and with the politics, dress, diet, manners, and social life of the day; the charming papers in which Thoreau, John Burroughs, and Wilson Flagg have set down their loving observations of the trees, birds, flowers, and the thousand aspects of the New England country, — these are but an example of the variety of interest which has gathered around the pages of this magazine during the first quarter of a century. The *Atlantic* is a favorable example, too, of the modern manner in periodical literature, which has now quite superseded the more deliberate and ponderous manner of a generation ago. The quarterlies have lost their hold on the readers of to-day, and will doubtless soon disappear. The *North American Review*, so long the type and expression of the literary character and tastes of Boston, has passed[2] from the city which fostered it for sixty years, and retains little of its original and distinctive character. The *Christian Examiner*, which maintained its place alongside the *North American* for nearly fifty years, has ceased to exist, and has left no successor. The movement of mind has shared in the larger and more

[1] [Mr. Whipple has contributed a similar, but a necessarily wider, survey than the present, in his "Century of American Literature" in *The First Century of the Republic*, New York, 1876. — Ed.]

[2] To New York.

intense activity of the present age, and brevity, vivacity, and concentration are now the first requisites in a periodical literature as in the affairs of public and private business.

Whether the ever increasing interests of business and social life in America, — of business life in particular; the amazing increase of wealth and private luxury, and the appetite which grows by what it feeds on; the disappearance everywhere of the simplicity which marked the life of the earlier half of the century, — are to conduce to the development in the future of a literature at once brilliant and ennobling, is a question not easy to answer. The connection between the conditions of popular life and the highest literary activity, in those countries of Europe which have produced the greatest examples of national literature, has always been obscure. That there is a connection is, however, undoubtedly true. The distinctive traits of the New England character are fast passing away from the New England people, swallowed up in the swelling tide of American national life. It is not unreasonable to expect that the traits which have distinguished the New England literature of the past century will be wanting in the literature of the next. "The past at least is secure." [1]

[1] [The proportion of college-bred men in Massachusetts has so decreased since 1800, that while at the beginning of the present century her students in college were approximately one in something less than 1200 of population, now there is one in about 1800 souls. See *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, April 24, 1878. — ED.]

INDEX.

Contributors' names are in SMALL CAPITALS, followed by the titles of their chapters in quotation-marks, and titles of books are in *italics*. Lists of names in various chapters are not included in this Index.

ABBOTT, JACOB, 649; autograph, 649. J. S. C., 410; autograph, 410. Major Henry L., 323; portrait, 323.
Abolitionists in Boston, 369, 386.
Absentees, 175.
Academy of Notre Dame, 533.
"Adams and Liberty," song, 625.
Adams, Hannah, her writings, 641. John, 7; his portrait, 192; his house, 155; fruitful writer, 141; defends Captain Preston, 36; his brief, 38; legal adviser of patriots, 41; as "Novanglus," 133; and the newspapers, 625; and Mercy Warren, 641; letters, 642. J. Q., as writer, 642; autograph, 642; his verse, 650; and the right of petition, 384. Rev. Nehemiah, 410; autograph, 410; defends slavery, 387. Phinehas, 637. Samuel, as public writer, 140; drafts State papers, 22; writes the *Appeal*, 28; as "Vindex," 39; portrait, 35; autograph, 35; his papers, 36; his house, 158. Rev. William, 409; autograph, 409.
Adressers, 157, 175.
Agassiz, Louis, 664.
Agricultural newspapers, 633; society, 609.
Aiken, Rev. Silas, 411; autograph, 411.
Alcott, Bronson A., 657.
Alden, Judah, 231; profile drawn, by Kosciusko, 99.
Aldrich, T. B., 679, 680, 681.
Algerine War, 347.
Alien and Sedition Laws, 623.
Alien passengers, 246.
Allen, Benjamin L., acting mayor, 259. William, *Biographical Dictionary*, 642.
Allston, W., his lectures, 679.
Allston Village, 607.
Almshouse on Deer Island, 256.
American Academy, 634.
American Apollo, 635.
American Baptist Missionary Union, 428.
American Colonization Society, 388.
American Herald, 617.
American lines during the siege, 104.
American Preceptor, 644.
American Recorder, 547.
American Unitarian Association, 477.
Ames, Fisher, 197, 625, 642, 669.
Amory, John, autograph, 152. Rufus G., 303. Thomas, autograph, 152.
Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, 300, 301, 303; commanders from Boston, 301.
Andrew, John A., 392; governor, 399; references on his life, 399; autograph, 400.
Andrews, Ebenezer T., 642. John, 155, 156, 163.
Anthology Club, 637.
Antick, 172.
Antislavery movements, 241, 256, 260, 264, 266, 648, 652, 675, 678.
Antislavery Society, 375.
Appleton, Nathaniel, autograph, 153. William, 461.
Apthorp, Rev. East, 121.
Argus, brig, 337.
Arianism, 476.
Arminians, 467.
Armstrong, Samuel T., mayor, 243; autograph, 290.
Arnold, Benedict, in Cambridge, 114.
Artillery Election Sermons, 120.
Artillery Train, 62.
Assessments and valuations, 234.
Associators, 157, 175.
Atlantic Avenue, 272, 276.
Atlantic Monthly, 679.
Atlantic Neptune, vi.
Attucks, Crispus, 31.
Austin, James T., 384. Jonathan Loring, 183. Nathaniel, Jr., autograph, 555. William, autograph, 564.
Avery, John, autograph, 153.

BACK BAY, plan in 1814, x; land agreement, 261.
Bacon, Rev. John, 126.
Bagnall, Thomas, 439.
Bainbridge, Commodore William, 338, 349, 351, 355; commands the "Constitution," 341; autograph, 352.
Baldwin, Loammi, 212, 355; autograph, 557. Rev. Thomas, 423.
Balfour, Rev. Walter, 499; autograph, 499.
Ballou, Rev. Hosea, 491; portrait, 493; autograph, 493. Hosea, 2d, 50; autograph, 502.
Bancroft, George, 654, 665; autograph, 665.
Baptists in Boston, 421; in Brighton, 605; in Charlestown, 561, 563; Social Union, 432; in Roxbury, 581.
Barker, Josiah, 356.
Barras, autograph, 166.
Barré, Colonel Isaac, defends the Colonies, 11; autograph, 11; his portrait asked for, 19.
Barrett, Colonel James, autograph, 103. Jonathan, autograph, 153.
BARROWS, SAMUEL J., "Dorchester in the last Hundred Years," 589
Bass, Bishop Edward, 449, 454.
Bartholomew, Rev. J. G., autograph, 502.
Bartlett, Josiah, 547; autograph, 548. Gen. William F., 318; portrait, 318.
Bates, George, 348.
Baylies, Hadijah, autograph, 213.
Beachmont, 616.
Beacon, 25, 171, 184; Hill, panorama from, 79; Street in 1804, 225.
Beaurain, vi.
Beecher, Laban S., 357. Rev. Lyman, 408; portrait, 408; autograph, 408.
Belknap, Jeremy, 473; autograph, 635; as a writer, 640.
Bellingham Estate in Chelsea, 615.
Bells, ringing of, 243.
Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, 477.
Benjamin, Park, 652.
Benneville, Rev. George de, 483.
Bent, Rev. N. T., 458.
Bernard, Governor, 27; his house, 117; sails for England, 28.
Berniere, ii.
Betterment law, 272.
Bible in the public schools, 535.
Bigelow, Horatio, 627. Dr. Jacob, 645. John P., mayor, 254; autograph, 291. Timothy, autograph, 213.
Bingham, Caleb, 644.
Binney, Amos, 339, 439.
Bishop's palace, 106.
Bliss, George, autograph, 213.
Block, Rev. William, 435.
Blockade of Boston, a play, 162.
Blowers, S. S., 38; autograph, 38.
Blunt, x.
Boardman, Rev. Richard, 435.
Boies, James, 117.
Bolles, Rev. Dr., 460.

Bolton, Commodore William C., 349.
Bond, William, autograph, 105.
Borland House, 106.
Boston, city, incorporation of, 219, 222; city government organized, 224; charter amended, 246, 248, 259, 260, 278, 282, 293; bicentenary of, 236, 291; water-board, 285; in the Civil War, 316; descriptions of, 168; maps of, i–xii, —by Trumbull, 80; population, increase of, 292, —during the siege, 92, (in 1783) 168, 190, (in 1810) 303, (in 1820) 221, (in 1830) 234, (in 1850) 255, (in 1860) 264, 312, (in 1880) 278; independence proclaimed, 183; rolls of troops, 118; siege of, 67; life in, 91, 154; plundered, 76; evacuated, 94, 163, 180; approaches fortified, v. 79, 182; authorities on siege, 78, 154; literature of siege, 117; views of town, 23, 156.
Boston, frigate, 187, 334; sloop-of-war, 354.
Boston harbor, exploits in, during the Revolution, 90; plans of, i–xii; preservation of, 263; views of, 23.
Boston Highlands, 588.
Boston institutions: Boston Athenæum, 638; Boston College, 536; Boston University, 441.
Boston Light, viii, 96.
Boston massacre, 31–40; orations, 40, 135, 635.
Boston military: dragoons, 303; light infantry, 303.
Boston Port Bill, 52; donations to the town, 54.
Boston publications: *Almanac*, xi; *Atlas*, 629; *Catholic Observer*, 527; *Chronicle*, 617, 623, 626; *Courier*, 628; *Evening Transcript*, 630; *Directory*, vii; *Gazette*, 132, 137, 617, 623, 624; *Herald*, 630; *Magazine*, 636; *Miscellany*, 663; *Patriot*, 626; *Pilot*, 534; *Post*, 629; *Recorder*, 632; *Times*, 630; *Traveller*, 630; *Weekly Magazine*, 643.
Bounties in the Civil War, 315; evils of, 325.
Bowditch, Nathaniel, 641.
Bowdoin, James, 144; autograph, 39; in poor health, 76; his house, 155; during Shays's rebellion, 193; his portrait, 195.
Bowen, Abel Francis, x, 663.
Bowes, William, autograph, 153.
Boylston, John, 178; Nicholas, 152.
Bradford, Duncan, 357. Samuel, 303.
Brattle, Thomas, 110. William, 62, 110; Estate in Cambridge, 110.
Brattle Street meeting-house, 92, 106, 158.
Breck, Samuel, 155, 171.
Breed, Ebenezer, autograph, 555.
Bridge, Eben, autograph, 106. Matthew, autograph, 557.
Bridge to Charlestown, 554.
Brighton, annexed, 284, 603; churches, 604; noted citizens, 610.
Brimmer, Martin, mayor, 249; autograph, 290.
Brinley house in Roxbury, 116.
Broad Street riot, 245.
Broadway Bridge, 276.
Brook Farm, 577, 579, 585.
Brooks, Major John, 83, 105; autograph, 83
Brooks, Phillips, "The Episcopal Church," 447, 463.
Brotherhood of St. John, 460.
Brown, Box, 393. Gawen, 154. Samuel, 336, 337.
Brown's house, 80.
Brown of Ossawattomie, 399.
Brownson, O. A. 660; his *Quarterly Review*, 660; his *Boston Quarterly Review*, 660.
Brush, Crean, 97.
Bryant, William C., 643, 650.
Buckingham, Joseph T., 628, 629, 631; autograph, 631.
Buckminster, Rev. J. S., 475; portrait, 475.
Budington, Rev. W. I., 412, 560; autograph, 412, 561.
Bugbee, James M., "Boston under the Mayors," 217.
Buildings, survey and inspection of, 281; destroyed during the siege, 155.
Bulfinch, Charles, 517. Dr. Thomas, 450, 452.
Bunker Hill, fortified, 82, 181; battle, 82; British morning orders, 84; command in, 103; plan of battle, i; view of battle, 87, 88; view of field, 555; loss in Charlestown, 104, 549; prisoners taken, 89; its centenary, 287; literature of, 103; orderly books, 84; monument, 88.
Bunker Hill Aurora, 547.
Bunker Hill Monument Association, 566.
Burgoyne, General, arrives, 81; autograph, 81; writes plays, 93, 161; dies, 100; his army in Cambridge, 183; their parole, 184; in Boston, 155.
Burns, the fugitive, 260, 397, 398.
Burrill, Samuel, 437.
Burying-ground redoubt in Roxbury, 114.
Bussey, Benjamin, 583; his farm, 572.
Bute's ministry, 8, 12; autograph, 13.
Butcher's Association in Brighton, 608.
Butler Hill, 106.
Byles, Mather, 126, 160; his daughters, 160; his estate, 161. Mather, Jr. 128, 448.
Byrne, Rev. Patrick, 519; autograph, 519.
Byrne, William, "The Roman Catholic Church in Boston," 515.

Cabot, George, 626; autograph, 213; portrait, 214.
Cadets, 300, 303.
Caldwell, James, 31.
Callender, Joseph, ix.
Cambridge, assembly at, 27, 41; bridge, xi; plan of, xi
Caner, Rev. Henry, 128, 448.
Canterbury, 572.
Carleton, Osgood, viii, ix; autograph, viii.
Carney, Andrew, 539.
Carney Hospital, 539.
Carroll, Bishop, 517; autograph, 517.
Carter farm, 615.
Cary, Nathaniel, autograph, 153. Richard, autograph, 152.
Cary farm, 615.
Castle, burned, 180; surrendered to the military, 41.
Castle Island, ix.
Catechising, 469.
Cathedral of the Holy Cross, old, view of, 516; sold, 536; the new, 536, 544.
Catholics, burials of, 528; in Charlestown, 564. *See* Roman Catholics.
Cattle fair in Brighton, 607.
Cemeteries in Brighton, 609; in Roxbury, 586.
Chalkley, Robert, 552.
Chamberlain, Mellen, "Chelsea, etc., in the last hundred years," 611.
Channing, W. E., 637, 646; his Unitarianism, 474; joins Abolitionists, 377, 383.
Chapin, Rev. E. H., 492, 500; autograph, 492.
Chapman, Jonathan, mayor, 247; autograph, 290.
Charities, 470; in Roxbury, 585.
Charles River, xii; bridge, 554.
Charlestown, 547; annexed, 284, 570; battery, 306; schools, 557; meeting-house built, 558; tree, vi; loss in, during the battle on Bunker Hill, 86, 549; town clerks, 551; view of, in 1789, 554; other views, 555; made a city, 569; public library, 569; mayors of, 569; maps of, ii, iv, vii, viii, x, xi, xii, 568.
Charlestown artillery, 307.
Chastellux in Boston, 167.
Chatham, Earl of, autograph, 65.
Chauncy, Rev Charles, 122, 471, 488.
Checkley, Rev. Samuel, Jr., 125.
Chelsea, 611, 616; bridge, 555; maps, xi, xii; naval hospital at, 351.
Chesapeake frigate, 341; and Shannon, 344.
Chestnut Hill reservoir, 272.
Cheverus, Bishop, 516; autograph, 518; portrait, 518.
Child, David Lee, 377. Lydia M., 378, 648.
Chocolate Manufacture, 595.
Cholera in Boston, 255.
Christ Church in Cambridge, 110; in Boston and the lanterns, 101.
Christian Disciple, 479, 646.
Christian Examiner, 479, 645.
Christian Register, 480, 633.
Christian Witness, 633.

Chronicle, 130.
Church, Benjamin, Jr., active, 44, 145; autograph, 111, 145; his defection, 111.
Church of the Advent, 458.
Church Street District, 274.
Cincinnati Society, 621.
City Clerk, 225.
City Hall (old State House), 235; (old Court House), 247; new one erected, 267, 272.
City Hospital, 262.
City Seal, 225.
Civil War (1861–65), Brighton's share, 603; acts of Charlestown, 565; Dorchester in, 596; Roxbury's share, 578; necessitated illegal registration, 267; quota of Boston, 271; its effect on newspapers, 629.
Clapp, Deacon Ebenezer, 593. William W., 627.
Clarendon Hills, 572.
Clark, John, 439. Silas, 612.
Clarke, James Freeman, "The Antislavery Movement in Boston," 369. Rev. John, 471.
Clay, Henry, his visit (1833), 602.
Cleaveland, Parker, 645.
Clouston, John, 188.
Clinton, General, arrives, 81; autograph, 81; dies, 100.
Cobb, Samuel C., mayor, 284; autograph, 291. Rev. Sylvanus, 504; autograph, 504.
Cobble Hill, 105.
Cochituate Water, 252.
Codman, Rev. John, 407, 594; autograph, 407.
Coffin, William, autograph, 153.
Colby, Gardner, 430.
College-bred men, 682.
Colonies, union of, 20.
Color printing, x.
Columbian Orator, 644.
Columbus Avenue Church, 501.
Commandant's house at Navy Yard, 337.
Commercial Point, 595.
Committee of Correspondence, 42; their doings, 55; their records, 182.
Committee of Safety, 77.
Common, British works on, 79; cows on, 236; Soldiers' Monument on, 324.
Concord, Expedition to, 67, 101. *See* Lexington.
Confiscation Acts, 175.
Congregational Churches, 401; in Charlestown, 563; in Dorchester, 594.
Congregationalist, 633
Constellation, frigate, 340.
Constitution of the U. S. adopted, 196.
Constitution, ship, 332, 337, 340, 344; docked and rebuilt, 356; figure-head of Jackson, 357.
Constitution of Massachusetts (1780), 148, 192, 613.
Constitutional Telegraphe, 624.
Continental Congress, 55.
Continental Journal, 617.
Convention troops, 184, 323.
Conway, General, his portrait asked for, 19.
Cooper, Rev. Samuel, 123. William, town clerk, 28, 33; clerk of Committee of Correspondence, 44; autograph, 44.
Coquette, The, a novel, 604, 637.
Cordis, Joseph, autograph, 554.
Cotton, John, 402.
Court House, 243.
Craft, Ellen, 393.
Crafts house in Roxbury, 586.
Craigie, Dr. Andrew, 113.
Craigie house in Cambridge, 112.
Crane, William B., autograph, 352
Croswell, Rev. Andrew, 129. Rev. William, 456, 459.
Cudworth, Benjamin, 14.
Cumberland, frigate, 354, 362.
Cunard line of steamships, 247.
Cummings, Charles A., "Press and Literature of the last hundred years," 617.
Cushing, Thomas, 144, 145; autograph, 29, 34; portrait, 34
Customs officers, 3.
Cutter, Leonard R., acting mayor, 284. Samuel, 557.
Cutler, Rev. Timothy, 128.

Daily, first, in Boston, 627.
Daily Advertiser, 626, 627.
Dalrymple, Colonel, 25.
Dana, R. H., Sr., 649; autograph, 649; his *Buccaneer*, 649; *Idle Man*, 649 R. H., Jr., his writings, 679; autograph, 679.
Dane, Nathan, autograph, 213
Danforth, Thomas, 551.
Datchet house in Roxbury, 116.
Davis, Aaron, 587. Rev. John, 127. Thomas A., mayor, 250; autograph, 290. William, 117.
Davy, Solomon, autograph, 153.
Dawes, William, sent to Lexington, 68, 101.
Dean, Rev. Paul, 490, 496, 497; autograph, 498.
Deane, frigate, 187.
Dearborn, Benjamin, x. Henry, ii, 105, 116, 574; portrait, 574. H. A. S., 575. Nathaniel, xi.
Debt of the city, 225, 234, 240, 247, 249, 251, 252, 255, 264, 278, 288; act for regulating extent, 286.
Dedham turnpike, 576.
Derby, Richard, autograph, 103.
Des Barres, J. F. W., iii, vi.
Deserters, 91.
D'Estaing in Boston, 185.
Devens, Chas., autograph, 551. Richard, 549; portrait, 550; autograph, 101, 550. Samuel, autograph, 551.
Dewey, Samuel P., 353.
Dexter, Franklin, autograph, 557. Samuel, 211, 557; autograph, 557.
Dial, 656.
Dickens, Charles, in Boston, 248.
Dickinson, John, 22, 131.
Doane, Rev. G. W., 456.
Dodge, David, autograph, 551.
Donkin's *Military Collections*, 74.
Doolittle, Colonel Ephraim, autograph, 107.
Dorchester, 589; schools, 591; churches, 592; annexed, 277, 598; population, 599; plan of, x, xii; heights occupied, 94; Neck, 117; fortified, 117; Neck annexed, 597; Neck, plan of, v.
Dorchester, Daniel, "The Methodist Episcopal Church," 423.
Douglass, Frederick, 393.
Downes, Commodore John, 361; autograph, 352.
Dowse, Edward, 38.
Draft riot (1863), 269.
Drake, F. S., "Roxbury in the last hundred years," 571; "Brighton in the last hundred years," 601.
Drama in 1814, 308.
Draper, Moses, 572. Richard, 130.
Drum, or rout, 161.
Dry Dock, 354, 356.
Dudley, Colonel Joseph, 573. Paul, his mile-stones, 585.
Dudley estate, 576.
Duel, 185; Finch and White, 349.
Dupee, Elias, 160.
Dutton, Warren, 625.
Dwight, Rev. S. E., 410. Lieut.-Colonel Wilder, 322; portrait, 322.
Dyer, Micah, 440.

East Boston, plan of, ix, xi. Ferries, 277, 288.
Eastburn, Bishop, 460, 464.
Eaton, Rev. Asa, 454.
Eckley, Rev. Joseph, 406, 470; autograph, 406.
Edes, Benjamin, 624. Henry H., "Charlestown in the last hundred years," 547. Robert B., autograph, 552. Thomas, Jr., autograph, 552.
Edes house in Charlestown, 552; view of, 553.
Edes & Gill, 132, 617.
Edwards, Rev. Justin, 409; autograph, 409.
Election sermons, 120.
Eliot, Dr. Andrew, 91, 124, 159. Dr. John, 471; his *Biographical Dictionary*, 642. Samuel, autograph, 152. Samuel A., mayor, 243; autograph, 291; portrait, 244.
Elliot, Commodore Jesse D., 355, 356; autograph, 352.
Ellis, Rev George E., D. D., 563. Rev. Sumner, 490.
Elmwood, 113, 114.
Emancipation group, 292, 400.
Embargo, 209, 626, 643.
Emerson, R. W., 477, 655, 663; as lecturer, 659; his poetry, 673. Rev William, 637.

Emmanuel Church, 462.
Episcopal Church, 447; in Brighton, 605; in Roxbury, 581; clergy in the Revolution, 127; controversy, 121.
"Era of good feeling," 626.
Erving, John, Jr., 152.
Essex, frigate, 341.
Essex Gazette, 138.
Eustis, Governor, 112; his house, 575; autograph, 575; attends wounded of Bunker Hill, 111.
Evening Post, 131.
Everett, Alexander H., 645. Edward, 380, 670; as clergyman, 475; his portrait, 671; autograph, 671. Rev. L. S., 491; autograph, 491. Rev. Oliver, 472.
Evergreen Cemetery, 609.

FADEN, WILLIAM, iii; his maps, 80.
Falmouth, sloop of war, 351.
Faneuil Hall, a theatre during the siege, 161; portraits in, 181; view of, 228.
Farm School, 241.
Farmer's letters, 22.
Fay, S. P. P., 307.
Fayerwether house in Cambridge, 113.
Federal Constitution, reports of meeting to adopt, 622; adopted, 196.
Federal Gazette, 627.
Federal Orrery, 625.
Federal Street widened, 277; meeting-house, 158.
Federalists in Boston, 189, 623; their decline, 207; revival, 207; final extinction, 215; authorities on, 214, 215.
Felch, Cheever, 348, 350.
Fellowes Athenæum, 583.
Fenwick, Bishop, 519.
Fessenden, T. G., 633.
Finch, Lieutenant William B., duel, 349.
Fires, in 1787, vii; in 1794, viii; in 1872, 281; legislation after, 295.
Fire department, 229, 243, 246; telegraphic fire-alarm, 256; steam fire-engines, 256; reorganized, 282; of Roxbury, 584; engines, 151, 152.
Fisher, William, autograph, 153.
Fitch, Timothy, autograph, 152.
Fitzpatrick, Bishop, 526; autograph, 526; died, 539.
Flag, naval, 188; used at the siege, 105.
Fleet, John, 131. Thomas, 131.
Follen, Charles, 654.
Food scarce during the siege, 157.
Forest Hill Cemetery, 577, 586.
Fort Hill, view of, 23; removed, 272.
Fort Independence, 305; Strong, 310, 311; Warren, 306.
Forton, prisoners at, 187.
Foster, Rev. John, 604. Mrs. Hannah, 637; her novel, *The Coquette*, 604.
Fowle, Zachariah, 134.
Foxcroft, Rev. Thomas, 122.
Frankland, Lady, 77.
Franklin, Benjamin, before parliament, 18; agent of Massachusetts Bay, 41.
Freeman, Rev. James, 450, 472; portrait, 473.
Freemasons, 585.
Free-soil party, 389, 390.
French army in Boston, 165; their entertainment, 166.
French officers, autographs, 166.
French Revolution, influence of, 203, 623.
Friends' monthly meeting, 64.
Frolic, sloop-of-war, 343.
Frothingham, Benjamin, autograph, 559. Rev. N. L., 476. Hon. Richard, 566; autograph, 566; his "Sam Adams Regiments," 29.
Fuel scarce during the siege, 156.
Fugitive-slave law, 397.
Fuller, Margaret, 656, 657; autograph, 656.
Fulling mill, 587.

GAGE, THOMAS, made Governor of Massachusetts Bay, 54; seizes powder, and begins fortifications, 62; sends out expeditions, 66; and his wife, 68; his account of Lexington and Concord, 73; his order to inhabitants to leave Boston, fac-simile, 76; reinforced, 81; dies, 100.
Gamage, Dr. William, Jr., autograph, 112.
Gannett, Rev. E. S., 476.
Gardiner, Rev. J. S. J., 452, 625; portrait, 453, 456.
Gardner, Rev. Calvin, 491; autograph, 491. Henry J., 258.
Garretson, Rev. Freeborn, 435.
Garrison, William Lloyd, 371, 632; portrait, 373.
Garrison mob, 241, 381.
Gaston, William, mayor, 279; autograph, 291.
Gates, General in command in Boston, 185.
Gates and Carter duel, 185.
Gaylord, Rev. N. M., 490.
General Repository, 479.
German literature, influence of, 653, 660.
Gerry, Elbridge, autograph, 211.
Gerrymander, 212.
Gibbs, Major Caleb, 348.
Gill, Moses, autograph, 205.
Glen, James, 510.
Glover, Colonel John, autograph, 113.
GODDARD, D. A., "The Pulpit, Press, and Literature of the Revolution," 119.
Goodnow, Elisha, his gift, 262.
Goodrich, S. G., 649.
Goodwin, Mrs., keeps Washington's house, 113.
Goodwin's ship-yard, 187.
Gorham, Nathaniel, 549; autograph, 549.
Governor's Island, 306, 310.
Grades at South End raised, 274.
Grafton, Duke of, 21; autograph, 21; Rev. C. C., 460.
Grant & Dashwood, 618.
Grape Island affair, 100.
Grasse, Comte de, autograph, 166.
Graves, Admiral, 80; autograph, 81.
Gray, Rev. F. T., 498. Harrison, Jr., autograph, 153. Samuel, 31. Thomas, autograph, 152. Rev. Thomas, 581. Hon. William, 314.
Gray's ropewalk, 30.
Greaton, Rev. James, 128. General John, 116; autograph, 116.
Green, Jonathan, 612, 613. Joseph, the wit, 178; his portrait, 132; autograph, 152. Rev. Samuel, 411; autograph, 411.
Greene, General Nathanael, 117; autograph, 105, 118; in command in Boston, 182. Nathaniel, autograph, 153.
Green Dragon Tavern, 64.
Greenleaf, Joseph, 136. Rev. P. H., 461. Stephen, 14, 25. William, autograph, 29.
Greenwood, Rev. F. W. P., 476.
Gregory, Commodore F. H., autograph, 352.
Grenville, George, autograph, 8.
Greyhound Tavern, 131, 584.
Gridley, Jeremy, 4. Richard, 82, 83; constructs defences in Cambridge, 106.
Griffin, Rev. E. D., 407; autograph, 407.
Griswold, Bishop, 454, 458.

HALE, EDWARD E., "The Siege of Boston," 67; his writings, 680; autograph, 680. Nathan, as editor, 627; autograph, 628.
Hales, J. G., x.
Hall, Rev. Nathaniel, 593.
Hallowell, Benjamin, 179; autograph, 153.
Hamilton, Alexander, statue of, 206.
Hancock, John, 144; character of, 170, 200; autograph, 153, 200; portrait by Revere, 45, 46; delivers Massacre oration, 51; acts as major-general, 185; during Washington's visit (1789), 197, 199; his house, 155, 200, 201; his cottage at Jamaica Plain, 203; defeats Bowdoin, 194.
Hannah Corcoran riot, 531.
Harbinger, 663.
Harbor defences in War of 1812, 305. *See* Boston Harbor.
Harper, Rev. John, 438.
Harris, Isaac, 332. Thaddeus Mason, 592, 641; portrait, 593.
Hartford, Farragut's flag-ship, 363.
Hartford Convention, 212; autographs of members from Massachusetts, 213.
Hart's ship-yard, 332.
Harvard College buildings during the siege, 107.
Hastings, Jonathan, 107, 109.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 676; his autograph, 676.
Haxtun, M., autograph, 353.
Hazard, ship, 186.
Health, Board of, 279.
Heath, General, in command in Boston, 183; his likenesses and homestead, 183; made general, 65; autograph, 65.
Heath estate, 576.
Hedge, F. H., 660.
Helpless Orphan, 636.
Henchman, Daniel, 31.
Henshaw, Joshua, autograph, 152.
Henson, Father, 393.
Hewes, Shubael, 157. 179.
Hildreth, Richard, 667; his *History of the United States*, 668.
Hill, Alexander, autograph, 152. Rev. William, 510.
Hillard, George S., 384, 396; his writings, 679; autograph, 679.
Historical writers, 664.
Hodgson, John, stenographer, 38.
Hog Island, 78, 80.
Hog-reeves, 218.
Holbrook, Samuel, autograph, 551.
Holden, Oliver, autograph, 570.
Holland, Samuel, surveyor, iii, vi.
Hollis Street meeting-house, 158.
Hollowell, Robert, 179.
Holmes, Abiel, 641. Oliver Wendell, 650; his prose writings, 680; his poetry, 674.
Holmes house in Cambridge, 108.
Home Journal, 584.
Hooper, Robert, 56. Rev. William, 128.
Hopkins, Captain, 184. Rev. J. H., 456.
Horse railroad, 577.
Horticulture, 595.
House of the Angel Guardian, 530, 534, 536.
House of Industry, 230.
Howard, Rev. Simeon, 121, 472.
Howe, General, arrives, 81; autograph, 81; his proclamation, 97; his troops, 163; his quarters, 155. Rev. Joseph, 126. Rev. M. A. DeW., 456. Samuel G., 392, 398, 651, 664; autograph, 664.
Howells, W. D., 679, 680, 681.
Hubbard, Daniel, autograph, 153.
Hudson, W. L., autograph, 353.
Hughes, Samuel, autograph, 152.
Hull, Commodore Isaac, 307, 339, 340, 341, 351; portrait, 339: captures the "Guerrière," 339, 340, 341; autograph, 352; commands the Navy-yard, 347.
Humphreys, Deacon Henry, 593.
Hunt, Rev. John, 126.
Huntington, Rev. F. D., 462. Rev. Joshua, 406.
Hurd, Joseph, autograph, 554.
Hutchinson, Eliakim, 179. Thomas, chief-justice, 4; his house sacked, 14; becomes acting-governor, 28; and the massacre, 33; becomes governor, 41; letters made public, 44; his house at Milton, 48; recalled, 54; as writer, 145.
Hyde Park, 595.

Inches, Henderson, autograph, 153.
Independence, line-of-battle ship, 343, 346-348; razeed, 361.
Independence proclaimed in Boston, 183; copies of the printed declaration, 183.
Independent Advertiser, 133.
Independent Chronicle, 138; fac-simile, 139.
Independent Ledger, 617.
Inman, Ralph, autograph, 106; his house, 106.
Insane, hospital for, 246.
Intrepid, torpedo-boat, 344, 365.
Ivers, James, 450.

Jackson, Francis, 383.
Jail, 253, 255.
Jamaica Pond aqueduct, 237, 573.
James, Henry, Jr., 680.
Jarvis, Samuel, 621. Rev. S. F., 455.
Jay's treaty, 204, 564.
Jeffries, Dr. John, 87.
Jenks, Rev. William, 407; autograph, 407.
Johnson, Oliver, 372.
Johonnot, Francis, 337, 339.
Judd, Sylvester, his *Margaret*, 676.
Judson, Rev. Adoniram, 428.
Julien, the caterer, 575.
Junketing, 268.

Kemble, Charles, in Boston, 628.
Kettell, John, autograph, 551.
King, Henry M., "The Baptists in Boston," 421. Rev. T. F., 492; autograph, 492. Rev. T. Starr, 492; autograph, 492.
King's Chapel, 450, 472.
Kirk, Rev. E. N., 412; autograph, 412.
Kirkland, Rev. J. T., 472.
Kneeland, Rev. Abner, 491; autograph, 491.
Know-nothing party, 527.
Knox, Henry, his family, 31; sees the massacre, 31; portrait, 95.
Kosciusko, 99.

Lafayette in Boston, 173, 185, 231, 575, 602; autograph, 173.
Lamb's Dam, 114, 573.
Lamb Tavern, 93.
Lamps in streets, 152.
Land Commissioners, 258.
Lane, Oliver W., 489.
Lathrop, Rev. John, 125, 471.
Lauzun, autograph, 166.
Law books, sale of, during Revolution, 138.
Lawrence, Abbott, 345; his house, 212 Captain James, 344.
Leach, John, vii, 552; autograph, 552.
Learned, Colonel Ebenezer, autograph, 117. Thomas, 104.
Leather manufacture, 587.
Lechmere, Richard, 106; his house, 113.
Lechmere's Point, 106.
Lecture system, 658.
Lee, General Charles, autograph, 105. Rev. Jesse, 434, 436. Joseph, autograph, 153; his house, 113.
Lee papers, 29.
Legislature, Boston in the, 298; grants to Boston institutions, 298; coöperates with Boston in improvements, 298; gifts to the city, 298.
Leonard, Daniel, 132; autograph, 133.
L'Etombe, 166.
Lewis, Rev. S. C., 447.
Lexington, march to, 67, 101; Gage's account of, 73; relics of, 74; plan of, 102; authorities, 102.
Liberator, newspaper, 372, 632.
Liberty, Hancock's sloop, 23.
Liberty party, 389.
Liberty song, 131.
Liberty tree, 12, 16, 19, 28, 45, 159; view of, 159.
Libraries in Brighton, 606; in Charlestown, 569.
License law, 248, 254, 286.
Lighthouse burned, 90, 182.
Life in Boston in the Revolutionary period, 149.
Lillie, Theophilus, 30.
Lincoln, Frederick W. Jr., mayor, 262; again elected, 268; autograph, 291. General B., autograph, 194.
Lincoln statue, 400.
Linsley, Rev. J. H., 410.
Linzee, Captain John, 83, 106.
Literature of the last hundred years, 617, 634.
Little, Captain George, 187, 335. Captain Luther, 187.
Little Sisters of the poor, 541.
Lloyd, Henry, autograph, 152. James, 209.
Lodge, Henry Cabot, "The last forty years of Town Government," 189.
Long, John D., "Boston and the Commonwealth," 293.
Long Lane meeting-house, 471.
Longfellow, Stephen, autograph, 213. Henry W., 672; his poetry, 672; draft of his "Excelsior," 673; his house, 112.
Loring, Ellis Gray, 377. Joshua, 179.
Louis Phillippe in Boston, 624.
Lovejoy, E. P., killed, 384.
Lovell, James, autograph, 160. John, autograph, 160. General Solomon, 185; autograph, 185.
Lowell, Colonel Charles R., 321. James Russell, his poetry, 673; his autograph, 674; his house, 113, 114. John, Jr., 574.
Lowell estate in Roxbury, 576.
Lowell Institute, 658.

Loyalists, 175; abandon Boston, 191; writers, 145; corps of, formed, 77.
Lyman, Joseph, autograph, 213. Theodore, mayor, 237; portrait, 237; autograph, 290; and the Garrison mob, 382.
Lynde, Benjamin, presided at the massacre trials, 38; autograph, 38.
Lynde's Point, 567.

Maccarty farm, 576.
Maffitt, Rev. J. N., 438.
Magazines, 636.
Magee, Captain James, 575.
Magnifique, ship wrecked in Boston harbor, 88.
Malcom, Daniel, 23; autograph, 152.
Malden bridge, 555.
Manly, John, commissioned, 90; autograph, 90; captures ordnance, 106.
Mann, Horace, 652.
Manwaring, Edward, 38.
Maps of Boston, i–xii.
Marshfield, troops at, 65.
Mason, Rev. Charles, 464. David, 62. Jonathan, autograph, 29, 153.
Masquerade, 161.
Massachusetts Centinel, 617, 626; laws of Congress in, 624.
Massachusetts Gazette, 130.
Massachusetts Magazine, 635, 637.
Massachusetts Mercury, 625.
Massachusetts Quarterly Review, 663.
Massachusetts Spy, 134, 617; facsimile, 135; removed to Worcester, 137.
Massachusetts Baptist Education Society, 430.
Massachusetts Fusileers, 303.
Massachusetts Historical Society, 635.
Massachusetts State papers, 145.
Massachusetts, ship, 331.
Massachusettensis, essays, 133.
Mather, Rev. Samuel, 126; autograph, 127.
Matignon, Rev. F. A., 516; autograph, 519.
Maverick, Samuel, 31.
May, Samuel J., 379.
Mayhew, Father, 529. Jonathan, 119; and the Stamp Act, 20, 467, 484.
McAlpine, Daniel, 160.
McCleary, Samuel F., father and son, 225.
McLean Asylum for the insane, 567.
Means, Rev. James H., 594.
Meeting-house hill in Roxbury, 577; in Dorchester, 594.
Mein, John, 30, 151; autograph, 131.
Mein & Fleming, 130.
Merchant's autographs, Revolutionary period, 152.
Merrimac, frigate, 362.
Methodist churches, 423; in Brighton, 605; in Charlestown, 563; in Roxbury, 582; School of Theology, 441; Social Union, 442.
Mexican war, 311, 565, 664.
Middlesex canal, 556; horse railroad, 556.
Mifflin, Thomas, v; quartermaster-general, 110.
Miles, Rev. James B., 412; autograph, 413.
Militia, 303, 328.
Mill-dam, 575; plan of, in 1814, x, xi.
Miller's Hill, 105.
Miner, A. A., 500; "Century of Universalism," 483.
Minot, George R., autograph, 194.
Missions by the Baptists, 428.
Missionary Herald, 646.
Mitchell, Rev. Edward, 490; autograph, 490.
Mohawks of the tea-party, 49.
Montgomery, J. B., autograph, 353.
Monthly Anthology, 479, 637.
Montresor, ii, iii.
Moore house in Cambridge, 110.
Moorhead, Rev. John, 129.
Morgan, Daniel and his riflemen, 104. John T., 332
Morris, Commodore Charles, 341; autograph, 352.
Morse, Rev. Jedediah, 406, 471, 474, 560; autograph, 407, 560; his writings, 561; controversy with Hannah Adams, 560, 641. S. F. B., birthplace, 255; autograph, 553. Sidney E., 632.
Motley, J. L., 671; autograph, 671. William W., 438.
Mount Hope Cemetery, 586.
Mount Pleasant, 576.
Muddy Pond, 572.
Mugford, Captain, 182.
Murray, Rev. John, 484, 489; portrait, 486; autograph, 486.
Murray's barracks, 31.
Mystic River, xii; water works, 569.

Nantasket Roads, British fleet driven from, 182.
National Lancers, 300.
Naval hospital, 351; school, 348; service during the Revolution, 118, 186.
Navigation acts, 9.
Navy agent, 336.
Navy-yard established, 335, 556; the original purchase, 337; plan in 1823, 342; ship-houses built, 344; plan in 1827, 350; plan in 1874, 366.
Neale, Rev. R. H., 426.
Neck, defences on the, 80; views of, 80.
Neponset River, 595.
New England club of loyalists, 175.
New England, maps of, i.
New England Chronicle, 138.
New England Galaxy, 628, 631.
New England Guards, 307, 342, 345, 346.
New England Magazine, 651.
New England Methodist Historical Society, 442.
New Jerusalem Church, 509.
New York Herald, 630.
Newman, Robert, 101.
News-Letter, 130.
Newspapers, 617; taxed, 621.
Nichols, E. T., autograph, 353.
Nicholson, John B., autograph, 352. Commodore Samuel, 333, 334, 338; autograph, 352.
Nixon, John, autograph, 105.
Nix's Mate, i.
Non-importation agreement, 29, 41, 150.
Nooks Hill, 97.
Norcross, Otis, 272; mayor, 273; autograph, 291.
Norfolk County Journal, 584.
Norfolk Gazette, 583.
Norfolk Guards, 584.
Norfolk House, 576.
Norman, J., iv, vii, ix.
North, Lord, 26; autograph, 26.
North American Review, 638, 643, 663.
North Chelsea, 616.
Norton, Professor Andrews, 477. Charles E., his writings, 679.
Novanglus Essays, 133.
Novel, first American, 636.

Ocean Spray, 616.
Odd Fellows, 585.
Ogden, Rev. John C., 449.
Old and New, 680.
Old Ironsides, 337.
Old North, 156.
Old South, 156, 158.
Old State House made a City Hall, 235.
Oliver, Andrew, as a writer, 146; portrait, 43; autograph, 43; hung in effigy, 12; his oath of resignation, 15. Andrew, Jr., 146. Peter, autograph, 43. Thomas, his house, 113, 114; family, 43.
Otheman, Anthony, 440.
Otis, Harrison Gray, 194, 204, 303; as a boy, 70; mayor, 234; portrait, 235; autograph, 213, 235, 290. Mrs. Harrison Gray, 315. James, argues against writs of assistance, 4; portrait 6; autograph, 6; his *Statement*, 10; proposes a congress, 12, 15; fac-simile of letter, 20; active, 25; as a writer, 140.
Overseers of the poor, 271.
Oxnard, Thomas, 340, 341.

Paddock, Adino, 62; autograph, 62. Bishop, 464.
Page, Lieutenant, iii.
Paige, Rev. Lucius R., 503; autograph, 503.
Paine, Rev. Joshua, Jr., 560. Robert Treat, 144, v; in massacre trials, 36; autograph, 144. Thomas, 625.
Palladium, 625.
Panics of invasion, 165.
Paper mill, 595.
Papists, warrant against, 169.
Palfrey, General F. W., "Boston Soldiery in War and Peace," 303;

in service, 326. John G., 476, 646; Abolitionist, 377, 395.
Park Street, view of, 232.
Parker, Foxhall A., autograph, 352, 353. John, autograph, 74. Rev. Samuel, 128, 447, 450, 454. Rev. Theodore, as theologian, 478; as minister, 581; an Abolitionist, 392, 393; portrait, 394; autograph, 394; references for life, 394; as lecturer, 659.
Parkman, Francis, his histories, 668.
Parks proposed, 284; in Roxbury, 586.
Parrott, E. G., autograph, 353.
Parsons, T. W., 676.
Parting stone, 585.
Patriots among the country gentry, 191; imprisoned, 154.
Payne, Edward, autograph, 29, 152.
Payson, Rev. Phillips, 551, 611, 612, 645; autograph, 551. Samuel, 551, 557; autograph, 558.
Paxton, Charles, autograph, 4.
PEABODY, A. P., "Unitarians in Boston," 467. Rev. Ephraim, 479.
Peacock Tavern, 117.
Peace of 1815, 213.
Peace extra of 1783, 174.
Peck, John, 186.
Pelham, Henry, his map of Boston, ii; autograph, iii.
Pemberton, Rev. Ebenezer, 125. Samuel, autograph, 39.
Penobscot expedition, 185.
Pennsylvania, constitution of, 139.
Pepperell, Sir William, the younger, 179.
Percy, Earl, arrives, 56; letters, 57, 101; portrait, 58; autograph, 58; his headquarters, 155; at Lexington, 70; his retreat, 75.
Peter Parley, 649.
Phelps, Rev. A. A., 411.
Phillips, John, mayor, 90, 224; portrait, 223; autograph, 290. Wendell, 376, 384. Willard, 638; autograph, 639. William, 38; autograph, 29, 153.
Phips family, 111.
Phips's farm, 106.
Pierce, Henry L., mayor, 281; again elected, 288; autograph, 291.
Pierpont, John, 377, 650; autograph, 650.
Pierpont's village, 571.
Pigot, General, 84; autograph, 84; his quarters, 155.
Pillmore, Rev. Joseph, 435.
Pillory, 173.
Pilot, 633.
Pine-tree flag, 188.
Pitcairn, Major, 102, 103; killed, 87.
Pitt and the Stamp Act, 17.
Ploughed hill, 104.
Polar Star, 627.
Police, city liable for their acts, 300; department of, 245, 246, 252, 259, 266; reorganized, 289.
Pond Plain, 571.
Poole, Charles, 551.
Port-captain, 348, 353.
PORTER, EDWARD G., "The beginning of the Revolution," 1. Rev. Eliphalet, 580.
Post Boy, 130.
Poterie, Abbé de la, 515.
Potter, Rev. Alonzo, 456.
Powars, E. E., 617.
Powars & Willis, 138.
Powder tower, 105.
Power of Sympathy, 636.
PREBLE, ADMIRAL GEORGE H., "The Navy and the Charlestown Navy Yard," 331. Jedediah, 64; autograph, 64.
Prentice, Rev. Thomas, 559, 562; autograph, 562.
Prescott, William (Judge), autograph, 213. Colonel William sent to Bunker Hill, 82; autograph, 82, 115. William H., 666; autograph, 666; view of his library, 667.
Press of the last hundred years, 617; of the Revolution, 130.
Preston, Captain Thomas, 31; his trial, 36, 38.
Price Lectures, 452.
Priest, John T., 551.
Prince, Frederick O., mayor, 287; again elected, 290; autograph, 291.
Princeton, U. S. Steamer, 362.
Prisoners taken by the British, 187.
Privateers in the Revolution, 90, 92, 118, 182; in the war of 1812, 340.
Prohibitory liquor law, 254.
Prospect Hill Camp, 105.
Protector, ship, 187.
Provincial Congress, 63, 65, 107.
Public Garden act, 263.
Public Institutions, directors of, 262.
Pulling, John, 101.
Pulling Point, 612, 616.
Punch-bowl village, 571.
Pulpit of the Revolution, 119.
Purkett, Captain Henry, 303.
Puseyism, 458.
Putnam, Dr. Aaron, 336; autograph, 556. Rev. George, 479, 581. Israel, autograph, 80; at Prospect Hill, 105; in command in Boston, 182.

QUINCY, EDMUND, 376. Josiah, Jr. (patriot), law reports, 5; defends Preston, 36; his portrait, 37; autograph, 37; speech on tea, 49; "Hyperion," 142; on Port bill, 142. Josiah (President), 142, 307; and embargo, 209; opposed city charter, 221; mayor, 226; portrait, 227; statues, 227, 291; autograph, 290. Josiah (the younger), mayor, 251; autograph, 290. Samuel, 36, 179, 191.
Quincy market, view of, 228.

RAILROAD, to the Hudson, 234.
Railroad jubilee, 257.
Railroads opposed, 596.
Rand, Dr. Isaac, autograph, 555.
Randall, Rev. G. M., 461.
Rangers, 307.
Ransom, George M., autograph, 353.
Rawdon, Lord, 87.
Read, John, 572, 575.
Reed, B. T., 465. David, 633. REV. JAMES, 510; "New Jerusalem Church," 509. Colonel Joseph, autograph, 113. Sampson, 510.
Registration of voters, 286.
Regulation acts, 53, 55.
Relly, Rev. James, 484.
Reporting, early, 622.
Republican party (early), 623.
Republican volunteers, 303.
Revenue laws, 8, 41.
Revere, Paul, 310, 332, 337; and his lanterns, 101; his transparencies, 135; in the Penobscot Expedition, 186; his ride, 68; portrait, 69; autograph, 69; engraves paper money, 69; his plan of King Street, 39; his illuminations of the massacre, 40; portrait of Hancock, 45, 46; mission to New York, 50; his "Able Doctor," 55. Major Paul J. 318; portrait, 319.
Revere, town of, 611, 616.
Revolution, beginning of, 1.
Rhode Island Expedition, 185.
Rice, Alexander H., mayor, 261; autograph, 291.
Rich, Isaac, 439.
Richards, Rev George, 488.
Richardson, Ebenezer, 30.
Ripley, Rev. George, 477, 663.
Robin, Abbé, in Boston, 168.
Robinson, Rev. J. P., 461.
Rochambeau, autograph, 166.
Rocking stone, 586.
Rockingham ministry, 16,
Rodgers, Admiral John, autograph, 353.
Rogers, Jeremiah Dummer, 180, 562. Rev. William M., 411; autograph, 411.
Roman Catholics, 515; in Brighton, 605; in Roxbory, 582.
Romans, B., v.
Romney, man-of-war, 23.
Roslindale, 572.
Rousselet, Rev. Louis, 515.
Rowe, J., autograph, 152.
Rowson, Mrs. Susannah, 643.
Roxbury, in the last hundred years, 571; two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, 575; a city, 577; mayors of, 578; annexed, 275, 579; churches, 580; schools, 582; noted citizens, 588; maps of, viii, x, xi; old parsonage in, 115, 116; American lines in, 114; forts, 115, 116.
Roxbury artillery, 584.
Roxbury Athenæum, 583.
Roxbury city guard, 584.
Roxbury City Gazette, 584.
Roxbury horse guards 584.
Royall, Isaac, 111; his mansion, 105
Ruddock, John, 437.

Ruggles, George, his house, 113. Timothy, 77; autograph, 77.
Ruggles estate in Roxbury, 576.
Russell, Major Ben., 617; autograph, 619; portrait, 619; his *Gazette*, 625. Thomas, 113; autograph, 153, 564. Walter, autograph, 551.

Sack, John, 614.
Salem, Leslie's expedition to, 65.
Salt pans, 587.
Salter, Richard, autograph, 152.
Saltonstall, Dudley, 186.
Sandeman, Robert, 129.
Sanitary measures, 226.
Sans Souci Club, 620.
Sargent, Epes, 630; autograph, 630. J. O. 651.
Saturday, beginning of Sunday, 169.
Saturday Evening Gazette, 631.
Savage, James, 646.
Scammell, Alexander, autograph, 105.
Schools, 231, 249, 254; in Brighton, 605; books used in, 642, 644; in Charlestown, 557; in Dorchester, 591.
Scott, John, autograph, 152.
Scudder, Horace E., "Life in Boston," 149.
Sea-fencibles, 311.
Seabury, Bishop, 449.
Seamen's Bethel, 438.
Seaver, Benjamin, mayor, 258; autograph, 290.
Seaverns, Joel, farm, 586.
Second Massachusetts Regiment in the Civil War, 325.
Sedgwick, Catharine M., 647; autograph, 648.
Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature, 654.
Selectmen, origin of, 218.
Selfridge trial, 207.
Sewall, Jonathan, 36, 132, 133; as writer, 146; his house, 113. Rev. Joseph, 125. Samuel, autograph, 554. Samuel E., 372, 377.
Sewall's farm, 114.
Shaw, Lemuel, drafts city charter, 222. Colonel Robert G., 321; portrait, 321. Samuel, 38, 331; autograph, 38.
Sharp, Rev. Daniel, 425.
Shays's Rebellion, 193, 194, 572, 622.
Shedd, A. B., 551.
Sherburne, Joseph, autograph, 153.
Ship-yards, 187.
Shirley Hall, 575.
Shubrick, William B., 349; autograph, 352.
Shurtleff, Nathaniel B., 261, 273; mayor, 276; autograph, 291.
Shurtleff farm, 615.
Silloway, Rev. T. W., 491.
Silver, Rev. Abiel, 509.
Simms, the fugitive, 256, 397.
Sisters of Charity, 520; of the Good Shepherd, 540; of Notre Dame, 529, 532.
Skinner, Rev. Otis A., 504; autograph, 504.
Skillman, Rev. Isaac, 127, 423.
Slavery in Massachusetts, 370.
Sleeper, Jacob, 439.
Small-pox, 163, 612.
Smith, Isaac, 72; autograph, 29. Jerome V. C., mayor, 259; autograph, 291. Ralph, 587.
Snider, Christopher, 30.
Snow, Jeremiah, 549.
Snowden, Rev. Samuel, 440.
Society of the Holy Redeemer, 544.
Soldier's monument on the Common, 324.
Solemn league and covenant, 55.
Somerville incorporated, 568.
Song of Liberty, 144.
Sons of Liberty, 11, 12, 13, 19, 26, 29, 150.
Southack, Cyprian, viii.
South bay, xii; lands, 253.
South Boston, 597; plan of, xi; flats, 273. *See* Dorchester Neck.
Southgate, Rev. H., 460.
Sparks, Jared, 647; autograph, 647; his writings, 647; his library, 647.
Sparhawk, Edward, 603.
Spears used during the siege, 116.
Spicer, William F., autograph, 353.
Spinnets, 154.
Spooner, John, autograph, 153. J. J., 584.
Sprague, Charles, 651; autograph, 649. Captain Richard, 559.
Spry, Rev. Christopher, 438.
Stamp Act, 9; cut of stamp, 12; schedule of prices, 12; congress, 12, 15; riot, 14; in parliament, 17; repealed, 19; rejoicings in Boston, 19.
Stark, John, at Bunker Hill, 88; autograph, 89.
State-aid to soldiers, 315.
State and City, 293; large tax paid by Boston to the State, 296.
State prison, 567; mutiny at, 351.
State-reform School at Westboro', 241.
Stearns, George L., 398.
Steedman, Charles, autograph, 353.
Steuben, Baron, 185; autograph, 185.
Stevenson, General Thomas G., 317; portrait, 317.
Stillman, Rev. Samuel, 127, 423; portrait, 422.
Stone, Rev. John S., 457.
Storer, Ebenezer, autograph, 29, 153.
Story, Joseph, his verse, 643. W. W., 676.
Stow, Rev. Baron, 425.
Stowe, H. B., her *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 396; her writings, 677; autograph, 678.
Streeter, Rev. S., 490; autograph, 490.
Street commissioners, 278.
Streets, widening of, cost, 273.
Stringham, Commodore S. H., autograph, 352.
Strong, Caleb, autograph, 205.
Suburban News, 584.
Sudbury River water, 280.
Suffolk County in the Civil War, 313.
Suffolk resolves, 59.
Suffolk Street district, 274.
Sugar duties, 10.
Sullivan, Captain George, 345. James, 626; autograph, 208. General John, autograph, 104. William, 380.
Sumner, Charles, 390; portrait, 391; references for his life, 392; assaulted, 398. Increase, autograph, 204.
Sunday-schools, 405.
Sutherland, George, 439.
Swan, Samuel, autograph, 551.
Swedenborgians, 509.
Swedenborg's belief, 511.
Swett, Captain Samuel, 346.
Sykes, John, 614.
Symmes, Major Andrew, 183.

Talleyrand in Boston, 624.
Tarbox, I. N., "The Congregational Churches," 401.
Tea sent to Boston, 44; arrives, 45, 46; meetings held, 47; minutes of the meetings, 49; thrown into the harbor, 49; names of the actors, 50, 51; sources of information, 51.
Ten-hills farm, 104.
Ternay, Chevalier de, autograph, 166.
Thacher, Oxenbridge, 4, 10, 144. Peter, autograph, 103.
Thayer, Ephraim, 332. Rev. John, 515; autograph, 515. Rev. T. B., 504; autograph, 504.
Theatricals during the siege, 161.
Thomas, General, 78; made general, 65; autograph, 65; builds fort at Roxbury, 116. Isaiah, 134, 642; his *History of Printing*, 642. Joshua, autograph, 213.
Thompson, Rev. Amos G., 438. George, 381. Rev. J. S., 491; autograph, 491. Samuel, viii, ix.
Thoreau, H. D., 658.
Thursday lecture, 159, 164, 402, 469.
Town-meetings, 174.
Towns, origin of, 217; government of, 218; can be incorporated as cities by the legislature, 220.
Townshend, Charles, 8, 21, 26.
Ticknor, George, 661, 667; statuette of, 661; autograph, 661; his *Spanish Literature*, 661; view of his library, 662; his house, 232.
Ticonderoga, cannon from, 106.
Tigers, New England guards, 300.
Tithing men, 154.
Tractarian movement, 458.
Tracy, Nathaniel, 113; entertains French officers, 166.
Transcendentalism, 477, 654, 658.
Tremont Street in 1800, 451; opened, 576.
Tremont Temple, 431.
Trinity Church, 456; ruins of, 457.
Troops sent to Boston, 23, 25, 26, 56, 64.

Trumball, Timothy, 551, 557; autograph, 557.
Trumbull, John, v; his plan of Boston and vicinity, 80.
Tucker, Captain Samuel, 182, 187.
Tuckerman, Rev. Joseph, 477, 615.
Tudor, William, 144, 453, 637, 638; autograph, 144, 184, 185.
Tufts, Charles, founder of Tufts College, 555. Nathan, autograph, 555. Samuel, 557.
Tufts College, 500; House, 105.
Tukey, Francis, 252; discharged, 258.
Turner, Rev. Edward, 491; autograph, 491. Captain William, 303.
Twentieth Massachusetts regiment, 318, 326.
Tyrannicide, brig, 187.

Union Club, 232.
Unitarian Review, 479.
Unitarians, 450, 467, 646; table of churches, 480; in Brighton, 605; controversy, 561; in Dorchester, 594; in Roxbury, 581.
United States Intelligencer, 520.
Universalists, 483; their first meeting-house, 489; publications, 507; in Brighton, 605; in Charlestown, 562; in Roxbury, 581.
Universalist Magazine, 497.
Urquart, James, autograph, iii.
Ursuline Convent established, 519; destroyed by a mob, 238, 521, 564; view of, 522; references upon, 524; indemnification, 532.

Vassall, Henry, iii. Colonel John, 111.
Vassall house in Cambridge, 111.
Vaubiard, Admiral, in Boston, 188.
Vermont, line-of-battle ship, 344, 354.
Vinton, Rev. A. H. 460.
Viomenil arrives, 165.
Virginia, line-of-battle ship, 354.

Wadsworth, Alexander, x. General Peleg, 186; autograph, 186.
Wadsworth house, 106; view of, 107.
Waldo, Daniel, autograph, 213. Joseph, autograph, 29.
Walker, Rev. James, D. D., 562; autograph, 562. Timothy, autograph, 567. Dr. William J. autograph, 552.
Walter, Rev. William, 129.
War of 1812, 211, 303, 626.
War of Secession, 312; men furnished by Boston, 315.
Ward, Artemas, made general, 64; autograph, 64; portrait, 109, 186; commands in Roxbury, 116. Judge Artemas, 562. Colonel Joseph, 86.
Warden & Russell, 617.
Ware, Henry, Sr., 474. Rev. Henry, Jr., 476.
Warner, Jonathan, 573.
Warren, Dr. John, autograph, 112; surgeon of Cambridge Hospital, 112. Joseph, as a writer, 142; massacre oration, 65, 142; fac-simile of it, 143; his sword, 143; autograph, 39, 60; his birthplace, 59; lived on Hanover Street, 59; portrait, 60; other likenesses, 61; family, 61; burial, 61; his wife's portrait, 63; Chairman of Committee of Safety, 77; killed, 88; statue of, 566. Mercy, 146; her writings, 641.
Warren Association, 426.
Warren bridge, 555.
Warren Phalanx, 307, 552.
Warren, sloop-of-war, 354.
Warren Tavern, 558.
Washington takes command, 90; at Dorchester Heights (by Stuart), 98; his writings, 647; proclamation of, 181; headquarters in Cambridge, 106; visits Boston (1789), 197, 349, 559, 573; Hancock's conduct towards, 197, 199; reception arch, 200; portraits (Athenæum head), 198; other likenesses, 199; monuments to, 199.
Washington Elm, 109, 110.
Washington, Fort, 106.
Washington Light Infantry, 303.
Washington Medal, 100.
Washington Street, 199.
Washington Village, 595, 598.
Watchman and Reflector, 633.
Water-power Company, 261.
Water-supply considered, 238, 249, 250, 251; introduced, 252, 256.
Waterhouse, Samuel, 132, 151.
Wayland, Rev. Francis, 426.
Webster, Daniel, 628; autograph, 670; his seventh of March speech, 396; refused Faneuil Hall to speak in, 257; his statue, 232. Grant, 135.
Wednesday Evening Club, 168.
Weekly Advertiser, 130.
Weekly newspapers, 631.
Weeks, Rev. J. W., 447.
Weld, Stephen M., 583.
Wells, Charles, mayor, 236; autograph, 290. Rev. E. M. P., 457, 461.
Welsh Fusiliers, 56, 80.
Wesleyan Association, 441.
West Church, 158.
West Roxbury, 117; set off, 577, 578; annexed, 284, 580.
Western Railroad opened, 248.
Wheatley, Phillis, 147; autograph, 147.
Whipping-post, 172.
Whipple, E. P., 681; autograph, 681.
White farm, 576.
Whittemore, Rev. Benjamin, 503; autograph, 503. Rev. Thomas, 497; autograph, 497.
Whittier, J. G., 650; his poetry, 675.
Wightman, Joseph M., mayor, 265; autograph, 291.
Wilde, Samuel S., autograph 213.
Wilder, Marshall P., 596.
Willard, Solomon, autograph, 566.
Willard's clocks, 587.
Williams, John Foster, 186, 187, 188. Bishop J. J., 530, 533, 539; made archbishop, 543. Daniel, 551. Jonathan, autograph, 153. Joseph, 572. Richard, iv. Dr. Thomas, 576.
Williams farm in Chelsea, 615.
Willis, Nathaniel, 632.
Willis's creek, 105.
Winchester Home for Aged Women, 570.
Winnisimmet Ferry, 615.
Winship mansion in Brighton, 602, 608.
Winship's nurseries, 607.
Winslow, Rev. Hubbard, 412. Isaac, autograph, 153. John, autograph, 152.
Winslow Blues, 303.
Winter Hill, 104, 105.
Winthrop, John, statue of, 291; his *History of New England*, 646. Robert C., chairman of the Overseers of the Poor, 272. Thomas L., 224.
Winthrop, town of, 611, 616.
Wise, Rev. John, 122.
Wisner, Rev. B. B., 409; autograph, 409.
Withington, Matthew, viii, ix.
Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, 442.
Wood, David, 552. David, Jr., 562 Josiah, autograph, 552.
Worcester, Rev. Noah, 607. Rev Thomas, 509.
Writs of assistance, 2, 4, 21, 140.
Wyman, Thomas B., autograph, 566

Young, Rev. Alexander, 476.
Young & Etheridge, 625.

Zion's Herald, 441, 633.

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77 01686 111